Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
FELICITATION VOLUME

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI FELICITATION COMMITTEE, MADRAS
1971

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Price : Rs. 45-00 or $ 8.

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KARAIKUDI—South India.

Printed at Rathnam Press, Madras-1

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

FOREWORD

A felicitation volume offered to a scholar is an act of faith. His colleagues and students take the opportunity to pay him their tribute, to offer their gratitude for his scholarship which has lightened their own paths. If some similar volumes in the past have themselves proven to be works of scholarship, that gain is incidental. The primary intention is to honour the savant.

It is, in a sense, unnecessary to attempt to honour Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, whose 81st birthday falls next August. He has honoured himself sufficiently. As the historian of the Cholas and the Pandyas, he is the Gibbon of south Indian history. These works of his will keep his reputation imperishable.

But man sometimes wants to honour something which is above honour. It is to be hoped that this tribute of homage will, in its own little way, satisfy that craving. In honouring Professor Nilakanta Sastri, the felicitation committee and the contributors to this volume are honouring themselves. They wish that the banner of the pure fame of Professor Nilakanta Sastri's reputation, to borrow the language of some inscriptions with whose help Professor Nilakanta Sastri has raised his monumental works, will grow even wider.

It has not been an easy task to bring out this volume. Its preparation has coincided with the war with Pakistan. But the compilers have been sustained by the thought that the lessons of freedom and honour which Professor Nilakanta Sastri has inculcated are particularly valid today.

It remains for me to thank Mr. H. Sarkar, Dr. F. Gros and Mr. N. S. Ramaswami for their help and editorial labours. Mr. M. D. Sampath has worked like a Trojan in seeing the work through the press. To him my gratitude is immeasurable.

Madras.
19-12-1971

Saw. Ganesan.

ABOUT PROFESSOR. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

K. A. Nilakantan was born in August 12, 1892, in a Telugu Niyogi Brahmin family at Kallidaikurichi in District Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu. An old sword in its scabbard preserved in his ancestral house seems to suggest that his ancestors migrated south as part of a military colony founded in the South by the emperors of Vijayanagar in the sixteenth century when they were masters of South India.

He had his education in George Secondary School (High School), Kallidaikurichi, and in the Ambasamudram High School now called Theerthapathi High School.

Nilakantan's father was running an elementary school on an average monthly income of about Rs. 15 to 20; so when Nilakantan spent about rupees seven or eight hundred during his two years study in the Hindu College, Tirunelveli for F.A., his father could not afford spending at that rate any longer and wanted him to stop his higher study. His eldest brother A. Kuppuswami who was employed in the Office of Superintendent, Sanskrit Schools at Madras insisted on continuing his study and managed to get him a Government Scholarship of the value of Rs. 14/-p.m. for his B.A. In the Hindu College he had the celebrated Winckler as his principal in the first year and then Herbert Champion who later assumed Directorship of Public Instruction, Madras. Prof. V. Saranathan, Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Sri P. N. Appuswami were his class fellows.

Nilakantan gained a first Class in the F.A. Nilakantan's father gave him one hundred rupees when he left for Madras for B.A. study.

In the Madras Christian College, then located opposite to the High Court, Dr. Skinner was Principal when he joined and Dr. Macphail was Professor of History. Professors J.M. Russell and F.E. Corley taught him other subjects like Chaucer, Economics etc. In the B.A., K. Zachariah was his class fellow who always stood above him at the top of the class in all examinations

and Nilakantan came next to him. At the end of the B. A. course Zachariah told him that he was leaving the coast clear for him and was proceeding to Oxford. Nilakantan got first class with good rank in Sanskrit and History, and missed a first in English by a few marks, but stood very high among the second classes .For the M.A. he got the Thurso studentship which fetched about Rs. 20/- p.m. and a lump sum of Rs. 265 or so at the end, from which he was able to pay back his father's initial grant of Rs. 100. Nilakantan took a I class in the M.A. and stood first in the Presidency.

His first employment (1913 to 1918) was in the Hindu College, Tirunelveli. Though the authorities of the Christian College offered him a place on Rs. 200/- he preferred the place in Tirunelveli on half the salary as he and his friends had evolved a scheme by which the Hindu College was to be made a replica of Fergusson College, Poona, where selfless teachers would turn out generations of students imbued with ideals of patriotism and sacrifice. His colleagues were K. C. Viraraghava Aiyar (Chemistry), K. P. Yagneswara Sarma (Physics), N. Sankara Aiyar (Maths) and V. Saranathan (English). But the scheme came to grief partly owing to the opposition of the elderly principal, I. Srinivasa Aiyar and partly by the oppositions of others.

After a short period of unemployment which he spent in Madras in 1919 and when V. Saranathan then in the Pachaiyappa's College maintained him, he was taken over to Benares by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, then Vice Chancellor, Benares: the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri had a hand in getting Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to accept him for Benares. Nilakanta Sastri served as Professor of History, Benares Hindu University from 1918 to 1920. Sastri got an invitation from Mr. S. RM. M. Annamalai Chettiar (afterwards Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad) to become principal of a new college he was establishing at Chidambaram. He consulted Dr. Govinda Das, brother of the better known Bhagavan Das, who advised him to go to Chidambaram as he was not likely to get his due there.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri joined as Principal, the Meenakshi College, Chidambaram in 1920 and spent eight years in building up the College from an

Intermediate college of about 70-pupils in the beginning, to the level of a University with 700 pupils on the rolls and magnificent new buildings and hostels at the end of 1928. Sastri's relations with Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar were on the whole cordial ; but on some difference of opinion over of the new act of Annamalai University, he left Chidambaram.

Sastri spent the first ten months of 1929 at Trichy as Professor of History in National College under Saranathan; this was possible as the preceding Professor of History had just left the College to join the Archaeological Department. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Professor of History at the University of Madras was due to retire at the end of October 1929, and when the place was advertised earlier in the year, he applied for it. The Selection Committee which included Sri J. Sarkar, Rev. Father Heras placed him first. The Syndicate appointed him unanimously.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri served as one of the most distinguished Professors of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of the Madras University *from* 1929 *to* 1947. *Prof. Sastri's most outstanding* contributions, *the Cōḷas, the Paṇḍyan kingdom, Studies in Cōḷa administration, Foreign Notices of South India* and the *Srivijaya kingdom* were published during this period.

Sastri retired from the Madras University as professor in 1947, and was invited to Mysore as Professor in the then newly established department of Indology in 1952 and continued there till 1956. During that period he got to know Sri Jayachamaraja Wodaiyar who studied the Kavyadarsa with him. K. A. N. Sastri went to Malaya at the invitation of the University to organise a department of Indian Studies there. Mr. R. Ramani and Mr. Gopala Menon, Indian Representatives in Malaya were responsible for his visit.

Prof. K. A. N. Sastri also went to Nepal in 1952 on invitation to lecture on Indian Culture for two months in Tribhuvan University. The country and the people attracted him very much.

When UNESCO, after the Delhi Conference, set up an Institute of Traditional Cultures of South-East Asia in Madras in 1957 in collaboration with

the Madras University, the Vice Chancellor Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar appointed Nilakanta Sastri as its Director. Soon after he had to go to Japan to attend a Conference held by UNESCO and this led to his visit to Chicago University as visiting Professor for six months in 1959. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri was the Director of Institute of Traditional Cultures till 1971.

He had the honour of receiving the title of "Padma Bhushan" in 1958.

His association with Dr. Rajendra Prasad begins in 1937 when the Bharatiya Ithihas Parishad was founded with the specific object of preparing a new History of the Indian people. He was throughout very friendly and kind and sometimes took Prof. Nilakanta Sastri with him on drives even after he became the President of India.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri edited the volume of *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* and wrote many chapters in it himself. The Indian History Congress started another scheme of a similar nature and there also Prof. Sastri wrote and edited the volume on the Mauryan period, the only volume to have appeared so far; this latter was a more ambitious plan. But both have failed to progress beyond one or two volumes at the most.

Among his many academic friends and associates mention may be made of Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Dr. N.P. Chakravarti Dr. Tarachand, Dr. Bisheswar Prasad, Dr. B. P. Saxena, Dr. H.C. Ray Choudhry, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray and many others.

Prof. Sastri was the general president of Indian History Congress, Patna, in 1946, and the general President of the All India Oriental Conference, Lucknow 1951, also he acted as Chairman of many sessions of various seminars and conferences. He has also served as Hon. member of Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Saigon; Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay and Ceylon, Malayan Branches; Hon. Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; and member Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, New Delhi.

BIO-DATA OF PROF. SASTRI

1.	12—8—1892	...	Born.
2.	1913	...	M. A. Degree,
3.	1913–18	...	Lecturer in History, Hindu College, Tirunelveli.
4.	1918–20	...	Prof. of History, Benares Hindu University.
5.	1920–29	...	Principal, Meenakshi College, Chidambaram. (Now Annamalai University).
6.	1929–47	...	Prof. of History and Archaeology, University of Madras.
7.	1952–56	...	Prof. of Indology, Mysore University.
8.	1958	...	Award of Padma Bhushan title by Govt. of India.
9.	1959	...	Visiting Professor, Chicago University, U.S.A.
10.	1957–71	...	Director, Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras.

Prof. Sastri's Contributions

Books

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2. *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, Madras University, 1933.
3. *The Cōḷas*, 2 Vols., 1935 and 1937; revised edition in one volume with an additional chapter on art, Madras University, 1935.
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14. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Editor with many chapters by him;

15. *Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia*, Prepared for Unesco, Paris, Orient Longmans, Madras, 1958;

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MESSAGES

I have the highest respect and affection for Professor Nilakanta Sastri, whom I have met on several occasions, and whose scholarship is among the highest and finest of any historians in India today. His masterly study of the History of the Cholas, his varied work on Indian contacts with South-east Asia in early times and his many other contributions to historical knowledge will all remain landmarks in the history of the revealing of the earlier past of India. I wish you every success in the production of the volume in honour of his eightieth birthday, and I trust that the distinguished scholar in whose honour the volume is produced may live for many more years.

(Sd.) A. L. BASHAM
The Australian National University
Department of Asian Civilizations, Canberra.

I would be happy to join with other scholars in congratulating Professor Sastri on his Aśītipūrti and on his completion of so much scholarly work of such great value in the study of Indian history. Please let me add my name to the long list of others who, I am sure, will be sending their congratulations and best wishes to him.

(Sd.) M. B. EMENEAU
Prof. Sanskrit and General Linguistics
Department of Linguistics,
University of California, U.S.A.

It is an excellent idea to pay due homage to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, whose deep scholarship, especially in the field of historical research, is appreciated by numberless friends and admirers.

I have no doubt that volume will meet with the success it deserves, and I beg you to accept the assurance of my best regard, and kind greetings.

(Sd.) GIUSEPPE TUCCI
Istituto Italiano
Per Il
Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, Roma.

May I congratulate you on this excellent initiative, and extend you my best wishes for its success, together with my sincere regards.

(Sd.) Prof. ANTONIO GARGANO
Cultural Director
Istituto Italiano
Per Il
Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, Roma.

I look forward to the appearance of the volume, and I trust that it will be worthy of its subject.

(Sd.) T. BURROW
Oriental Institute,
Oxford, U.K.

I am most pleased to learn that you are preparing an 80th Birthday Commemoration Volume for Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the more as I am a sincere admirer of this great and highly venerated scholar.

(Sd.) HERMANN GOETZ
Heidelburg.

CONTENTS

History and Epigraphy

	Page
Francois Valentijn's Description of coromandel *Prof. S. Arasaratnam* Dept. of History, University of Malaya	1
A Critical Assessment of the activities of a Forgotten English Administrator *Dr. D. Awasthi*	9
Samudragupta's Southern Expedition : A New Interpretation *Buddha Prakash* Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.	15
Two Inscriptions concerning the Status of Kammalas and the Application of Dharmasastra *Dr. J. Dunncan, M. Derrett* School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.	32
Three Kampannas of Vijayanagara *Dr. Mrs. Vasundara, P. S. Filliozat* French Institute of Indology, Pondichery.	56
Mudakkaru *Dr. B. R. Gopal* Dept. of Ancient History and culture, Karnatak University.	60
Some Revenue terms in Mediaeval Karnataka Epigraphs (A.D. 1000–1300) *S. Gururajachar* Maharaja's College, Mysore.	66

Page

Relations between South India and China in Chola times ... 69
Dr. Noboru Karashima
Institute for the study of languages of Asia and Africa, Tokyo.

Some Minor Dynasties of Kolar District ... 72
C. Krishnamurthy
Archaeological Survey of India, Southern circle.

Pallavas and the 'jar' legends ... 84
Iravatham Mahadevan I.A.S.
Nehru Fellowship Scholar, New Delhi.

Dynastic Drift : A Process of Cultural Universalization ... 89
Dr. Clarence Maloney
Associate Prof. of Anthropology, Montclair State College.

Pandya Arikesari and Pandikkovai ... 108
R. Nagaswamy
Director of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu.

Karnataka Origin of the Sevunas ... 112
Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy
Dept. of Ancient History and Archaeology, Mysore University.

Munjeru plates of Eastern Ganga Anantavarma ... 117
Dr. O. Ramachandraiya
Dept. of History, Andhra University.
and C. Somasundara Rao

Some Epigraphical Gleanings on Vaishnava Acharyas ... 125
Dr. K. V. Raman
Dept. of Ancient History, Madurai University.

The Madras Revolution ... 131
Dr. Chidambaram S. Ramanujam
London.

Page

Sarangarh Copper-plate Inscription of Chhatra Shah Samvat 1747 ... 159
(A.D. 1690)
Dr. Sadhu Ram
Retd. Professor of Sanskrit, Kurukshetra University.

New light on Nolambas ... 165
M. D. Sampath
French Institute of Indology, Pondichery.

On the Identity of the "Mlechchas" ... 180
R. Sengupta
Chief Archaeological Engineer, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

A Portrait of Thirumalai Nayak on two brass door-jambs ... 188
V. P. Dwivedi
Homi Babha Fellow, National Museum, New Delhi.

Uttaramerur Revisited ... 191
Dr. Francois Gros
Member, Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, French Institute of Indology, Pondichery.

Megalithic Culture in Tiruchirapalli District ... 202
Dr. B. K. Gururaja Rao
Department of Arcaheology, Mysore University.

Wall Decorations in Cola Temples ... 206
Dr. V. N. Hari Rao
Reader in History, Sri Venkateswara University.

Two Yavana Dvarapalas at Aihole ... 210
Dr. J. C. Harle
Keeper, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Page

An Early Inscriptional Reference to Persian Wheel ... 214
Dr. M. C. Joshi
Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

Middle and Late Stone age Industries of the Amarja Valley, Gulbarga District, Mysore State 218
S. Nagaraju
Dept. of Archaeology, Mysore University.

An example of Engineering in Mediaeval India ... 224
Prof. Jean Naudou
Longjumeau, France.

A Note on the Harappan Ring-Kernoi ... 231
Dr. B. M. Pande
Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

Marginal Notes on the Meluhha Problem ... 234
Dr. Pentti Aalto
England.

Two Images of Narasimha in Tirukkostiyur ... 259
Dr. Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat
French Institute of Indology, Pondichery.

Megalithic Zones in India ... 244
K. S. Ramachandran
Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

A Composite Temple ... 255
N. S. Ramaswami
Asst. Editor, Indian Express.

Panjab and the Aryans or Prehistoric Panjab ... 259
Dr. H. D. Sankalia
Deccan College and Post Graduate Research Institute, Poona.

Page

The Ghata-prasadas of ancient texts ... 270
H. Sarkar
Temple Survey Project, Archaeological Survey of India.

Decline of Harappan Cultures: A re-look ... 280
Akkaraju V. N. Sarma
Temple University, Philadelphia.

Some Unique Mahisasuramardhini images from Mysore State ... 297
Dr. M. Seshadri
Director of Archaeology, Govt. of Mysore.

A unique Bronze Image of Bharata ... 300
B. N. Sharma
National Museum, New Delhi.

A Surya Shrine at Narthamalai, Tamil Nadu, India ... 303
K. V. Soundara Rajan
Archaeological Survey of India, Southern circle.

New Discoveries of Ash-Mound in North Karnataka : 308
Their Implications
Dr. A. Sundara
Dept. of Ancient History and culture, Karnatak University.

Restoration of Hindu Temples in South India and its conceptual 315
Background
G. R. H. Wright
UNESCO expert.

Coins of Samara Kolahala and Bhuvanekavira ... 322
Natana. Kasinathan
Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu.

Page

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The Skanda Cult ... 326
S. R. Balasubrahmanyam
New Delhi.

Reconstructing the Harappan Hinduism—Sources and Methods ... 335
Dr. Asko Parpola
Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Denmark.

Some Harmonising Tendencies in Ancient Hindu Culture ... 345
Dr. Vishva Bandu Shastri
Director, V. V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur.

Rise of Kulinism in Mithila and Bengal ... 349
Dr .D. C. Sircar
Director, Centre of Advanced study in Ancient History and Culture, Calcutta University.

Rg. Vedic Mythology ... 360
M. Sundar Raj
Madras.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Two Kraunca Birds ... 368
Prof. Harry M. Buck
American academy of Religion, Pennsylvania.

Narayana-Author of Hitopadesa ... 381
Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra
Lalit Institute of Pacific Archaeology, Ootacamund.

Early Missionaries as Manuscript Collectors ... 385
Dr. Albertine Gaur
British Museum, London.

Page

Present Condition of Sanskrit College ... 392
Dr. Edwin Gerow
Associate Director for South-Asia, Far-Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington.

Balinese hymns addressed to god Akasa ... 404
Prof. Dr. J. Gonda
Utrecht.

Palai Poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit ... 416
Siegfried Lienhard
Prof. of Indology, Stockholm University, Sweden.

The Udayasundari Katha of Soddhala ... 423
V. V. Mirashi
Nagpur.

The Date of Harisvamin, the Commentator of Satapatha Brahmana 436
Dr. C. B. Pandey
National Archives of India, New Delhi.

HISTORY OF THE FAR-EAST

Impact of Indian art on the art of South-east Asia ... 444
D. P. Ghosh
Former curator Asutosh Museum of Indian art, University of Calcutta.

Indian Diplomatic Theories in Ancient Cambodia (600–1300 A. D.) ... 452
Dr. Sachchidanand Sahai
Dept. of Ancient Indian and Asian studies, Magadh University.

Page

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

The City of Madurai in Classical Times ... 461
S. Thiruvenkatachari
Alagappa Chettiar training College, Karaikudi.

Portraits of Chola Kings and Queens ... 467
Late P. Z. Pattabiraman
French Institute of Indology, Pondichery.

Vijayanagar Paintings at Tiruvilimilalai ... 472
M. Chandramurti
Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu.

Fresh light on Pallava History ... 474
Saw. Ganesan

Note Sur Quelaques Images De Buddha Laotiens ... 479
Madeleine Giteau
Member, Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.

Le Ceremonial D'Exclusion De La Caste Dans L'Inde Ancienne ... 487
Pierre Rolland
Pondichery.

HISTORY AND EPIGRAPHY

S. ARASARATNAM

Francois Valentijn's Description of Coromandel

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri was an assiduous collector of foreign sources relating to the history and culture of southern India. He has used these writings of alien visitors to the southern country to extract information on contemporary society, and this has enabled him to provide a full account of the periods of history he was writing about. In the following pages an insight is given into one of these accounts of the early eighteenth century in furtherance of the work begun by Professor Sastri and as a tribute to this great scholar.

Francois Valentijn's monumental five-volume work, entitled *Oud en Niewe Oost Indien,* was published in Amsterdam in 1724–26. The fifth volume contains a description of Coromandel, in its first part, running to 198 folio pages together with maps and illustrations. It is a significant addition to Dutch historical and topographical writing on southern India. Two other works had preceded it. In 1672 the Rev. Philippus Baldaeus, a Dutch padre, who had worked in the East India Company's South Asian territories, published his *Naauwkeurige Beschrivinge van Malabar en Choromandel...en het Eyland Ceylon* An entire part of this work was devoted to the Coromandel coast where Baldaeus describes the Dutch forts and factories as well as the country, people and kingdoms of the area. This was followed in 1693 by *Op-en Ondergang van Choromandel* published by a Dutch physician in the service of the East India Company, Daniel Havart. This is an even more accurate and valuable description of the Coromandel lands, from the Golconda kingdom in the north to Madura in the south, with much light on society and social life.

Francois Valentijn was, like Baldaeus, a predikant in the Company's service, but served mostly in its eastern Archipelago factories of Amboina, Banda and Ternate for two terms: 1685–94 and 1705–13. While serving in these places he appears to have developed great interest in the peoples, cultures, societies and traditions of the eastern lands and seems to have prepared himself from the beginning towards the writing of an enormous work on the subject. Thus he collected documents in the form of despatches, reports, diaries, treaties and the like from both Dutch and Portuguese sources. He also accumulated an enviable

collection of native tradition in the form of folklore and palm leaf manuscript writings in the indigenous languages.

On his return to Holland, he worked on these abundant sources and published in the years 1724 to 1726 his enormous work in five volumes. It is natural that by far the most significant part of his work, and indeed the greatest part, should be concerned with the affairs of the Archipelago. A modern appraisal of the work says that "his work is a large, illustrated encyclopaedia of the Netherlands India of those days and adjacent territories".[1]

The style and methodology of the book may be often cumbersome and tortuous, but they are typical of much pre-modern historiography of Europe. The standard type of writing is a series of long extracts from original documents interspersed and linked together by the author's own narrative. Thus, its value to modern students of history derives far more from these precious excerpts from sometimes no longer extant documents than from the author's own narration. After the accepted practice of the times, Valentijn made use of the writings of his predecessors without suitable acknowledgement, though he does make a general statement at the opening of his account: "Various diligent men have put their thoughts on this subject on paper among whom Messers Baldaeus and Havart deserve special praise; as we ourselves, on matters that happened before our time, shall use their thoughts and those of others".[2] In the body of the text it is obvious that Valentijn borrows quite heavily from Baldaeus and from Havart even to the extent of verbatim copying and probably lifting from these works extracts of documents and indigenous texts. It should be remembered, however, that Baldaeus had similarly treated his Portuguese predecessors. The standards of the 17th and 18th century were, in this respect, far different from ours today.

The account of Coromandel in part one of the fifth volume is divided into four books. The first book, covering pages 1 to 56, is a description of the coast from Nagapatnam to Vizagapatnam in three chapters. The second book (pages 57–70) is devoted to recounting the events that happened in Coromandel from the first arrival of the Dutch on that coast. The third book (pages 71-125) deals with the major religions of the coast, Hinduism, Islam, Roman Catholic and

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1. H. J. de Graaf, "Aspects of Dutch Historical Writings on Colonial Activities" in D. G. E. Hall (ed.), "*Historians of Southeast Asia*", London 1961, p. 17.

2. Valentijn, V, p. 2.

Protestant Christianity. The fourth book (pages 126–198) describes the Burmese and Bengal coasts, reflecting the view of the times that these were appendages of the Coromandel coast or that this coast, in its broadest definition, embraced the shores of the Bay of Bengal.

At the outset, Valentijn tries to make his geographical definitions clear so as to give the reader an idea of the limits of the country he is describing. He divides India into two parts: 'India within the Ganges and India outside the Ganges'. The former he describes as all land lying between the two rivers, Ganges and Indus, and the latter as consisting of the kingdom of Bengal and peninsular India to the south of the Ganges. He subdivides peninsular India into Deccan, Golconda, Narasingha (Vijayanagar) and the coast of Malabar.

In his definitions of the geographical limits of these political entities, some of which had long been defunct, Valentijn reveals considerable knowledge of the historical geography of the area—a knowledge superior to that found in many European works of the 17th century. He is also aware of the limits of Coromandel proper which he recognises as the old Tamil kingdoms.

On the origin of the word, Coromandel, he says: "This coast generally bears the distorted name of Choromandel and is now only known thus; but rightly it is Sjola-Mandalam, after Sjola[1], a certain king of this name and Mandalam, a kingdom and this used to be in olden times a powerful kingdom in itself" (p. 2). Valentijn goes on to prove this derivation with a reference to a letter of a Genoese trader, Hieronymus, written on September 1, 1499 from Tripoli where the writer speaks of the abundance of sandalwood in a place called Sogomentil, which Valentijn contends is an altered form of Colamandalam.

From the point of view of Dutch trading interests, Valentijn divides the coast into north and south. In south Coromandel, the Dutch had five centres of trade along the coast: Nagapatnam, Porto Novo, Sadraspatnam, Tegenampatnam, Conjemere and Paleacatte. In North Coromandel they had six places both coastal and inland: Masulipatnam, Palicol, Dacherom, Bimlipatnam, Nagelawansa and Golconda (which was withdrawn later).

He begins the description of South Coromandel with the city and port of Nagapatnam. After a brief sketch of the contemporary plan of the city, he goes

1. In contemporary Dutch transliteration, *Sj* is often used to denote the sound *ch*.

on to relate its history from the time it was conquered by the Dutch in 1658 from the Portuguese. Soon after expelling the Portuguese, the Dutch incurred the hostility of the Nayak of Tanjore against whom they had to defend themselves. Valentijn also describes briefly the kingdom of Tanjore, the revenues of its king, the major towns and districts in the kingdom and its succeeding Nayaks. He says that the king has an income of three million guilders (or two million rupees) per year and that he had to pay the Moghul emperors an annual tribute of 3,33,333 rupees. He also speaks of the great flood of 1680 which destroyed many of the buildings of the city and the walls of its fort. Thereupon it was decided by the then Governor to restrict the area of the city and build a much smaller fort because its trade and traffic did not warrant the expense of a large fort and establishment.

However, with the arrival of Adriaan van Rheede as Commissary and Supervisor of Dutch activities in the area he took a different view of the potential of Nagapatnam. Van Rheede resolved to shift the capital of Dutch establishments in Coromandel from Paleacatte to Nagapatnam. He, therefore, decided to build an extended and strong city with an inner wall protecting the inner city where the Company's highest officers, goods and money could be lodged and an outer wall protecting the outer city where the native dependants of the Dutch could live. At a great expense of about 1½ million guilders a beautiful fort was built with five points or bulwarks and in 1690 the Governor of Coromandel, Laurens Pit, moved his capital there.

Valentijn reports the view of one of the past Governors of the coast that this was the most majestic castle on the entire east. Valentijn does not have a high opinion of the utility of this expensive fort and considers it a waste of money. He thinks that neither the volume of trade passing through the port nor the nature of the harbour and its roads warranted the construction of such a large fort. He also questions the wisdom of moving the capital so far south, while Paleacatte was in the more central location *vis-a-vis* the entire Coromandel coast. In these views Valentijn closely follows Havart who also indirectly questioned the wisdom of this move.[1]

Valentijn next provides a list of all Dutch officials who served in Nagapatnam from its conquest. He lists the *Opperhoofd* or Supervisor and his

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1. Havart, *Op-en Ondergang van Choromandel*, I, p. 15.

deputy. After 1691 he gives some names of the subordinate officials as well. The list of names, however, is not complete. The list of officers in each of the comptoirs is more complete. These begin with Nagapatnam and then proceed northwards to Porto Novo, Sadraspatnam, Tegenepatnam, Paleacatte, Masulipatnam, Palicol, Dacherom, Bimlipatnam. The total establishment at each of these places is listed and we are able to get an idea of the importance of each comptoir from the size of the establishment.

Now the description of each important trading post on the coast is resumed. The Danish fort and factory of Tranquebar, a few miles north of Nagapatnam, is treated with a brief history of its foundation and the villages that lie in its environs. The port of Porto Novo, important for the country trade to south-east Asia, is described in some detail. Valentijn relates the story of its foundation by the Portuguese who gave it the current name, also mentioning its Islamic name of Bandar and the Tamil name of Parangipettai. He notes the expansion of this place after the settlement there of the Portuguese who had been expelled from Ceylon, Tuticorin and Nagapatnam. He observes the thriving trade that the Portuguese as well as the Muslim and Hindu traders carried on with ports such as Achin, Malacca and Manila.

Noticing the development of trade from this place, other European traders such as Danes, English and Armenians also settled there. The Dutch too, wanting a share in this trade, secured permission from the Governor of the land, through a small present, to establish a factory there in 1690. The Dutch did much business in textiles in this place until the incursions of Shivaji and the Mahrattas made its hinterland unsafe and the trade dwindled.

From here Valentijn goes on to Tegenampatnam, the third Dutch comptoir on the coast, which is the contemporary European distorted version of Devanampatnam. The Dutch residence here dates from 1650. It was beautifully constructed, surrounded by a number of warehouses and dwelling houses for officers and enclosed on all sides by walls. It was provided with four defensive watch-posts which were guarded by Dutch soldiers against the Mahrattas who occupied the surrounding countryside. The Dutch contracted painted and dyed piece-goods of various sorts here and also established a dyeing work because of the plentiful supply of indigo to be found here. Valentijn provides some statistics, which he has taken from Havart, to show the enormous import and export trade carried on here by the Dutch.

A few miles landwards from Tegenampatnam lay the city and fort of Gingee, the seat of the Nayak of Gingee, which is described in enthusiastic terms by Valentijn. He compares the city to Amsterdam in size and details its strategic location and its perfect defences. The country of the Nayaks of Gingee was well-known to Europeans of this period and has been often described. Baldaeus gives a detailed account of the kingdom and the Nayaks of Gingee.

The next trading station described is Sadraspatnam, or Sadrangapatnam, as its local name goes. Valentijn is not very impressed with this place which he describes as 'no city, but only a large village'. However, a considerable amount of trade was carried on there in rice, piece-goods and building materials which were transported as far as Batavia. The King of Golconda had given the Dutch freedom from tolls in 1676.

The fifth comptoir in south Coromandel was Paleacatte. On the way to Paleacatte, the historic town and settlement of San Thome is mentioned briefly, with the legendary history of its foundation by Apostle St. Thomas, which Valentijn promises to describe in greater detail in the section on religion on the coast.

Then follows a beautiful description of the fort and town of Paleacatte, its location at the confluence of a river and a discussion of its strength and weakness as a port and as a defensible station. The place was once a very thriving centre of trade, but had declined now and with the removal of the capital to Nagapatnam, the trade had dwindled to a trickle. Valentijn gives an idea of the importance of this place in the pre-European era when a trading system operated between ships leaving this port to the ports of Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim, taking rice, oil, cloth, iron, honey and wax and bringing back tin. There follows a long list of Governors and other officers of the Company in Paleacatte from its inception in 1609 to 1723.

Then follows an account of the cyclone that raged in and around Nagapatnam on November 27 and 28, 1715. Two successive days of incessant rains and heavy winds caused damage and destruction in the southern corner of Coromandel. Nagapatnam and its environs were the worst hit with a number of houses and buildings in the city being blown down and washed away and the walls of the fort damaged considerably. Dutch and local shipping was destroyed and some small vessels were blown far into the interior and wrecked. The main

impact of the wind was felt below Tranquebar. This harbour and others to the north of it felt no considerable damage. The report mentions the damage to the rice fields of Tanjore and the destruction wreaked in the army camp of the Nayak of Tanjore when it was on an expedition against the Thevar of Ramnad.

Valentijn now passes on to a description of northern Coromandel, which he does through a land journey undertaken in 1671 by an officer of the Company, Pieter Smith, from Paleacatte to Masulipatnam. He notes here all the major towns and villages along this road, which runs parallel to the sea, a few miles inland, the produce of these villages, their temples and other items of interest. It ends with a detailed description of the harbour of Masulipatnam, the capital of the Company's establishments in north Coromandel.

It is described as a large and beautiful city with broad streets, populated by a wide admixture of races who had come there for commerce. It was also a notoriously unhealthy place, especially for Europeans, on account of marsh land and swamps and the dry north-westerly winds which blew from April to June. Masulipatnam occupied for long a key position in Dutch-Asian trade. Ships used to leave it direct to Europe as well as to Batavia, Ceylon, Persia and Surat. Besides these, several indigenous ships left each year to Burmese, Malayan and Sumatran ports as well as westwards to western India and Persia. But in the 18th century, the trade of the place declined and it only remained a place for the transhipment of goods to and from other quarters in north Coromandel.

The description of north Coromandel continues from Masulipatnam northwards until we reach the port of Nagalawansa where the Dutch had a residence and factory. The first chapter concludes here.

The second chapter begins with an account of the road inland to Golconda, the capital of the kingdom of that name. It becomes a description of the Telengana area, the villages, rivers, temples which abound there. In Golconda, where every major European nation had factories, an abundance of goods was bought and sold. Valentijn describes graphically this royal city and reveals the magnificence which the rule of the Sultans had bestowed on it.

He now goes on to describe the fourth Dutch factory in north Coromandel, the port of Palicol. Palicol is mainly noted for its trade in piece-goods, especially painted and dyed goods. A list of Dutch officials of Palicol concludes this chapter.

In the following chapter Valentijn continues the description of Dutch factories in north Coromandel with the port of Dacheram or Dacheriwaram, as its proper local name is. This too is an important place for the supply of textiles, for some rare varieties which are only found here, as well as for the sale of goods. After listing the officials who have served in this comptoir, Valentijn moves over to the last Dutch station of Bimlipatnam. The trade here had never been very considerable and as far as the Dutch were concerned it was a useful supply point of foodstuffs for Ceylon.

Then follows a description of ship movements in the Bay of Bengal, showing how the Company deployed its capital vessels to fetch its goods from the various quarters of the Bay, taking advantage of the appropriate monsoons and winds. The seasons of the area are detailed, the period of the various monsoons and the safe periods for seafaring. There is also a statement of the major land-marks, such as hills or temple towers that are sighted by navigators.

Valentijn's is a succinct account of the Coromandel coast, drawing from the most valuable portions of the more lengthy descriptions of Baldaeus and Havart. It has a fair degree of accuracy and authenticity, not only in its description of Dutch activities on the coast but also of society, life and religion. Its geographical and topographical value is great, at least for the coast and the ports, as Dutch knowledge in these respects was superior to that of any other European nation at this time. Its description of religious and social life confirms what we know from other authorities and enables us to get a broad picture of coastal societies of this period. It is a useful addition to our sources on the pre-modern period.

D. AWASTHI

A Critical Assessment of the Activities of a Forgotten English Administrator

"The three hundred and fifty years the English spent in India", says Philip Woodruff, "make one story, but a story, which unfolds itself like a stage play in a series of acts".[1] This play, sometimes tragic, sometimes comic, but eventually ending in tragi-comedy, produced both positive and negative results. As it happened, these "results" were fraught with momentous significance. In the heat and turbulence of the days that followed, it was well-nigh impossible to measure their effects with any pretension to scientific accuracy. Living contiguity to the torrential swiftness of the dramatic episodes that succeeded each other defied any attempts at analysis. Raw passions and unbridled chauvinism alienated the historians from their dispassionate role. However, with the perspective of time working in our favour, today an attempt can be made to evaluate these negative and positive results.

Negatively, the British rule in India kept people chained in slavery and made them forget their sense of honour and responsibility. The baneful influences of the alien rule were ramifying. They tainted the blood corpuscles of Indian society and exercised an immense demoralising effect on its body politic. In the economic sphere they sapped the very vitality of our country in so far as the entire traditional economic structure was reduced to an amorphous shambles. Even traditional institutions and methods for deciding and settling disputes did not escape the pernicious contagion. In short, the old order underwent a tremendous transformation and yielded place to a system which, on account of its manifold innovations, baffled the teeming millions of India.

There is no gainsaying the fact that earlier governmental systems were absolutist. Political rights and civil liberties had no place in those systems. The governed had no agency to influence the government of the day. Criticism of activities of government was construed as sedition and was dealt with as such. "The old link between man and man had been fear or personal loyalty; the new

1. Woodruff, P., The Men Who Ruled India, p. 13.

link (established by the British) was by means of institutions."[1] But the story is not as sad and clumsy as it is sometimes recounted to be. To counter-balance the pulverising forces of social and political exploitation were the humanistic reforms and philanthropic processes which played quite a significant role in ameliorating the fate of the common man. For evaluating these positive results of the British rule, it is not obligatory to accept the untenable thesis of "white men's burden" It was enunciated by the proponents of colonialism to make their rule look respectable to peoples of colonies and was intended to justify the colonising efforts of the British as a "responsibility" of the Victorian conscience to bring "light to the benighted Hindus abroad".[2] The myth of such chauvinistic propaganda has long been exploded. The prime need of the muse of Indian history to-day is to discard political blinkers and coloured glasses of flagrant racialism and to delineate the dynamic episodes of those distant days without loading the dice. It is true that in clipping the wings of the golden bird, the overzealous hands of the white masters inflicted untold violence on its venerable body. But to overlook the humanitarian reforms that were set afoot during the British regime in India or to ignore the potent restraining influence that were operating simultaneously would inevitably result in a travesty of historical facts. It is difficult to affirm no doubt that these measures were the outcome of enlightened self-interest. But there is no gainsaying the fact that the Company had stationed in our country a team of astute administrators, some of whom at least prompted by innate benevolence moderated the zeal for unscrupulous exploitation and thus prevented the massacre of the goose that laid the golden eggs. But for them perhaps the story of modern Indian would have been written in a substantially different way. The unflagging industry and incessant efforts of these officers in streamlining the administrative machinery and in the reorientation of the Indian economy call for the highest accolade from the impartial historian. Among these reputed worthies one of the highest places of honour is merited by Sir James Thomason, who administered the North-Western Province from 1843 to 1853, a period of germination and growth of important ideas and institutions in the sphere of administration. It was a period which saw the rise of the British empire. It was a decade during which three eminent Governors-General—Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie - were at the helm of affairs in India. It was also a decade very close to the uprising of 1857.

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1. Wint, Guy, The British in Asia, p. 59.

2. Rudolf, L.I., and Rudolf, S.H., Towards Political Stability in Under-developed Countries : The Case of India. published in Public Policy (1959) Year Book of the Graduate School of Public Administration. (Harvard University), p. 152.

Sir James Thomason who had to steer clear of the multitudinous administrative problems and explosive political situations did not act as a spineless stooge of the imperialist colonisers, nor did he obey their behests without evaluating their flaws and intrinsic merits vis-a-vis the conditions then obtaining in the North-Western Province.

With patience, moderation of thought, considerate deliberation, resolution and persistency, Thomason inaugurated an era of beneficent reforms conceived in an enlightened and humane spirit. The way in which he continued Bird's scheme to reform land revenue administration in accordance with Resolution Regulation IX of 1833, and brought it to its completion in 1849 was a magnificent achievement. His most valuable contribution in this field was the famous "Directions for Settlement Officers" drawn up in 1844.[1] These Directions constituted the first complete land revenue code compiled in India during the British period. A similar work entitled "Directions to Collectors" was also compiled by him which proved to be of great use in the revenue administration of the North-Western Province.[2]

Among the many delicate problems Thomason had to tackle the one which aroused considerable controversy and later had a bearing on the revolt of 1857 related to the large land-owners or taluqdars. He decided "that existing facts should be recognised where the taluqdars had securely established themselves as landlords; but where doubt existed, the original proprietors were to be supported and in such a case the settlement was to be made with them; the original proprietors were to pay the land tax direct to Government, while the taluqdars concerned were to be allowed a certain percentage of the land tenure in lieu of the profits they formerly got from the assignments of the revenue after the defrayal of all their charges".[3] This policy, while depriving many taluqdars of their positions and gains and while leading partly to the revolt of 1857, incidentally made Thomason the precursor of the great Indian patriots a century later completely abolished zamindaries and taluqdaries in the interest of the peasant's economic well-being.

In the field of education too, Thomason won lasting popularity. Throughout his regime he felt concerned over educating the people on right

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1. Home Public Consultations, No. 31 of January 17,1846.
2. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 92 of October 8,1850; also Commons Report, Accounts and Papers, Public Works, 1852-1853, Vol. LXXX gives an account of both of these 'Directions'.
3. Oswell, G. G. op. cit. p. 184.

lines and inculcating in them sound values and healthy attitudes. His stress on the necessity of imparting education through the vernacular languages to the Indian masses, not only in the study of humanities, but also of technical sciences, has a lesson to many a sceptical mind in our midst at present, who doubt the wisdom of making regional languages the medium of education.

Another notable innovation of Thomason was to levy a cess for the support of primary schools. Even in England no rate for education was levied until 1870,[1] but as early as 1851, Thomason began to levy a rate for the support of primary schools.

Thomason's administrative skill is also reflected in the fact that he made systematic efforts for the first time to evolve and organize a regular Education Department. His plan for the inspection and improvement of indigenous schools which in the first instance were introduced in eight districts in 1850, met with general approbation and subsequently, in recognition of its intrinsic merits the pattern of education conceived by Thomason gained a nation wide importance when the historic Despatch of Sir Charles Wood was issued in 1854.[2]

In addition to being a great champion of mass education, Thomason took the lead in the promotion of technical education. He established a College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee (now the Roorkee University) which was the first step taken towards providing technical education in Northern India.[3] Similar colleges on Roorkee pattern were later set up at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.[4]

Again the first effective step to improve the condition and discipline of the Indian prison houses was taken by Thomason. He appointed an Inspector of prisons whose office was found so beneficial that a similar office was created in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Punjab and Awadh.[5]

The foremost among the works of public utility which received Thomason's attention was the road transport system. Extensive renovations and repairs were carried out to the roads that were in disreputbale condition.

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1. Richey, Selections from Educational Records, Vol. II, p. 237.
2. Ibid : pp. 245-251 & 266-268.
3. Ibid : p. 266-268.
4. Dalhousie's Minute, dated 25th October, 1853; vide Ibid : pp. 356—357.
5. Muir, R., The Making of British India 1756-1858, pp. 363—376.

Several new highways were struck out through regions which were hitherto unchartered. Thomason's example was sedulously emulated by his successor, John Colvin and in the Punjab by the Lawrences.[1] The extensive repairing of the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the North-West Frontier Province whose strategic, military and commercial importance could not be over-assessed, may be singled out as an instance of Thomason's foresight and vision with which he planned his administration. The road was metalled on a system which was much later introduced in England by McAdam.[2]

Like the expansive and undulating roads that rolled across the province and welded the far-flung places into a compact whole, canals and their complex system of distributaries also received energetic encouragement in Thomason's administration. The vigorous prosecution of the Ganga Canal, which in itself is considered a feat of hydraulic engineering, and the remodelling of the Eastern Jamuna Canal were two other outstanding achievements of Thomason.

Briefly stated, Thomason thus contrived to brace up and strengthen the administration part by part. He took a lively interest in the training of subordinate personnel. The galaxy of European officers - John and Henry Lawrence, William Muir, John Strachey, Robert Montgomery and John Walter Sherer - received training in his unlegislated academy. The impeccable administrative acumen of these officers was recognised by Lord Dalhousie who in 1849, when the Punjab was made a separate province, insisted that the organization of the new administration should be entrusted to those trained by Thomason.[3]

Thus by his undivided attention to internal progress and public welfare he ushered in a period of unprecedented calm. He had his own special system. There might have been no ostentatious exhibition of sympathy, but his compassion was manifested in every administrative measure to which he was a party. His zeal for food works and philanthropic efforts has been aptly described as " a slow fire burning unceasingly and inextinguishably ".[4] A leading principle with him was " putting his own shoulder to the wheel, and his own hand to the plough ". By virtue of these and a score of other qualities of head and heart, he transformed the complexion of life in the North-Western

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1. Strachey, J., India - Its Administration and Progress, p. 214.
2. Oswell, G. G., Sketches of the Rulers of India, p. 189.
3. Temple, R., James Thomason, p. 97
4. Ibid : loc. cit.

5339

Province and it may be affirmed without any fear of contradiction that he found the province as a raw brick and left it as an appreciable piece of marble.

The length of time over which his period of office extended luckily gave him unique opportunities to familiarise himself with the needs of the people and the social modes that coloured the outlook of traditional orthodoxy. As a result of this prolonged apprenticeship in the social and political milieu of India, he evolved a policy of laissez faire, whose corner-stone was to support the old institutions and to discourage every innovation that was likely to offend the susceptibilities of the people. However, it should not be inferred that he was an obscurantist or that he was opposed to any progressive or reformative measures. For it was his constant aim to introduce, though cautiously and gradually, measures and schemes that were likely to inaugurate an era of peace and prosperity. It is a grim irony of history that destiny willed it otherwise and the dream of peace and tranquility changed into a nightmare of anarchy and lawlessness in the days soon after the end of his regime. "The best laid schemes O' mice an men / Gang aft a-gley ".[1] It is true that some of the steps taken by Thomason might have precipitated the explosive events of 1857, and, therefore, no exegesis of that political upheavel can fail to apportion some blame to Thomason's share. But it must be firmly stated that he bestowed his best attention and energy primarily on the social reconstruction and economic rehabilitation of the territory under his jurisdiction. For these uphill tasks he enlisted the support of the local people and made the praiseworthy effort to utilise the native potential also. Hardly any other example in British rule can be found to compare with Thomason and the keynote of his quality-administration was honesty of purpose. He came to fulfil and he actually fulfilled. Thus he guided the humanitarian spirit in directions scientifically sound and practically useful He also gave the people a sense of pride in Indian culture and heritage and taught them the gospel of patriotism.

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1. Burns, R:, 'To a Mouse' in The Poetical Works of Robert Burns, (London, 1968, p. 110.

BUDDHA PRAKASH

Samudragupta's Southern Expedition : A New Interpretation

In the Allahabad pillar inscription Samudragupta is said to have undertaken an expedition in South India and defeated a number of kings. From the enumeration of these kings in lines 19 and 20 of the inscription it appears that that they ruled in the eastern part of South India from Ganjam to Kanchipuram[1].

Maṇṭarāja was the ruler of Korala or Koloḍa in Ganjam District[2]; Svāmidatta had his capital at Koṭṭūra, modern Kothoor, 12 miles south-east of Mahēndragiri in the same district; Damana held sway over Eraṇḍapalla or Eraṇḍapalli, near Simhachalam, Kubera's state lay around Devarāṣṭra or Yellamañchili Taluk of the Vizagapatam District; Mahēndragiri's seat of power was Piṣṭapura, modern Piṭhāpuram in Godāvarī District; Nīlarāja of Aramukta

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1. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III pp. 6 ff; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol I pp. 263-26
कौसलकमहेन्द्र - महाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराज - कौरालकमण्टराज - पैष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रगिरि - कौट्टूरकस्वामिदत्त एण्डपल्लकदमन-काञ्चेयकविष्णुगोपावमुक्तकनीलराज - वैङ्गेयकहस्तिवर्म - पालक्कोग्रसेन-कौस्थलपुरक-धनञ्जयप्रभृतिसर्व्वदक्षिणापथराजग्रहणमोक्षानुग्रह जनितप्रतापोन्मिश्रमाहामग्गस्य ।

2. H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 453. This view is preferable to the view of a majority of scholars that Kurāla signifies the region of the Kollair Lake near Eluru in West Godāvari District, since in that area the Sālankāyana chief, Hastivarman, was dominant in that period. As regards the suggestion of a recent author, who has reiterated the view of Fleet, that Kurāla is a mistake for Kerala, it need not be taken seriously in view of the fact that Samudragupta is now known to have campaigned only from Ganjam to Kanchipuram and the earlier theory that he traversed the entire Deccan has been given up [J. F. Fleet, *Corpus*, Vol III, 7 F. N. 1; S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas* (Allahabad, 1967) p. 165]. For an effective criticism of this view see G. Jouveau - Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan* (tr. by V. S. Swaminadha Dikshitar (Pondicherry, 1920) pp. 60-61.

3. K. P. Jayaswal holds that Aramukta of Nilaraja may be identified with Arā province with its capital at Pithunda near Masulipatam. *History of India 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.* (Lahore, 1933)

was probably associated with Nīlapalli, near Yanam, in the same district[3]; Hastivarman of the Sālaṅkāyana dynasty was the king of Vengi or Peddavegi, seven miles north of Eluru, dominating the land called Reṇḍ-ēṟu-lu-naḍimi-viṣaya or Sīndhuyugmāntaradeśa between the Godāvarī and the Krishna; Ugrasena reigned at Pallakka or Palakkada, near Guntur, in Guntur district; Dhanañjaya was in occupation of Kusthalapura, modern Kullatur, near Polur in North Arcot and Viṣṇugopa belonged to the Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī or Kanchipuram near Madras[1].

In this way the region from Ganjam to Kanchipuram was split up into ten principalities.

He did not insist on annexing the territories of the kings he encountered, as was his consistent policy in the north. Rather he reinstated them in their kingdoms, thereby winning their gratitude (*anugraha*) and augmenting his glory. This was a significant departure from his imperialist philosophy. A careful study of the Allahabad pillar inscription shows that not only did he avoid the policy of *prasabhoddharana* (violent extirpation), which he adopted towards his northern antagonists[2], but he also eschewed the policy of *paricārakī-karaṇa* (reducing to servitude), which he followed in regard to the forest kings[3], demanding *sarvakaradāna-ājñākaraṇa-praṇāmāgamana* (payment of tributes, obeying of orders and offering of obeisance), which he pursued towards the frontier kings and the oligarchical tribes[4], and of making others offer submission, bring presents of maidens and solicit charters, embossed with the imperial Garuḍa emblem, to run their administration (*ātmanivedana-Kanyopāyanadāna-*

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1. The identification of the localities mentioned in the list of southern kings vanquished by Samudragupta is widely discussed and debated. See J. F. Fleet (*op. cit.*), D. C. Sircar (*op. cit.*), H. C. Raychoudhury (*op. cit.*), K. P. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*) R. N. Dandekar, *History of the Guptas* (Poona, 1941) pp. 49-56; R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age* pp. 9–10; R. Sathianathaier, *Studies in the Ancient History of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam*, pp. 13-19, B. G. Gokhale, *Samudragupta, Life and Times* (Bombay, 1962) pp. 48-49.

2. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 265, line 21
रुद्रदेवमतिलनागदत्तचन्द्रवर्म्मगणपतिनागनागसेनाच्युतनन्दिबलवर्म्माद्यनेकार्य्यावर्त्तराजप्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्त-प्रभावमहतः

3. *Ibid.*, परिचारकीकृतसर्व्वाटविकराजस्य

4. *Ibid.*, line 22
समतटडवाककामरूपनेपालकर्त्तृपुरादि प्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिर्म्मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमाद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानीक-काकखरपरिकादिभिश्च सर्व्वकरदानाज्ञाकरण प्रणामागमनपरितोषितप्रचण्डशासनस्य

garudmadāṅkasvaviṣayabhuktiśāsanayācana), which he resorted to in dealing with the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas and the dwellers of the Islands like Ceylonese.[1]

In the account of his treatment of the South Indian states none of these attitudes and policies is mentioned, showing that, far from annexing their kingdoms, he neither realised any tribute nor demanded any obeisance from them, nor even insisted on any act of subordination or capitulation on their part, but simply 'captured' and 'released' them, allowing them to rule over their realms as before without any idea or hint of being his feudatories or subordinates. What was the rationale of this unique policy?

Scholars have given different answers to it, like his interest only in the wealth of these kingdoms, the desire to acquire fame and glory and make a show of universal conquest with a view to performing the Aśvamedha and the normal difficulty of communications and administration in ruling over such a distant region separated by difficult terrain. For example, one writer has suggested that "the motive which prompted the kings Khāravela and 'Alāuddīn to send expeditions to the Far South was in operation in the fourth century A. D. as well and Samudragupta also wanted to help himself to the fabulous wealth of the southern kingdoms".[2] But does his record anywhere state that he realized tributes from the southern kingdoms or plundered them and thereby accumulated wealth? Far from suggesting it, the astute draftsman of the record makes a clear distinction between this policy of coaxing money, which he followed towards the frontier kingdoms and oligarchical tribes and that which he adopted in regard to the southern kingdoms. It should not be overlooked that the draftsman was very cautious in mentioning the different policies pursued by the emperor in respect of different peoples and distinguishing them from each other. To make a confusion in this matter is to miss the real import of this document.

Another writer has observed that "Samudragupta thought of performing the horse sacrifice after his encounter with the Nāgas, and his South Indian campaign was in the nature of an Aśvamedha campaign."[3] To counter this view we may cite the remark of D. C. Sircar that "Samudragupta got the

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1. *Ibid.*, lines 23-24
   दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहिशकमुरुण्डैः सैंहळकादिभिश्च सर्व्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्मनिवेदनकन्योपायनदानगरुत्मदाङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासनयाचनाद्युपायसेवाकृतबाहुवीर्य्यप्रसरधरणिबन्धस्य ।
2. S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 165-166
3. B. G. Gokhale, *Samudragupta: Life and Times*, p. 48

inspiration of performing the Aśvamedha from his connection with South India which may rightly be called the land of vedic customs."[1]

If Samudragupta had no idea of performing the Aśvamedha before his campaign in South India and got inspiration to do so from there, how can it be said that he launched this campaign as part of his preparation to undertake this sacrifice? Besides, a study of the performers of the Aśvamedha just before the time of Samudragupta shows that none of them made such far-flung conquests. For example, the Nāgas or Bhāraśivas, who performed as many as ten Aśvamedhas, did not invade the South and, conversely, the South Indian chiefs, like the Iksvāku king, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṁtamūla I, the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I, the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, the Sālaṅkāyana king Devavarman etc., did not conquer the north in order to qualify themselves for this august ceremony. In fact, at that time, the conquest of the whole of India, northern and southern, was not a necessary condition to undertake this sacrifice and Samudragupta could have conveniently performed it even without the travail of the southern campaign. Then, the omission of the reference to the Aśvamedha in his record shows that it was not the guiding principle or motive force of his campaigns. So instead of treating his campaigns as the outcome of his idea to perform the Aśvamedha, we should consider the performance of the sacrifice as the outcome of his campaigns.

As regards the view that his southern policy was dictated by the difficulty of communications and administration, it is too homespun to merit discussion.[2] Even in North India distance was a disintegrating force, as the several revolts of the people of Takṣaśilā against the Mauryas prove and in South India also, in spite of it, northern powers could maintain effective sway, as Aśoka did by setting up his provincial seats at Tosali and Suvarṇagiri. If Samudragupta could realise tributes from the frontier kingdoms, some of them in mountainous regions, and if he could insist on personal obeisance and submission from the rulers of distant islands or the Śaka Kuṣaṇa realm, what prevented him from adopting a similar vigorous policy in regard to the South Indian kingdoms? In fact, to understand the policy of Samdragupta in the south, we have to look beyond the boundaries of India to the world around it.

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1. D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Śatavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, p. 87
2. R. C. Majumdar — *The Classical Age*, p. 13

In the fourth century east and south-east Asia was passing through a great economic change. After the sack of Lo-yang by the Hsiung-nu in 311, North China was plunged in chaos and there was a big exodus of people towards South China. According to the "Chin Shu", from 311 to about 325, 60 to 79 per cent of the upper classes moved from North China to the south of the Yangtse.[1] These people carried with them their high standards of living, taste for decent things and liking for foreign objects. As a result the cities of the Yangtse valley became centres of consumption of luxury goods, foreign products and unique objects which encouraged trade and contact with the external world. But, on account of the frequent conflicts with the states of the north and the uncertainty and insecurity of the overland routes due to the insurgence of the nomadic people, they had to develop sea-borne trade to meet their requirements. This change is noticed in the 'Liu sung shu' in the following words :

"When the Chin dynasty moved south, it was separated from the Yellow River and Kansu by a great distance. The barbarians obstructed the routes and the foreign regions were now as remote as heaven. Ta-ch'in and India were far away in the vastness of the west. Even when the two Han dynasties had sent expeditions, these routes had been found to be particularly difficult and some merchandise, on which (China) depended, had come from 'Tong-king' it had sailed on the waves of the sea, following the wind, and travelling from afar to (China).....There are articles such as rhinoceros' horn and kingfisher feathers and rarities such as serpent pearls and asbestos ; there are thousands of varieties, all of which the rulers eagerly coveted. Therefore ships came in a continous stream and merchants and envoys jostled with each other." [2]

The "Nan Ch'i Shu" also mentions this change as follows :—

"Of all the precious things of the world none are better than those of the southern barbarians. They are hidden in the mountains and in the sea. They are innumerable. Merchant ships arrive from afar and bring these things to the Southern Provinces. Thus it is that Tong-king and Kuangtung are rich and well stocked. The goods are stored in the imperial treasury." [3]

This change increased the importance of maritime commerce and brought into prominence ports and islands of South east Asia as the arteries of trade

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1. Lieu-Sheng Yang, 'Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic studies*, Vol IX (1945—47) p. 115
2. O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commera : A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya*, p. 77
3. *Ibid.*, p. 77

between China and the West. Through them the products of India were carried to China. For example, in 430, the tribute from the Ho-lo-tan country in Shē-p'o chou or Java comprised a diamond ring, red parrots, white Indian cloth (probably muslin) as well as cloth from Gandhāra.[1] In return for Indian goods, Chinese silks also reached the Indian ports through these islands by sea as the Tamil work, Śilappadikāram states.[2] In this way the political conditions in China created a revolution in the world of commerce and navigation bringing the eastern coast of India into intimate relationship with the countries of south-east Asia and through them with the Chinese mainland.

From the first century A. D. the precious goods of Western Asia and the Mediterranean world, known to the Chinese as Ta-ch'in, began to be taken via Ceylon and South Indian ports to south-east Asia and thence to China. One route lay from Indian and Ceylonese ports to the east coast of what is called Tun-sun on the Malaya Peninsula.[3] Then, crossing the land strip, it again joined the sea on the western ports of the same and reached Chiao Chou (Tong-king) that was in close contact with South China. The commerce along this route filliped up the rise of Fu-nan and the growth of piracy on the coast of Campā, Another route lay to the south and passed through the Straits of Malacca leading to the rise of trade centres like Ko-ying on the east coast of Sumatra and Ssû-t'iao in Java. About Ko-Ying the Chinese text Lo-Yang chia lan chi states that it "is a kingdom of the southern barbarians; it is a very powerful one; its population is very numerous. it produces bright pearls, gold, jade, crystal rarities and arecanuts".[4] In the third century Ko-Ying had trade relations with India, particularly with a port called Ku-nu or Chia-na-t'iao, about which the Nan chou i wu chih states as follows:

"Ku-nu is about 2000 li from Ko-ying. There are more than 10,000 families. They all use four-wheeled carts driven by two or four horses. People from all corners meet there. There are always more than a hundred ships (in the harbour). The crowds gathering in the market are more than 10,000. Day and night they do business. Drums and horns are sounded on the ships. The clothes of these people resemble the clothes of the Chinese.[5]

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1. *Ibid*, p 78
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Tamil Land and the Eastern Colonies', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. XI (1944) pp. 26-28
3. Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (kuala Lumpur, 1961) pp. 15-21
4. O W. Wolters, *Op. Cit.*, p. 60
5. *Ibid.*, p, 59

O. W. Wolters,[1] following a suggestion of B. N. Mukherjee, is inclined to identify Ku-nu with a harbour in the Gulf of Kutch called Kanthaka, whereas L. Petech is inclined to place it in South-east Asia itself. The first suggestion is not very plausible because, firstly, it does not stand to reason that the traders of Ko-Ying in East Sumatra would bypass all the excellent ports and harbours of South India and sail the enormously long distance to Kanthaka in the Gulf of Kutch and, secondly, this port is not known to have played any significant part in the history of Indian commerce in ancient times as will be clear from the fact that it is not mentioned in any important text. As for the second view it also does not carry conviction because, firstly, it is not precisely identified with any particular place and, secondly, the distance of about 2000 miles between it and Ko-ying precludes its location in south-east Asia. It appears that it represents the name of Kāñcī reproducing its first two letters *ka* and *na*. This suggestion acquires some weight from the maritime and commercial connection between Kāñcī and south-east Asia in early times especially under Pallava rule.[2] To it Wolters may object on the ground that horse driven carts and Chinese dress were out of place in a South Indian context. But it should be borne in mind that by the third century horses were quite in use in South India. A Tamil text *Paṭṭinappālai* speaks of the import of horses by ship in the principal cities of South India.[3] The classics of the Sangam age refer to cavalry as an arm of a South Indian army.[4] Hence it is no wonder that horses and horse drawn carriages or chariots plied on the roads of important South Indian cities like Kāñcī. As regards the reference to dress resembling that of the Chinese, it seems to be vague, but, granting that it stood for the trousers and belts of a horse-riding population that had been introduced in northern China from the steppes, we should not doubt its vogue in Kāñcī under the Pallavas, since some of their traits are clearly of northern origin. Though the suggestion that the Pallavas themselves were the Pahlavas or Parthians, made by Lewis Rice,[5] Venkayya[6] and Jouveau-Dubreuil,[7] has little substance in view of the fact that they call themselves Brāhmaṇas of the

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 272
2. H. B. Sarkar, 'South India in Old Javanese and Sanskrit Inscriptions', *Bijdraged Tot de Taal—, Land-en Volkenkunde*, Deel 125 (1969) pp. 103 — 206
3. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 27; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 134
4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Op. cit.*, p. 128
5. Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* (1909) p, 53
6. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (1906—7), p. 210
7. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 47

Bhāradvāja gotra in their records, it goes without sayi ng that they had imbibed some northern influences, particularly in dress and coiffure, as the design of the crown, shaped like an elephant's scalp, resembling that of the Bactrian ruler Demetrius on his coins, found in the sculpture of Hiraṇyavarman, father of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñcī, indicates.[1] The consensus of scholarly opinion is that the Pallavas were a northern people, though opinions differ as to which stock they belonged to, Jayaswal thinking them to be a branch of the Vākāṭakas, Sircar conjecturing their connection with the Sungas and Mahalingam considering them a sideline of the Sālaṅkāyanas.[2] Hence it would not be abnormal if they displayed some northern features in their dress and deportment. But, as said above, the reference to Chinese dress in the above narrative is vague and it is difficult to draw any conclusion from it. On the other hand, the immense commercial and maritime importance of Kāñcī, implied in the above passage, vouches for its identification with Kn-nu, mentioned in it. Thus we have an important piece of evidence showing the prominent place Kāñcī was acquiring in the world of trade and commerce, particularly that between India and south-east Asia, in the third century A. D., which was extended to China in the fourth under the circumstances studied above.

Indian traders in south-east Asia found many products there which they could give out as their own genuine goods. For example, they made use of the Indonesian cubeb pepper (Piper Cubeba), which they called viḍaṅga, for selling in adulteration with or as a substitute for black pepper which was in increasing demand in the west. In the beginning, the Indonesions were ignorant of this trick of this trade whereas the Indians grew fabulously rich through it, but, gradually, as a result of their contact, as Wolters says, "the Indonesian merchants probably became increasingly aware of the commercial value of some of their natural produce in the form of drugs "[3], a fact which gave rise to political organization and the growth of powerful states in that region, an early instance of which was Ko-Ying and a later development Śrīvijaya. Hence, in course of time, the unchallenged exploitation of the economic potential of south-east Asia by Indian merchants, living along the east coast, gave place to a hard competition

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1. Venkatasubbha Ayyar in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XII p. 11
2. K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* pp. 179-85; D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Śatavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, p. 156; T. V. Mahālingam, *Kāñcipuram in Early South Indian History*, pp. 23-24
3. O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce : A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya*, p. 59

for it in which, besides the Indians, the islanders of south-east Asia and the Ceylonese and, to some extent, the Chinese also became contenders. This situation naturally called forth a sustained and organized effort on the political and military plane, which was beyond the competence of private traders, navigators, and colonists of the coastal regions and also the conflicting states, principalities and ports, dotting them, and rather necessitated an imperial undertaking of the magnitude of Samudragupta's campaign.

As said above, a serious rival of South India in the trade of the Indian Ocean was Ceylon. T'ang P'ang, the author of the T'ang tzū, wrote in the third century that "Shih-tzū (this was the name of Ceylon used by Fa-Hsien also) produces cinnabar, mercury, *hsiünlu*, turmeric, storax, costus and such perfumes".[1] Some of these products could have been brought there from West Asia. The port of Mahātittha in that island served as a great emporium for this trade. It is noteworthy that both Fa-Hsien and Guṇavarman took ship for south-east Asia from Ceylonese ports. It is also significant that some Ceylonese toponyms were transferred to the localities of this region, for example, Ssū-t'iao, by which K'ang T'ai understood Ceylon, was used for some Indonesian locality in the Nan chou i wu chih.[2] Thus, as Hourani says. "Ceylon was the entrepot for sea trade between China and the Near East."[3]

Another important factor in the maritime commerce was the growth of Persian shipping in the Sassanid period. Ever since the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, Ardashir I (226/7 — 242), improved the ports of the Persian Gulf, shipping and commerce from there had a phenomenal rise. A large number of West Asian products began to be carried through the Indian Ocean to Ceylon and thence to south-east Asia and further to China under the general label of Po - ssū or Persian. In fact the entire trade of the southern seas went by the name of Po - ssū or Persian in China.[4] In particular, the resins and perfumes of Persia, which were highly prized for their medicinal properties in China, stimulated the production and sale of many adulterants and substitutes in south-east Asia and

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1. *Ibid.* p. 80
2. *Ibid.*, p. 81
3. George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton, 1951) p. 40
4. O. W. Wolters, *Op. cit.*, pp. 129-138; 'The Po-ssū Pine Trees', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XXIII (1960) pp. 340, 349

thereby enhanced the commercial and economic importance of those regions and even created the impression that *Po-ssū* or Persia was situated there, which resulted in the transfer of this name to some Indonesian localities. Cosmas Indicopleustes, writing in the first half of the sixth century, noted Persian ships entering the ports of Ceylon and Persian missionaries of the Nestorian order visiting the Island. Earlier, probably in the first half of the fifth century, Lin Hsin-ch'i, in his *Chiao Chou Chi*, remarked that, "the Persian (Po-ssū) king asked for the hand of the daughter of the king of Ssū-t'iao (Ceylon) and sent a gold bracelet as a present."[1] At that time the sick trade of China was fast passing into the hands of the Persians which caused some anxiety in the Byzantine world.

However, in spite of the growth of the interests of China, south-east Asia, Ceylon and Persia in the maritime commerce of the fourth century, the carrying trade was mostly in the hands of the Indians. Auguste Toussaint has shown that from the first century A. D. the voyages to India made by the Chinese were far less numerous than those the Indians made to China.[2] Procopius refers to Indian ships in his account of the Persian silk monopoly in Ceylon. Ibu Rustals says that before Islam, seagoing ships from India used to sail up the Tigris as for as Al-Madāin (ctesiphon). Al-Tahari gives the Pre-Islamic name of Al-Uubullah as Farj-al-Hind or "the marches of India". He adds that its Persian governor had to fight the Indians on the sea.[3] Tabari and Hamza refer to the invasion of Ceylon by the Sassanian monarch khusrau I (531—578.[4]) In South Arabian sea Sacotra bore an Indian name Dvīpa *Sukhatara* and was home of many Indians.[5] In the eastern waters also Indian ships were quite active. The ship, which took Fa-Hsien from Tāmralipti to Ceylon in 14 days, and another, which carried him along with more than 200 men and a great deal of merchandise from Ceylon to Java in about 90 days, were in all probability Indain ships. However, Indonesian shipping was also making rapid progress and its vessels came to be known as *K'un-lun-po* or K'un-lun- ships in Chinese[6].

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1. Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Vol. I pp. 542-43
2. Auguste Toussaint, *History of the Indian Ocean* (English Translation by June Guicharnand, London, 1966) p. 75
3. G. F. Hourani. *Op. cit.*, p, 39.
4. Hadi Hasan, *A History of Persian Navigation* (London, (1920) pp. 65-68).
5. G. F. Hourani, *Op. cit.*, p. 39.
6. O. W. Wolters, *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

Thus towards the end of the third century and in the fourth the disturbances on the land route and the loss of Roman influence in Asia, manifest in the forgetting of the very connotation of the term 'Indian' and its application to the Abyssinians and Himyarites, led[1] to the importance of the sea routes as channals of trade. In the fourth century the demand of Western and Indian goods in China further enhanced the importance of maritime commerce. As a result the volume of trade between China and South-east Asia on the one hand, and between the latter and the ports along the eastern coast of South India nnd Ceylon, which also attracted the trade of Persia and Western Asia, on the other, greatly increased, consequently, in India, the regions along the eastern coast saw a rapid development of shipping and maritime activity which brought immense wealth and affluence and thereby gave new turns to the course of history. But, side by side, the Indonesians and Ceylonese, and later the Persians, also became conscious of the potentialities of this economic situation and tried to collect and obtain as much benefit from it as they could do and thereby posed a challenge for the Indians of Eastern Deccan. Hence, to maritime advantages and economic benefits of the increasing trade with South-east Asia and China, it became necessary for Indian powers to have a say in the affairs of Ceylon and the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago. This necessitated intensification of the activity of organization and unification, both on the economic and political planes, along the centres of navigation and commerce of the eastern coast of South India. The campaign of Samudragupta in the coastal region from Kalinga to Kāñcī, which was the hub of maritime activity, as seen above, was the answer of this necessity and the response to this challange.

The Allabahad Pillar Inscription states that the Ceylenese and dwellers of all the islands offered their submission to Samudragupta, bringing presents of girls and soliciting royal charters, bearing the Garuḍa emblem, for the governance of their respective territories. That this is not a vain boast and that these people did develop some contacts with the Gupta monarch is manifest from the arrival of a Ceylonese mission to his coast as reported by Wang Hiuen-t'se.[2] This mission was sent by King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon (352-379 A. D.) to Samudragupta to seek permission for the construction of a monastery and rest-house for Ceylonese pilgrims at Bodhagayā who were put to considerable

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1. G. F. Homani, *Op. cit.*, p. 39.
2. V. A. Smith, 'The Inscription of Mahānāman at Bodhagayā', *Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 192.

inconvenience for want of suitable accommodation. Through the mission the Ceylonese king sent rich presents to Samudragupta referring to which Hsüan Chwang later wrote that "he gave in tribute to the king of India all the jewels of his country."[1] As for the tradition of the Ceylonese King offering his daughter in marriage to the Gupta King, it has found a lasting place in the popular lore of ancient India as we learn from Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* where it is said that the king of Ceylon offered his daughter to Vikrama with the following words, "I have a jewel of a daughter, all I ever have, King Vikramāditya is the proper repository of all jewels; therefore I present this girl of slender waist to him by word of mouth."[2] Since in later legends and anecdotes Vikramāditya becomes almost a synonym of all Gupta monarchs, the achievements of Samudragupta were also attributed to him and, accordingly, his acceptance of the offer of a matrimonial alliance or present of a girl from the King of Ceylon was also remembered through his name. Thus it is patent that the Gupta monarch had close relations and dealings with the King of Ceylon. As regards his connections and contacts with the dwellers of the islands of South-east Asia, the evidence of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription is corroborated by the spread of a vigorous movement of Brahmanical culture in Indo-china and Indonesia in the fourth century. In Funan the tradition of the second Kauṇḍinya signified the restoration

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1. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol, II, p. 134 has the following account :

"Then he gave in tribute to the king of India all the jewels of his country. The King, having received them as tribute, from a principle of duty and affection to his distant ally, he sent messengers to say, "what can I now do in return for the decree?"

"The minister said," The king of simhala salutes the king of India (*Mahaśrīrāja*) The reputation of the Mahārāja has spread far and wide and your benefits have reached to distant regions. The śramaṇas of this inferior country desire to obey your instructions and to accept your transforming influences.....I desire to build in all the Indies a convent for the entertainment of such strangers who may have a place of rest between their journey there and back. Thus the two countries will be bound together and travellers be refreshed".

In this passage we hear a ring of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

2. *Bṛhatkathamañjarī* of Kṣemendra (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press Edition), P. 413.

अस्ति मम सर्वस्वं कन्यारत्नमनुत्तमम् ।
विक्रमादित्यदेवश्च रत्नानां भाजनं विभुः ॥
समर्पितेयं वचसा मया तस्मै सुमध्यमा ।

of the old Funanese dynasty and the overthrow of the rule of the usurper Tchan-t'an or his successor.[1] This restored Kauṇḍinya had a penchant for Vaiṣṇavism and Sanskrit culture as the Neak Ta Dambang Dek Inscription of Queen Kulaprabhāvatī and the Proasat Pram Loven Inscription of Guṇavarman indicate.[2] It appears that this religious and cultural growth owed its genesis to the links with the Guptas. About the same time in Campā Bhadravarman defeated the Chinese, united the three provinces of Amarāvatī (northern Campā), Vijaya (Central campā) and Pāṇḍuranga (southern campā), constructed the temple of śiva at Myson, which became a sort of national sanctuary, studied the four Vedas himself and promoted their study in his kingdom and issued inscriptions in chaste Sanskrit, and his son Gaṅgārāja came to India to spend his last days on the bank of the sacred river Gaṅgā. In the Malaya Peninsula H. G. Quatrich Wales has excavated the foundations of ten śaiva temples in the middle course of the Bujang which show Brahmanical influence. References to the colonies and settlements of Brāhmaṇas in the Kingdom of Tun-sun Chih-tu also point to the same conclusion.[3] In Java the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman mention his ancestors who are called *rajadhiraja* and *rajarşi*, the former having cut a canal named candrabhāgā after the name of the famous river in the Punjab now called chenab. He himself caused another canal to be dug and named it Gomatī after a river in North India and donated 1000 cows to the Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of the flowing of water in it.[4] In Borneo King Mūlavarman, son of Aśvavarman and grandson of Kauṇḍinya, performed a sacrifice, called *Bahusuvarṇaka*, also said to have been undertaken during the reign of Rāma in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the Rāmāyaṇa and bestowed various gifts, including one of 20,000 cows on Brāhmaṇas who assembled there from various parts.[5] In connection with the said sacrifices he set up a number of *yūpas* (posts) of which seven have come down to us. The inscriptions on them, teeming with references to Bhagiratha, Sagara and Yudhiṣṭhira, show a deep influence of Indian epics. The fact that in Java canals were named after North Indian rivers and in Borneo inscribed *yūpas* were set up, as at Isapur near Mathurā, Bijaygarh near Banaya

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1. Buddha Prakash. *India and the World* (Hoshiarpur, 1964) p. 157.
2. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscription of Kambuja*. pp. 1, 3-4;
3. Buddha Prakash, *Op. cit.*, pp. 40 - 41, 66.
4. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule*, pp. 3 - 67, B. R. Chatterji and N. P. Chakravarthi, *History of Indonesia*, pp. 124 - 133.
5. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Op. cit.*, pp. 85 - 92, B. R. Chatterji and N. P. Chakravarti, *Op. cit.*, 111 - 124.

in the Bharatpur State and a number of places in Rajasthan, shows that North Indian influences reached and dominated there obviously through the contact of the Guptas.[1] Not only in South-east Asia, but also in China, Gupta influence, reaching through her southern regions, manifested itself on the Buddhist art in her north-eastern provinces as shown by A. C. Soper.[2] All these facts prove that a strong wave of Brahmanical culture swept over almost the whole of South-east Asia and probably even beyond and that this wave issued from the surging tide of Hindu renaissance under the Guptas in India. Obviously its source and channel was Samudragupta's campaign in South India with its colonial and commercial overtones.

In the generation following Samudragupta the cultural change in this region became quite pronounced as we learn from the account of Fa-Hsien who toured through it in 1412-14. He states that in Ceylon, which had been the stronghold of Buddhism, "the King practises the Brahmanical Purifications" and that in the capital city of it "there are many vaiśya elders and *sa-po* (*sārthavāha*) merchants whose houses are stately and beautiful."[3] This shows that the successor of Meghavarṇa switched over to the Brahmanical faith, though his whole milieu was Buddhist, and that in his Kingdom Indian merchants, going by the name of *vaiśya* and *sārthavāha* had a dominant position particularly in the commercial field. Aout Shō-po (Java or Borneo) he states that there "various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking about."[4] Hence he stayed there for not more than five months. In this way Brahmanical faith and culture had spread from Ceylon to South-east Asia by the beginning of the fifth century. Obviously they were carried by a strong current of migration and colonization of peoples from the east coast an indication

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1. B. Ch. Chhabra, 'Yupa Inscription', *Indian Antiquary* (1947) reprinted in *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule*, pp. 101 - 108.

2. A. C. Soper, 'South Influences on the Buddhist Art of the sung dynastic Period ; *Bulletin of the Museum of Far-eastern Antiquities*, Vol. XXXII (1960) pp. 47 - 112, 'Two Stelae and a Pagoda on the Central Peak, Mt. Sung', *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, Vol. XIII (1962) pp. 41 - 48.

3. James Legge, *The travels of Fa-hien*, p. 104. The word *sa-po* is transcribed as sabean by Beal and, following him, by Legge. See also Hourani, *Op. cit*, p. 38. But Pau Pellict has shown that is an error and that *sa-po* should be taken as the transcription of the Indian term *sārthavāha* (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, Vol. IV (1904) p. 356 Note 1 *Toung P'ao*, Vol. XIII (1912) p. 456.]

4. James Legge, *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

of which can be had from the movement of the people of Kalinga in such large numbers as to create in Java a New Kalinga which is transcribed by the Chinese as Ho-ling.[1] The pressure of these developments told heavily on the states of this region as is clear from a lament and supplication of a ruler of Ho-lo-tan at the Chinese court in 430.[2]

It is clear from the above study that, while compaigning in South India, Samudragupta's chief interest and objective was to establish his supremacy in the eastern part of the Indian ocean and dominate the commercial and colonial activity going on through it and acquire the material benefits that it brought and, for that purpose, bring the Ceylonese and dwellers of the islands within the sphere of his influence or the circle of his subordinates. In pursuance of this policy he wanted from the Kings of the eastern coast of South India from Kalinga to Kāñcī only the bases of embarkation and the facility of naval operations and maritime undertakings from there. R. C. Majumdar has suggested that "his march along the coastal regions makes it likely that the land operations were aided by the navy the possession of which is implied in his dominion over islands in the sea."[3] In fact the land operations seem to have been intended simply to overawe the local rulers into giving him the facility to set the navy in motion against the Ceylonese and the dwellers of the islands with the objective outlined above. Hence, while he simply defeated and reinstated or captured and released the rulers of eastern Deccan without coaxing from them any presents or tributes

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1. G. Coedes, *Les èlats hindouisès d'Indochine et d'Indonesie, pp.* 137—138.

2. The King of Ho-lo-tò', which must be a variant of Ho-lo-tan in She-po (Java), wrote the following letter to the Lin sung emperor wen Ti in 430 A.D. :

   "My country once had a large population and was prosperous. My country was never bullied by other countries. But now the situation is different and we have become weak. My neighbours vie with each other in attacking me. I beg Your Majesty to extend your protection from afar. I also hope that there will be no trading restrictions which will affect coming and going of your merchants, if you pity me I hope you will send missions ordering these countries not to maltreat us so that Your Majesty's reputation as the protector of the weak will be known everywhere. I am now sending to you two trustworthy officials, I hope, you will instruct the canton officials to send back my ship and not permit them to rob my ship. I wish hereafter to send missions every year."

   Cited in O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian commerce A study of the Origins of Śrīviṭaya* p. 151.

3. R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, pp. 13-14. Auguste Toussaint (*History of the Indian Ocean*, p. 72) says that "India seems to have been the first country of the Indian Ocean to possess real battle-fleets."

or even demanding their formal subordination much less coveting their territory or robing them of their Kingdoms, he, on achieving success against the islanders, part of which consisted in personal obeisance, offering matrimonial alliances and ruling over their realms by his permission or sufferance. Thus it appears that during his southern campaign Samudragupta's main object was to proceed against the islanders, and bring them to subjection and not merely to reduce the states of South India as the difference in the policies pursued by him in regard to them respectively indicates.

Nevertheless Samudragupta's campaign brought about some significant changes in the political picture of South India which became marked during the reign of his successors. In Kaliṅga the Māṭhara King Mahārāja Śaktivarman of Piṣṭapura, modern Pīṭhāpuram, reduced the plethora of principalities, into which it was divided, and assumed the title of *Kalingādhipati* as we learn from his Ragolu Grant.[1] His claim to be the ruler of the land from the Kṛṣṇa to the Mahānadi, made in the Ningondi Copper-plate inscription,[2] though exaggerated, shows that his conquests were quite extensive and he took effective steps towards the attainment of a paramount status. In the fifth or sixth century his successors were supplanted by the Vāsiṣṭa Devarāṣṭra whose King Anantavarman assumed the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati* as the Siripuram and Srungavara Pukota Grants [3] state. Between the Godāvari and the Kṛṣṇa the Sālaṅkāyana Kingdom suffered a setback for we do not know of any achievement of Hastivarman's successor Nandivarman, while the latter's successor, Caṇḍavarman, had to contend hard with his feudatories as his epithet *pratāpopanatasāmanta* shows. After him Nandivarman II is known from several grants but a new dynasty, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, was making headway in that region in the beginning of the fifth century. The greatness of this dynasty was founded by Mahārāja Mādhavavarman I Janāśrava who is credited with the performance of eleven Aśvamedhas and one thousand Agnistomas in a number of inscriptions.[4] He married a Vākāṭaka princess and had by her a son, Vikramendra, who, on coming to the throne, called himself the ornament of the two houses of the Vākāṭakas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. His very name shows the influence of the Gupta monarch-hearing titles based on *vikrama*. To the south of the Kṛṣṇa the Pallavas liquidated

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 1.
2. D C. Sircar in *The Classical Age*, p. 213.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
4. Chikkulla Plates, *Eprigraphia Indica* Vol. IV, 193 ff. ; Ramatirtham Plates, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XII, p. 133; Ipur Plates, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XVII, p. 334.

the recalcitrant chiefs and consolidated their hold over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as the performance of an Aśvamedha by a successor of Viṣṇugopa, named Kumāra viṣṇu, indicates. We have seen that this sacrifice was performed by the Pallava King Śivaskandavarman earlier. Therefore the performance of the said sacrifice by Kumāraviṣṇu again signified the restoration of the glory of the dynasty after a period of temporary eclipse. But about the same time, another power, the Kadambas, rose in south-western Deccan, and its founder Mayūraśarman, later Known as Mayūravarman, signalized his advent by the performance of the Aśvamedhas whose number is given as eighteen in later records. The names of some of his successoss, Bhagiratha, Raghu' Kākustha etc., show a deep influence of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, coming from the Gupta court, which their matrimonial alliances with the Gupta monarchs strengthened. In Western Deccan the Vākāṭakas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Kuntala country had vital links with Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Thus the entire Deccan, eastern and western, saw the establishment of powerful dynasties under the influence of the Guptas. In this way Samudragupta's southern campaign, though motivated by the objective of establishing his supremacy in the eastern waters and bringing within his sphere of influence the people of Ceylon and the islands of the Indian Ocean, including those of South-east Asia, had the effect of releasing movements of unification and consolidation in the Deccan expressing themselves in the emergence of powerful Kingdoms in place of tiny principalities, on the one hand and the steady growth of Gupta influence among them, on the other.

J. DUNNCAN M. DERRETT

Two Inscriptions Concerning the Status of Kammalas and the Application of Dharmasastra

The most recent writers on the *dharmaśastra*, R. Lingat and W. Ruben,[1] are unable to say what exactly was the role in practice of the *dharmaśāstra* texts in disputes of sufficient importance to call for their scientific application. The *śastra* tells us how its texts should be inquired into and utilised, but that is a different matter. There are very few interesting and illuminating instances of the texts being relied upon in literature, including legal literature, and the absence of reported cases is a notorious stumbling-block for the student. The Anglo-Hindu law went upon the assumption that the Sanskrit texts were sources of law, to be applied to any litigant who could not plead and prove a custom to the contrary.[2] The pre-British situation has been misjudged by some, who believed that written sources of law were never consulted by judges, and that the practical role of the jurist had disappeared under Muslim rule. Now we do have an example of a *literary* account of the settlement of a caste dispute in the fifteenth century, in which a mass of Hindu literature, including *smṛtis* and digests, was consulted, and this gives a fairly clear impression of how a long-standing dispute of a social character was solved.[3] Hindu culture as a whole was laid under contribution, not the *smṛti* alone. But no actual examples, no ancient *vyavasthās*, have come to light in which the sources were cited, quoted, and applied by official experts, with jurisdiction to settle the question at issue.

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1. R. Lingat, Les Sources du Droit dans le Systeme traditional de l'Inde, Paris and The Hague, 1967 (an English version of this will appear from the University of California Press under the title "The Classical Law of India"). W. Ruben, Die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im alten Indien. II. Die Entwicklung von Staat und Recht, Berlin, 1968.

2. J. D. M. Derrett, Religion, Law and the State in India, London, 1968, 292-3. 305.

3. Vaiśya-vaṁśa-sudhākara: V. Raghavan in A Volume presented to Sir Denison Ross, Bombay, 1939, 234-40. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, III (Poona, 1946, 252 n. The affair took place c. 1422-1466.

The next best thing has now turned up *a propos* of the status of the Rathakāras of South India. These were equated with Kammālas, of whom it is known that some are untouchables (in traditional terms) and some craftsmen of relatively high status. It has been known for a long time that Rathakāras challenged Brahmins. Well they might at a period, as for example from the tenth century onwards, when there was a boom in temple building and all that went with it. Architects and masons must have been in great demand and they could command substantial incomes. As to the claims of inferior Kammālas to belong to the Rathakāras, with the possible right to share the hereditary monopolistic practice of arts and crafts connected with temple and other construction, doubts seem to have cropped up fairly frequently in South India.[1] As this was a matter of *varṇāśrama-dharma* the arbiters were Brahmins. Their decision was expected to be objective, though they might prevent their own youth from intruding upon any aspect of the monopolies; and their own fees would be affected by excluding from non-Śūdra and *pratiloma* castes any groups which might otherwise have called for their services as *purohitas*.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to be able to consult two of the three Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions which deal with claims on the part of certain Rathakāras, settling the rights and duties of that caste. A.R. No. 558 of 1904 has been published as S.I.I. xvii (1964), No. 603. A.R. No. 479 of 1908 was most kindly copied and sent to me by Dr. G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India. There is also A.R. No. 189 of 1925, of which he sent me a copy: it is, however, broken off short.

The great advantage of these inscriptions is that they provide certain answers to questions we had been asking. Firstly, the referees were Brahmins exclusively. Next they took personal responsibility for their prescriptions of law, that is to say, they identified themselves as holding the opinions they stated for the reasons they stated. Next, they cited their sources and even quoted them. The fact that incompetent copying by the (non-Brahmin) scribe(s) had the effect of losing or mutilating some of the Sanskrit texts (which the scribes probably did not understand) does not diminish the interest of the citations. Many of them have not survived in *dharmaśāstra* works now in print. Of the standard commentators the only one recognisable is Maskari, whose date had been

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Colas, 1st edn. II/2, Madras, 1937, 658, 739, also 603. Colas 2nd edn., 549. Derrett, Religion, Law and the State, cited above, 175.

doubted.[1] One inscription cites Kauṭilya (in a Tamilised form as Gauṭilya), but unfortunately the quotation which must have followed has dropped out, probably through the scribe's incompetence. The date of No. 603 is vague, 'the twelfth century': that of No. 479 is apparently A.D. 1118; that of No. 189 seems to be in the region of 1166. At this period the *Mitākṣarā* is not cited, nor the much earlier Medhātithi, nor Viśvarūpa's *Bālakrīḍā*. The well-known *smṛtikāra* Yājñavalkya is quoted both in the form we know, and in another form. In so far as the quotation agrees with our text it is the form known from the *Mitākṣarā* and Aparārka, nor the *Bālakrīḍā*. An apparently unknown commentary on Gautama is quoted.

The proportion of anonymous texts quoted is high, including amongst them one which is cited prominently. The referees had no compunction in quoting a text with its attribution and immediately following it with an anonymous text. Yet in spite of the loss of some texts, the slight changes in texts we still possess, and the amalgamation of texts having attributions with anonymous texts, the style and quality of the śāstric material is not markedly different from that what we find in medieval commentaries known to us from their manuscript traditions and printed (more or less critically) in our own day.

No. 603 will be studied in detail here, because of its very extensive use of architectural material, quoted *in extenso*. It is hoped that the eventual editor of No. 479 may be assisted by further information and references which readers of this article may contribute hereafter towards a better appreciation of No. 603.

Since the texts are quoted and relied upon there can be no doubt but that, save for the errors of the scribe and/or copyists, they were taken for genuine and reliable in their day, and the extent of verbal agreement between No. 479 and No. 603 confirms this.

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1. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, I, (Poona, 1930) deals with Haradatta at sec. 86. He assigns him a date c. 1200. At p. 19 he says of Maskari that his commentary "is also a learned one, but may probably be latter than Haradatta, since the interpretations which he quotes as given by others are found to be those of Haradatta". In fact Maskari is cited Vaguely by Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, Mokṣakāṇḍa, p. 49, which shows that he existed well before the end of the eleventh century.

The śāstric position :

The śāstric position was considered briefly by Bālaṃbhaṭṭa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century[1]. It would be an error to read back into the twelfth century (with which we are concerned) the ideas of the nineteenth. But the materials which Bālaṃbhaṭṭa uses were presumably available much earlier, if not in the same form. Thus while we survey the material we are justified in bearing in mind the continuity from the earliest commentaries which we possess to the latest, and then only can we see the validity of our referees' decisions in its true perspective. They did not cite all the information available to them, and Bālaṃbhaṭṭa and other jurists do not cite all the information available to our referees, naturally. But if we pool the information we have we shall be able to size up what was done, and to appreciate the function of the referees, which is what gives the inscriptions their interest.

The materials themselves have a tedious air, and the confused topic of the mixed castes is one which perplexes and annoys the reader. It is almost impossible to make the topic exciting or even pleasurable. An air of artificiality hangs over it. But our inscriptions prove that the public were deeply interested in at least one aspect of the problem, and this we must pursue as best we may. We must first refer to texts establishing a high status for Rathakāras (and thus of those Kammālas who could claim to be Rathakāras), and then turn to those which attributed a low status to them. Those who had a high status were, in part, rivals of Brahmins, and were entitled to noble and intellectual functions. Those with a low status were confined to menial tasks.

Rathakaras of high caste :

A good starting-point would be Yājñavalkya I. 95. 'From a Māhisya male upon a Karaṇī is produced a Rathakāra. Bad and good (respectively) are to be considered the progeny born of the Pratiloma and Anuloma' The meaning of this is sufficiently indicated in the commentaries of Viśvarūpa (which was probably available to our referees),[2] of Vijñāneśvara (which may not have been),[3]

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1. For Bālaṁbhaṭṭa see Kane, op. cit., I, sec. 111. B.'s very extensive gloss on Yājñ. I. 94 is paraphrased by Śrīśa Chandra Vidyārṇava in his translation of the Yājñavalkya.smṛti with the Mitākṣarā published in Allahabad, 1918, pp. 193-200.
2. The Bālakrīḍā on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti was published by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī from Trivandrum in 1922. See I. 94, p. 901.
3. The Nirṇayasāgara Press edition has been frequently reprinted. The edition by S. S. Setlur from Madras, 1912, is also valuable. In my view the Mitakṣarā belongs

of Aparārka (which may not have been).[1] and of Mitra Miśra (which certainly was not).[2] According to an earlier verse (see *v.* 92) the scheme is clear. A Māhiṣya is the son of a Kṣatriya by a Vaiśya wife. He is therefore an *anulomaja*, born in the natural order of *varṇas*, and of parents only one degree removed, and by a valid marriage. He has thus three claims to respectability. He is a twice-born, though of a mixed caste, and he is entitled to the sacred thread and to Vedic education—at least in theory. He is not a S'ūdra, still less an outcaste. A Karaṇa, somewhat similarly, is the son of a Vaiśya by a S'ūdra wife. He too is an *anulomaja*. His right to the sacred thread subsists, though he is at the extreme edge of the *anuloma* mixed castes. Now where a Māhiṣya male marries a Karaṇa female the offspring must, logically, be twice-born, entitled to the *upanayana* ceremony and the sacred thread. This is what Yājñavalkya says, and he proceeds to comment upon the whole series of verses by saying that progeny born of *pratilomas* and *anulomas* are respectively 'bad' and 'good'. Status and worth depend on the answer to the question whether the parents of the person in question were united in the *anuloma* or the *pratiloma* order, and whether the parents were themselves the fruit of such unions. Now this is a general proposition, and so far as the Rathakāras are concerned it is evident that they are, according to Yājñavalkya, *anulomajas*, born in *anuloma* unions between *anulomajas*. But a hasty reading of the verse might suggest that the second line applies to and controls the first, namely that there are Rathakāras born in the *pratiloma* manner, in other words Rathakāras other than those specified in the first line of the verse.

Manu and Nārada, though they deal in general with the problem of mixed *varṇas*, do not specify the Rathakāra. The Mitākṣarā[3] and other sources[4] quote

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to c. 1125. It would not have been a celebrated work in the Tamil country until the century was out.

1. Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti was roughly contemporary with the Mitākṣarā, but belonged to the Koṅkaṇ, whereas the Mitākṣarā belonged to the central Deccan. The edition of Aparārka is by the Ānanāśrama Skt. Ser. pandits under the name of H. N. Apte, Poona, 1903.
2. The Viramitrodaya belongs to the seventeenth century.
3. I.95. For the position in the Kṛtyakalpataru, Vyavahārakāṇḍa, where the editor may have misunderstood the inference to be drawn from the manuscripts, see K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, ed., Lakṣmidhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, XII, Baroda, 1953, p. 823. For Śaṅkha's text see also Mitra Miśra, Viramitrodaya (digest), Benares 1906. Saṁskaraprakāśa, 399.
4. It is doubtful whether Aparārka quotes the whole of the passage (on Yājñ. 1. 95ab).

Śaṅkha as saying, 'From the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya anuloma progeny a son begotten on lower orders is a Rathakāra. He is entitled to rituals for the kindling of the fire, giving alms, and the *upanayana* ceremony. His livelihood is by studying the science of horses[1], foundation or consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*), the business of chariots, carpentry, and building in general (*vāstu*).' This, perhaps, is the key text on our Rathakāras, and a full commentary on it is provided by Mitra Miśra (seventeenth century) in his digest.[2] At that time it was suggested that the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā position on Rathakāras[3] conflicted with Śaṅkha's text, since the latter suggested that *anuloma* mixed castes had the right to *upanayana*, whereas Jaimini spoke of an exceptional right of *ādhāna* (fire-laying) conferred on castes which had *no* right to the *upanayana*. The solution adopted by Mitra Miśra was that Rathakāras alone amongst the mixed castes normally disqualified from *upanayana* (e.g. Ṛbhu, Sudhanvan), were allowed to perform the Vedic *ādhāna*.

After Śaṅkha appear a series of lines which form two *ślokas*. Since there appears to have been no caesura in the second line of the first *śloka* it is not surprising, perhaps that it is defectively copied in both No. 603 and No. 479 of 1908. I have not been able to track it down to a printed source. Its function is to reassure the sceptics that Rathakāras and other *anulomas* who are entitled to the sacred thread that the latter does not imply that they enjoy characteristic Brahminical privileges or ritual duties.

anulomyopaneyānāṃ na sandhyāyām upāsanam
na samit-sannidhānāgnihotraṃ naupāsanaṃ tathā.
na ca pañcamahāyajñā vedādhyayanas tathā
mantreṇa rahitā teṣām upanītir api śmṛtā.

Assuming that my reconstruction of the second line of the first *śloka* is correct, that is hardly more than a poor versification of a prose passage which is actually given as an anonymous *smṛti* in the authentic commentary of Maskari on *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* (IV. 22), on which see below.

The text of Yājñavalkya, the general theory of *anuloma* mixed castes, and the text of Śaṅkha, point to a qualified Vedic initiation, as Bālaṃbhaṭṭa, relying

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1. Our inscriptions read *aśva-ratha-*. The printed texts read *aśva-pratiṣṭha-*.
2. p. 399.
3. Jaimini VI. 1, 44-50. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, I, 45.

on the authority of Karkācārya,[1] explains (in a passage to be cited again below). Brahmins, indeed, had the initiation of *upanayana* and thereafter were entitled to the six *karmas* of *yajana, yājana, dāna, pratigraha, adhyayana,* and *adhyāpana.* Whatever the factual situation might have been (did no Rathakāras ever teach the *sūtras,* and *smṛtis* and other scriptures, including Vedic *mantras,* relating to architecture in all its phases?), the Rathakāras were entitled to the thread ceremony. Vedic material confirms this.[2] They might therefore study, but not teach, perform sacrificial rites (connected with practical architecture), and make offerings (but not receive them with spiritual effect for the donor). That they were in some sense in a limited ritual competition with Brahmins is thus evident. If a Rathakāra could be an *ācārya* in the sense in which that term is used in architectural scriptures, this would no doubt be convenient, but it would trench upon the Brahmins' privileges at many points. In A. R. No. 189 of 1925 two leading Kammālas appear with the names Rājanārāyaṇa ācārya and Mūlabharuṣai ācārya.

The complications of the śāstric texts on the mixed castes are notorious. Various castes have different names. There is the additional complication which arises when the intercourse which produced the child was illicit. To be born in the inverse order of castes was to be a *pratilomaja,* but that was not all. Worse *pratilomajas* were those whose fathers were in the lowest rank and whose mothers were in the highest, but the lowest even of these were born of an illicit intercourse. Practical questions, such as how the parentage was known and how and even whether castes were formed in this manner can be left out of account, since they could hardly have been ventilated before our referees in this case. The discussion turned on the śāstric position; were Rathakāras *twice-born* with the exclusive right to undertake those valuable and expanding craft activities?

The relevant text of Baudhāyana[3] is a śāstric authority which our referees will have known, though they neither cite it nor quote it. It says that the Rathakāra is born to a Vaiśya male from a Śūdra woman—a proposition quite different from that laid down by Yājñavalkya. But he is

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1. Very little is known of this author. Kane places him before 1100 (*HD,* I, 684). a commentator on *gṛhya-sūtras.* The passage is to be found in Bālaṁbhaṭṭa, ed Gharpure, Bombay, 1914, p. 293.

2. Kane, *HD,* II/1, 43, 45, 57, 94.

3. I, 9, 6. Ed. A. Chinnaswāmi Śāstri, Benares, 1934, p. 87. See also I, 3, 9.

still an *anulomaja*. The commentary of Govindasvāmī, which is of great but unknown age, explains that the Rathakāra born to a Vaiśya male from a Śūdra woman has the right to lay Vedic fires according to the Vedic passage *varṣāsu rathakāraḥ*.[1] His parentage has a Śūdra element, which we should have thought fatal. Saṅkha, quoted by Nanda-paṇḍita on Viṣṇu XVI. 2, says *vaiśyena śūdrāyāṃ śūdra eva*, and similarly Devala as quoted in the *Kalpataru* says *vaiśyāc chūdrasya kanyāyāṃ śūdra eva prajāyate*. But because of the Vedic passage the right to perform *adhana* is there. A right to initiation is therefore to be contemplated. Govindasvāmī does not say that the Rathakāra is a twice-born, perhaps prudently. Our inscriptions at S.I.I. xvii No. 603 does not mention Baudhāyana: perhaps the other texts were more gratifying to Rathakāras, about whom some pleasant things are said in quotations to which we shall come presently. But it is proper to note here that Śūlapāṇi (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) in his comments on Yājñ. I. 95 clearly says that the Rathakāra referred to by Baudhāyana (I. 9.5) is another caste having the same as that figuring in Yājñavalkya's text. This would seem to be good traditional interpretation (*go-śabdavad anekārthatā*) which would leave it in doubt whether this new class of Rathakāra had the privilege of *ādhana*.

Our referees however cite and quote[2] as a text of Yāñavalkya a passage which the Brahmins of No. 603 claim to find in an unknown commentary on Gautama:[3]

māhiṣyena karaṇyāṃ tu rathakāraḥ prajāyate
nāsyopanayanaṃ nejyā nādhānaṃ ca niṣidhyate.

This is curious. The first line is Yājñ. I. 95ab. The second has not been traced, and has a suspicious air. It means, evidently, that neither the thread ceremony, nor sacrificial acts, nor the laying of the (Vedic) fires are prohibited to him. And this suspect line, conflicting in spirit (if not in the letter) with the anonymous passage *anulomyopaneyānāṃ* which I have reproduced above, has been substituted silently for that possibly embarrassing line we have already studied, in which the 'badness' or 'goodness' of mixed castes is mentioned. It is not

1. Tai. Br. I, 1, 4. See also Baud. gṛhya-sūtra II, 5, 6.
2. No. 603, para 1; No. 479, para 2.
3. No. 603, para 12. The vivaraṇa (could it have been by Bhāruci?) is not known to Kane (on Gautama in *HD*, I).

as if Yājñavalkya's *śloka* was not known as we know it from the *Mitākṣarā*, Aparārka, or independent manuscript tradition: for that *śloka* does appear in No. 479, though not under Yājñavalkya's name!

Next we are given an anonymous text upon which both the referees in No. 603 and in No. 479 rely.[1]

vaiśyataḥ śūdra-kanyāyāṃ saṃjātaḥ karaṇas striyām
asmād ambaṣṭhato jāto rathakāra iti smṛtaḥ.

The statement that a Karaṇa is born of a Vaiśya male to a S'ūdra female, who is not necessarily his wife, agrees with other known authorities, e.g. Gautama, Baudhāyana, Yājñavalkya. If we take the word *asmād* in the somewhat unexpected sense of 'hence', 'from that quarter' (instead of 'from him' we obtain the sense which the referees must certainly have had in mind, namely that the Rathakāra is born to a Karaṇa *female* by an Ambaṣṭha male. Otherwise we should have been forced to find the Rathakāra a *pratiloma* caste, for Ambaṣṭhas are certainly ritually superior to Karaṇas.

Next we turn to the text of Maskari which is correctly quoted in both No. 603 and No. 479.[2] The purpose of the quotation is to authenticate another anonymous *smṛti* which Maskari reads and therefore certifies as authoritative. What a pity the same was not done for the text *vaiśyataḥ śūdra-kanyāyām*! Obviouly it was of unquestioned authenticity. Maskari's apocryphal *smṛti* reads.

anulomānām upanayanam eva na vedādhyayanaṃ na
pañca-mahāyajñaṃ naupāsanaṃ nāgnihotraṃ na samit-kāryaṃ na
sandhyopāsanam upanayanam api tūṣṇīm eva.[3]

It is a rather poor versification of this which we have already seen as an appendix to the text of S'aṅkha above. It is further evidence of our referees' care to quote each and every text they felt to be relevant even when repetition would result. *Anulomas* may not, after their *upanayana* (performed in silence), study the Veda, perform the five 'great' sacrifices of the householder or make oblations

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1. No. 603, para 12; No. 479, para 2.
2. No. 603, para 2, No. 479, para 3-4. Barring insignificant deviations they agree with Maskari on Gautama IV. 22, p. 82 of the Mysore edition.
3. Both inscriptions read *pañca-mahā-yajña*, which should be added to the apparatus when a critical edition is contemplated. On the Rathakāras' *upanayana* see also Baud. gṛhya-sūtra II. 8 (Kane, *HD*, II/1, 299.)

in the Aupāsana fire, or perform the *agnihotra*, preparation of fuel, or the twilight worship. In other words a form of distinction, in ritual terms, between the *anulomas* (which our referees understood to include some at least of the Rathakāras) and the twice-born, and in particular Brahmins, was set out. Thus, in a respectable view, adopted by our referees, some *anuloma* castes were entitled to *upanayana* (and the sacred thread) but that did not constitute a challenge of any substantial moment to the Brahmins in ritual terms. We are already half-way to observing that if Rathakāras, or some of them, are acknowledged *anuloma* status this does not amount to serious rivalry, at least in ritual terms, to the Brahmins. The citation from Maskari is followed in S.I.I. xvii No. 603 by a passage from a work on architecture called *Viśva-karmīya*, which may yet be traced and verified. It includes the following undamaged lines:

ambaṣṭhena karaṇyāṃ tu rathakāraḥ prajāyate...
anulomeṣu sarveṣu tūṣṇīm upanayaḥ kriyā
savarṇāmbaṣṭhayor eva sāpi tatra vidhīyate
rathakārādi-jātīnām upanītir amantrakam[1]
na yajño nāpi sandhyādi kiṃcānyad yat tu[2] *vaidikam*
ādhāna-mātraṃ kurvīta rathakāras tu viśvakṛt.

The Rathakāra is the son of an Ambaṣṭha by a Karaṇa woman, which agrees with the anonymous text *vaiśyataḥ śūdra-kanyāyām* as we have tentatively construed it. Next we learn, from a sympathetic source, that the Rathakāra who is an *anulomaja* has his thread ceremony in silence. Two high-grade *anuloma* castes, Savarṇa and Ambaṣṭha, are in the same position. If I have understood the line correctly, no sacrifice, no twilight prayers, nor any other Vedic ceremony is permitted, except that the Rathakāra architect or craftsman, called *viśvakṛt* inreminiscence of their patron deity Viśvakarma, may simply perform *ādhāna*, the laying of Vedic fires, though in the context of architectural lore it may well have other meanings relative to the foundation and/or consecration of buildings.

Rathakāras of low caste

The śāstric position we have seen was not a simple or uniform one. Two kinds of Rathakāras amongst the *anuloma* castes have been observed

1. *amantram* in the ins.
2. *yaṃ tu* in the ins.

or alternatively two distinct traditions about the origins of the Rathakāras. But there is agreement that they are concerned with chariots, wagons, carpentary, metal work, architecture, house-building, and related crafts. But there were artisans called Rathakāras, like our Kammālas, who were of low social rank, as is evident from texts of no less authoritative status.

Perhaps we do well to start with the equivocal opinion of Jaimini himself.[1] I am not saying that Jaimini said Rathakāras were *pratīlomajas*. But he did say that they were identical with the Sudhanvan and Ācārya born of a *vrātya* Vaiśya. *Upanayana* would consequently be in abeyance. This would fit a social position, in which some Rathakāras claimed that if sufficient ritual pains taken were the practice of *upanayana* could be restarted; it would even protect from Brahmin fury some groups of Rathakāras who assumed the sacred thread but whose right to *upanayana* was doubtful.

Meanwhile so important and ancient a śāstric commentator as Viśvarūpa says (on Yājñ. I. 10) that Rathakāras are not among the higher castes. They are not, in his view, entitled to *upanayana*. The *smṛti* which says that they are (obviously Śaṅkha or Vasiṣṭha, both originally quoted by Lakṣmīdhara in the *Kalpataru*) is based on an error, he says, due to their having the (Vedic) right to perform *ādhāna*, a right, he implies, which could exist without *upanayana*. Here is a South Indian explaining, in effect, that architectural requirements and the social developments to which these led did not necessarily make the Rathakāras twice-born. This fits with the background to our own inscriptions. Viśvarūpa's own teacher took the view that this was *not* a case where the right to *upanayana* might be held to exist, optionally. They simply had no right to it at all. Viśvarūpa goes on to explain (on Yājñ. I. 94) that *in former ages* there were *anuloma* castes which had the privilege of *ādhāna* because of their status, whereas the *pratiloma* castes were of low status (and consequently had not that privilege). We have seen already that one might be a *pratilomaja* though one's parents and one's grandparents indefinitely were born in twice-born castes, e.g. the child of a Vaiśya male by a Brahmin female.

At this point it is convenient to take up the view of that very late jurist, Bālaṃbhaṭṭa, who, somehow, seems to have been aware of our very problem.[2] Knowing, as he does, that Śaṅkha asserts the right to *upanayana*

1. See above, n. 15.
2. See above, n. 16.

and citing the text of Vasiṣṭha which says the same *as the view of some jurists* (a text which does not belong to the printed editions of Vasiṣṭha, but which pre-existed the *Kalpataru* and was therefore anterior to our inscriptions), he comes to the conclusion that the Rathakāra, though like a Sūdra, is entitled to the *upanayana*. This he does by asserting the validity of the literal texts of those antiquated *sūtras* as against a peculiar anonymous text, which we are bound to note here. It reads:

naivopanayanaṃ tasya śūdra-dharmād bahiḥ kvacit
vartanaṃ śilpa-vṛttyā 'tra loke śilpasya śāstra-vit.

This miserable little text evidently refers to craftsman, and we can take Bālaṃbhaṭṭa's word for it, that it referred to Rathakāras. It may well come from an architectural work, which he does not specify. It denied the caste's right to *upanayana* and assigned it to the *dharma* of a *śūdra* (if I understand it rightly), although it was entitled to knowledge of the *śāstra* relating to sculpture and the like, by which it obtained its livelihood. Since this wretched text survived until almost the beginning of the eighteenth century we can be sure that antagonism to the wearing of the sacred thread by people calling themselves Rathakāras and practising the plastic arts and crafts was widespread and deeprooted.

The *Vaikānasa-dharma-sūtra*, otherwise known as *Vaikhānasa-dharma-praśna*, most unfortunately gives an ancient list of *varṇas* and mixed castes contradicting the orthodox *smṛti* material. Vaikhānasa sources were not 'bogus', and like the Pañcarātra material which was in a way competitive with them, could claim to be almost as respectable in South India as Manu himself.[1] The Vaikhānasa *sūtras* say that the first *pratilomas* is the Sūta, born to a Kṣatriya from a Brahmin wife. He is initiated without *mantras* and is unworthy of twice-born *dharmas*. This is more or less what would be expected of *pratilomajas*. To continue: his duties are relating matters of *dharma* (as a reciter?) and preparing the food of the king (or Kṣatriyas?). But if the child is born to parents of those same castes but by adultery the child's caste is Rathakāra. He is not entitled to *mantras*, he is unworthy of twice-born status, his functions are those of Śūdras. He lives by feeding and training horses, and similar tasks, a life (in

1. On the Vaikhānasa doctrines and literature see J. Gonda. 'Religious thought and practice in Vaikhānasa Viṣṇuism', to be published in the collection of seminar papers on the Religions of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal, S.O.A.S., London (1970-1). No information about Rathakāras is to be obtained from the ancient Vaikhānasāgama of Marīci, published by K. Sāmbaśiva Śastri, Trivandrum, 1935.

short) of a menial servant.[1] The *Kāśyapa-jñāna-kāṇḍa*, another Vaikhānasa text, places Sūta and Rathakāra together as jointly chief of the *pratilomas*.[2] The ancient sage Paiṭhīnasi, if the text attributed to him is genuine, implied, if he did not actually say, much the same.[3]

Uśanas, which may be called an older 'bogus' *smṛti*, having perhaps no relation to the work of Uśanas cited by ancient jurists like Lakṣmīdhara, contains two verses on the rare subject of Rathakāras.[4] In the view of the author the Rathakāra is born in a *pratiloma* union. So far this agrees with the Vaikhānasa text. The Rathakāra's father is a Kṣatriya, his mother a Brahmin, and the union itself 'by stealth'. His livelihood is that of a Śūdra, and twice-born rank is forbidden to him (hence no *upanayana*!). His way of life is that a Śūdra, and he must not perform the *dharma* of the Kṣatriya. What we might call *ad hoc* the Vaikhānasa position is here badly versified. The text of Uśanas quoted in the *Kalpataru*[5] merely says that the Rathakāra is the first of all the mixed castes, apparently senior to the Ambaṣṭha, which implies, on the contrary that Rathakāras are *anulomas*. Our inscription No. 603 quotes neither Vaikhānasa text nor Uśanas; but we cannot be sure that such material was not cited to our referees during their investigation.

The notion that Rathakāras were *pratilomajas*, even though born of *anuloma* castes by cross-caste union, can be found elsewhere. The *Smṛtyartha-sāra* of Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭa, who seems to have been a southerner, is of particular interest. It must have been composed between 1150 and is thus contemporary with our enquiries.[6] The view is stated[7] that a Māhiṣya is born to a Vaiśya woman from a Kṣatriya, and a Karṇa is born from a Vaiśya to a Śūdra woman, and both are (naturally) *anulomas*, twice-born, entitled to the *saṃskāras*. Later, dealing with *pratilomas*, the author states that a Vaiśya woman bears

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1. Caland's Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra, X. 13 (text, 1927, p. 143; trans. 1929, 227). Also Vaikhānasa-dharma-praśna, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1913, pp. 47–49.
2. Ed. R. B. Parthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya, Tirupati, 1948, ch. 91. T. Goudriaan, Kāśyapa's Book of Wisdom, The Hague, 1965.
3. Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, Vyavahārakāṇḍa, p. 818.
4. Uśanas 5-6 (ed. Jīvānanda, Dharmaśāstra saṅgraha, 1876, I, p. 497). Cf. Uśanas at Kṛtyakalpataru, Vy. K., p. 814.
5. See last note.
6. Kane, *HD*, I, sec. 81.
7. Ed. R. S. Vaidya, Ānandāśrama Skt. Ser. 70 (1912), p. 13.

an Āyogava to a Sūdra male (and this is evidently an example of *pratiloma* birth). Immediately afterwards he says that the Rathakāra is born of a Karaṇa woman by a Māhiṣya male (using exactly the words of Yājñavalkya I. 95ab), and immediately afterwards says that 'all these are *pratilomas*, excluded from the *dharma* of the twice-born.' I, for one, find it difficult to see how the offspring of a Māhiṣya by a Karaṇa woman can be *pratiloma*: for the Māhiṣya, who has a Kṣatriya father, is surely superior to a Karaṇa, whose father is a Vaiśya—it would be a *pratiloma* union if a Karaṇa male had intercourse with a Māhiṣya female. The view which Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭa took could conceivably make sense if we assume that a different Rathakāra from our *anuloma* Rathakāra had some how been intruded into the picture without warning—perhaps a defect in the text as transmitted. But a certain ambiguity existed in the position, as is emphasised by the curious comment of the 'bogus' *smṛti*, Vṛddha-Hārita which, rewriting Yājñavalkya, as it were says,[1] after explaining the Māhiṣya and the Karaṇa as above, that the Rathakāra is born to a Māhiṣya male from a Karaṇa female, and immediately afterwards that the *anulomas'* and *pratilomas'* offspring may be known as 'bad' lineages (the text looks like a misreading or deliberate perversion of Yājñavalkya I. 95cd). In other words the Rathakāra is there placed at the end of examples of mixture of caste between two *anuloma* mixed castes. How this could be construed into making him into a *pratilomaja* is a puzzle to me, but it appears to have happened. It is barely satisfactory to suggest that he was a borderline case: it is more plausible to say that two elements in society claimed Rathakāra backgrounds, and that the śāstric material did not conclusively distinguish between them.

That the Pañcarātras regarded Rathakāras as Śūdras or at any rāte not as twice-born, and that too in an architectural context, is indicated in an important architectural text of uncertain age. The *Pāñcaratra-prasāda-prasādhanam* (a part of the *Fādma-saṃhitā*), I. 21 reads;

bhū-parīkṣādikaṁ sarvaṃ Rathakāreṇa vai saha
ācāryaḥ pañcaratrajñaḥ kuryāt abhyudita-kramat.

And I. 40:

vāstu-vidyāsu kṛtinā kṛiyāsu nipuṇena ca
Rathakāreṇa sahitaḥ kuśalaḥ pañcaratravit

1. VII, 149 ff. 152, 155.

The Rathakāra is here obviously the artisan.[1] very much inferior to the *acarya* who, more and more, came to be thought of as a Brahmin expert in the lore of architecture. At the same time elements of Pāñcarātra literature connect Rathakāra as a caste name with *takṣaka*, literally the carpenter.[2]

We come to the final textual authority. Bālaṃbhaṭṭa frequently quotes the *Sūta-saṃhita* in this context.[3] But he does not quote it fully, naturally enough, his work being dangerously extensive as it is. This Śaivite work agrees[4] so far with the Vaiṣṇavite works we have been consulting in that it shows that the Rathakāra is born by stealth to a Brahmin woman from a Kṣatriya male—evidently he is a *pratilomaja*. Apart from this there is a caste bearing (it would seem) the names or designations Takṣā (carpenter), Rathakāra, Śiipī (craftsman), Vardhakī (carpenter), Lohakāra (smith), and Karmāra (mechanic). The *Sūta-saṃhita* continues that the son of a Brahmin girl by an Ugra has the livelihood of a carpenter. Both these pieces of information belong to *pratiloma* unions and their progeny.

Architectural material on this subject

We have already seen that Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra architectural texts deal with the status and duties of Rathakāras. There was also the *Viśvakarmīya*, an unverified text favourable to Rathakāras' twice-born status, which our referees quoted. Would further search in architectural materials throw light on the subject? Architectural literature as it now survives is only partly available in print. It is going through a second phase of public interest amongst Indologists,[5] but whole range of available works is far from well

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1. See the interesting and valuable note by H. Daniel Smith, Pāñcarātra-prasāda-prasādhanam. Chapters 1-10 of the 'kriyāpāda', Pādmasaṃhitā, Madras: 1963, p. 8, n. 26.
2. Note how in No. 189 of 1925 (the sadly truncated inscription apparently originally connected with our topic) the Rathakāra leaders bear the word *taccan* in their titles. I do not know if the *Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā* of the Pañcarātrāgama (Adyar 1969) throws any further light, as it is not available to me.
3. E.g. at p. 214.
4. Ed.S. Rāmachandra Śāstrī and K. Kuppuswāmy Śāstrī, Madras, 1913, ch. 12 (see verses 18, 19, 29, 30).
5. The first phase was initiated by P. K. Acharya in his series of works on the Mānasāra. Amongst comparatively recent works are N. V. Mallaya's Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture, Annamalai 1949 and D. N. Shukla's Vāstu-śāstra, vol. I. Lucknow 1961 (?).

known, even though the community of *sthapatis* (traditional sculptors and architects) is being kept alive and recruits apprentices, especially in South India (e.g. at Mamallapuram). The efforts of specialist editors, e.g. at Tanjore, are bringing more and more ancient works to light. These do not, so far as I could discover, deal specifically with Rathakāras. Some incidental references, were fortunately noted, by H. Daniel Smith (as we have seen above).

For the *argument* of this article it is not necessary to spend too much time on our referees' long quotations from architectural and other works as yet unidentified. But there is a sufficient reason to quote what is still capable of use, first because the referees thought that since a *sthapati*, an inferior craftsman, must be learned in Vedic and other orthodox religious lore he must be entitled to *upanayana* and to be called *ācārya* (their motive for such extensive citations); and secondly because unless the texts are readily available the task of verifying them and identifying which works were in notorious authoritative use in the twelfth century would be harder. I thus proceed to copy out the passages concerned, with the minimum of comment, contenting myself with the warning that in this class of literature bad Sanskrit does not mean, necessarily, an incompetent transmission of the text, and the conclusion that such passages do prove the superior caste status of Rathakāras if Rathakāras, in pursuing the livelihood set out for them in S'aṅkha's text (which our referees rely upon), act as *sthapatis* and immerse themselves in *vāstu-śastra*, which is Architecture in its widest sense.

Viśvakarmīye[1] :

After the verses quoted above, they set out the following:

vāstu-śilpaka vidyābhyāṃ vartayed eṣa nityaśaḥ
devatā-pratimāṃ cāpi kuryāc citraṃ tathaiva ca.
yantrāṇām[2] *api patrāṇi prati pūrvaṃ prakalpayet*
suvarṇābharaṇānāṃ ca kañcavyaya striya.
devatādi-tanūnāṃ ca karaṇaṃ śilpa-jivita
sauvarṇa-vastu-nirmāṇaṃ svarṇakāra itīṣyate.

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1. See above. The work has not been identified. Not the Viśvakarma Vāstu-śāstram in the Tanjore S. M. Ser no. 85, 1958. Perhaps this is the Viśvakaramaśilpam, No. 15447 in the Tanjore Skt. Catalogue.

2 *yañcanam* in the ins.

ayas-karmaṇy ayaskāras takṣā takṣaka-karmaṇi
tanūnāṃ karaṇaṃ tvaṣṭā sa eva rathakṛt *bhavet.*
prāsādaṃ devatādināṃ sthāpanāt sthapatiḥ smṛtaḥ.
sthapatir viśvakṛt takṣā tvaṣṭā ca rathakārakaḥ
kāṣṭhiko vardhakiś ceti śilpi-paryāya-vācakaḥ.

Āgamaṃ...ditta . vacanam is now quoted, but both verses are badly damaged and it is not possible to make much of them, but I suspect that their point was similar to that of the citation first taken from the *Padma-saṃhitā* above.

Bhīma-Samhitayām :

sulekhas suguṇaś śilpa-śastra jñaḥ karma-yogyakaḥ
mānādi-rasa-māna-jñaś śalyoddhāra-viśāradaḥ.
vastu-vidyā-kṛtābhyāsaś śtlā-doṣa-parīkṣakaḥ
sarva-lakṣaṇa-saṁyuktaḥ sthapatis sa udāhṛtaḥ.

Karaṇe (i.e. Karaṇāgame)[1] :

sulekhas suguṇo dhīmān śastra-jñaḥ karma-yogyakaḥ
vastū-vidya-kṛtābhyasaś śalyoddhara-viśaradaḥ.

Yogaje (i e. Yogajagame) :

sthapatir vāstu-tantra-jñas sarva-śastra-viśaradaḥ
mahā-deśa-sthas[2] *saṁkīrṇotpanna janmā kulādhamaḥ.*[3]
sthapako deva-devas syād yajamāno Janārdanaḥ
vidhata sthapatis sākṣād etair dharma-sthitis tribhiḥ.

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1. These Śaiva *āgamas* have long been known as architectural works, but were hardly used by Āchārya though he lists them. This verse is not in the Uttara-Kāraṇāgama which is all of the name I have seen in published form.
2. —*stha* in the ins.
3. The ins. is read *janmā (ku) lā (dhamaḥ)*. This does not look satisfactory, but all restoration is hampered by the well-known eccentricity of the style of Sanskrit architectural works, the despair of the grammarian and prosodist.

Suprabhede (i.e. *Suprabhedāgame*) :[1]

ācāryam uktavāṁś caiva pūrvoktan saṃpragṛhya ca
ta syānveṣayet tadvat śilpinaṃ sukulotbhavam.
sthapatis sūtra-grāhī ca vardhakis takṣakas tatha
tanū-karaṇa . . . . .

sthapatis sūtra-grāhibhyāṃ prasāda-pratimāṃs tatha
akṣi-mokṣādikam sarvaṃ kārayet takṣakottamaḥ.
sthapatiś śāstra-karma-jñaḥ kṛta-karmābhijātavān
īdṛśaṃ śilpinaṃ gṛhya prārabhet sarva-karmakam.

From the *Prapañcottara Vidyā-sūtra* they quote a verse agreeing exactly with the quotation from the *Kāraṇāgama*, which they have already cited above.

Lakṣaṇa-pramāṇe :

sarva-lakṣaṇa-saṃpanno nīrogaḥ kopa-varjitaḥ
upāya-jñas suśīla-jñaḥ kṛta-hasto vicakṣaṇaḥ.

Prapañca-tantre Lakṣaṇa-pramāṇe :

prasiddha-deśa-saṃkīrṇa-jātijo 'bhīṣṭa-kāraṇaḥ[2]
vāstu-vidyā-vidhāna-jñas tūnāpoha-samanvitaḥ.
nimitta[3]*-śakuna-jyoti-jñāne samyak prabodhakaḥ.*[4]
veda-vid dharma-vid dhīmān ācāryaḥ[5] *prokṣitas sudhīḥ*
prāsāda-liṅga-kāryeṣu mānasa[6]*-kāya-karmabhiḥ.*
Brahmaiva[7] *sthapatis sākṣāt yajamānas tu Keśavaḥ*
gurus sarvasya kāryasya Mahādevas sakāraṇam.

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1. I could not find these verses in the published Suprabhedāgama.
2. The syllables *kara* are illegible in the ins.
3. *nimittaṣ* in the ins.
4. *dhakaḥ* is conjectural.
5. Or *ācārya*?
6. *manosura* in the inscription.
7. The ins. is read '...*brahaiva*'.

Śrī Pāñcarātre Kāpiṃjale[1] :

bhuvaṃ khatvā śilāṃ paśyed ācaryaś śilpibhis saha
śilpinaṃ pūjayet kāle dhana-dhānya-gajādibhiḥ.

There follows what appears to be a one-line quotation from the *Parama-puruṣa-saṃhitā*,[2] but it was not to be identified because the fragment is too badly damaged. There follows—

Śrī Vaikhanasa-Mahāstave :

śilpa-śāstrokta-vidhinā śilpinas samyag ācaret
sthāpayitvaivaṃ sahitas[3] *śilpibhis śāstra-kovidaiḥ.*

Āgastya-vāstu-śāstre[4] :

svatantra-paratantra-jñaḥ kṛta-kṛtyas sumānasaḥ
dharma-jñas satya-saṃpannas sarvendriya-jitendriyaḥ.
itihāsa-purāṇa-jñaḥ smṛtivit vāstuvit sudhīḥ
atandrī śuddha-bhaktiś[5] *ca*[6] *alubdhaś cāmalātmakaḥ.*
nimittānāṃ krama-jñaś ca citra-karma-viśāradaḥ
sarvāvayava-niṣpanne vimāne cottarāyaṇe
praśasta-pakṣa--nakṣatre yajamāno Janārdanaḥ
. . . . . *sthapatiś*[7] *ca mahātmanaḥ*
. . . *śarīrāṃgaṃ pāce* (?) *bhautika-saṃjñitaṃ*
vimānaṃ vidhinā samyak jala-saṃprokṣaṇaṃ caret.

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1. The Kapiñjala-saṁhitā was published, according to H. D. Smith, in 1896.
2. Ed. P. Sitārāmāchārya, according to Smith.
3. This word is omitted in error in the ins.
4. Of the many architectural texts attributed to Agastya, including an Agastya-pañcarātra, none seems to have been published?
5. In the ins. this is read as '*ata...dha-bhaktas*'. For these qualifications, which became standardised, see Śrī Kumāra, Śilparatna, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum 1922, I. 34-38.
6. A want of *sandhi* is consistent with the style of such works.
7. The ins. provides only...*patiś*.

Vastu-vidyayam[1] :

Viśvakarmā cacaryo gurutvāt viśva-karmaṇām
sthapatīḥ sthāpanaṃ kurvan iti śilpīr vidhīyate.[2]
sthapatis satya-śāstra-karma-vicakṣaṇaḥ.
kṛta-kṛtyaḥ kulīnaś ca[3] *ahīnādhika-lakṣanaḥ.*
dharmikaḥ satyavādī ca gaṇita-jñaḥ purāṇa-vit
citravit sarva-deśa-jñas sunāmā yamanāmayaḥ (?)
dṛḍha-yonisū ... ... yonalasobhayaḥ (?)
alubdho 'śanado 'dīno 'pramādī ca jitendriyaḥ
sapta-vyasana-jid dhīmān ūhāpoha-vicakṣaṇaḥ

Sarasvatīye[4] :

Viśvakarmā ṛṣer nāmnā gurutvāt viśva-karmaṇaḥ
sthapatiḥ sthāpanaṃ kurvan iti śilpir vidhīyate.
tattva-jñaḥ sthapatis sarva-śastrāṇāṃ ca viśeṣataḥ
dharmikas satya-vādī ca kṛta-kṛtyaḥ kulodbhavaḥ

Finally two verses are quoted from the *Gautamīya-vivaraṇe*, an unknown commentary on Gautama, perhaps the *dharma-sūtra* or even, equally probably, a *purāṇa* or architectural *saṃhitā*, now lost, attributed to that sage. It is comical that it starts with a borrowing from Yājñavalkya (I. 95ab).

māhiṣyeṇa karaṇyāṃ tu rathakāraḥ *prajāyate*
nāsyopanayanaṃ nejyā nādhanaṃ ca niṣidhyate.
sūtrasya vājino vāstu-śilpayos syandanasya ca
vidyayātitaya[5] *svasya śarīraṃ vartayed ayaṃ.*

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1. This is an older work than the published Vāstu-vidyā(ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, 1913), which is well worth (however) of comparison with this passage (I. 12-15). K. C. Chatterji's trans. at Calcutta Oriental Journal, 1934, is better than P. K. Acharya's (Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture, Mānasāra Ser., vol. 7, Oxford 1946 : a work in which, unfortunately Rathakara does not appear).
2. The ins. reads only *iti śilpī...*
3. See note 60 above.
4. Not in the Sārasvatiya Citrakarmaśāstra, ed. K. S. Subrahmanya Śāstri, Tanjore-1960.
5. No. 603, para. 12 reads *vidyaya (sya*) dhika (ḥ*) svasya.* No. 479 at para. 2 seem to read *vidyayādhitayā svasya.*

All these texts establish the respectability, responsibility, and caste-duties of the Rathakāra in his quality as *sthapati*, architect.

The referees' decision.

We are now in a position to see what the Brahmins decided and how they did it. The question put to them S.I.I. XVII No. 603, which is recited at the outset, was what was the *vṛtti*, or approved livelihood, for a Kammāla who was a Rathakāra. The answer, as I have said, is broken accidentally by what appear to be faults in copying (haplography) and damage to the stone, but the structure is clear enough. The referees apply their minds to the *smṛtis* which explain that livelihood, and say that the (anonymous) text *vaiśyataḥ śudra-kanyāyām* (above) governs him because he has been identified as an *anuloma* in the text (of Śaṅkha, above) *kṣatriya-vaiśyānulomāntarajotpanno*, in view of the text of Gautama, the text of Nārada, the text of Maskara (*sic*), the text of Yājñavalkya, a text from a *vṛtti* on ...lla (?), and the text of the *Brāhma purāṇa*. I may be permitted to comment that this is an extremely neat way of reconciling those verses, though we do not in fact have in front of us *all* the material which they were using and they for their part do not explain (how could they have done ?) their failure to use material available to us.

They then begin at once to set out the texts, which I need not repeat. Yājñavalkya I. 95 appears in the strange guise noted above. Then comes the *Gautamīya-vivaraṇa* passage which will recur towards the end of our inscription as it stand now. Then Śaṅkha's text. Then the *smṛti* read by 'Maskara' in his *Gautamīya-vivaraṇa* apparently *not* the commentary utilised twice as above. Next comes the long quotation from the *Viśvakarmīya*. Then comes the statement that to this same effect is the information about the origins and livelihood of the man (caste) concerned contained in 'the Pañcarātrasaṃhitās, the Vaikhānasa books, the Viśvakarmīya, Āgastya[1] and related *śāstras*'. His duty is this: he must practise the arts of the *vāstu* (architecture) of villages, etc., the *vāstu* of temples, etc., sculpting images, the making of the weapons of the Fire-weaponed one, etc., ceremonies such as the Brahma-sṛṣṭi (a ceremonial at the foundation of temples?). That being so the undersigned order that the fact

1. I have mentioned at :n. 4 of p. 50 the existence of architectural works attributed to Agastya the sum total of which may be discovered readily from the New Catalogus Catalogorum. The inscription takes this way of indicating that all literature on the subject had been scrutinised, both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva.

that he will perform all this, he, the Kammāla who is an *anuloma* Rathakāra belonging to this place,[1] is to be engraved on stone and on a copper plate. Then follow the eleven surviving signatures.

What then follows commences with fragments of a Tamil translation of some statement in Sanskrit, or conceivably a statement originally in mixed Sanskrit and Tamil, in which the caste position of the Rathakāra is related to the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes *and* to the S'ūdra caste (relating, it would appear, to the ingenious reconcilation mentioned above, but too damaged to provide a positive conclusion) and there follows a citation from what is apparently '*Āgamam.....ditta-vacanam*'. Thereafter follow immediately quotations, set out above, from the *Bhīma-saṃhita, Kāraṇa, Yogaja, Suprabheda, Prapañcottara-vidyā-sūtra, Lakṣaṇa-pramāṇa, Prapañca-tantra Lakṣaṇa-pramāṇa, Śrī Pañcarātra Kāpiṃjala, Parama-puruṣa-saṃhita, S'rī Vaikhanasamahāstava, Āgastya-vāstu-śāstra, Vāstu-vidya, Sārasvatīya.* Next come what appear to be three signatures (two referees having the same personal name),[2] since, evidently, the authenticity of the material quoted could be vouched for by specialists other than those who put their names to a proposition of *dharmaśāstra.*

The inscription abruptly starts again with *svasti śrī.* The text *vaiśyataḥ śūdra-kanyāyām* is repeated, and translated into Tamil, the Tamil equivalent S'ūdra being Veḷḷāḷa (which as everyone knows is a respectable caste in Tamiḻnāḍ). The equivalent of Rathakāra is *taccan,* i.e. 'carpenter', equally 'mason'. Then the *Gautamīya-vivaraṇa* is set out again, followed by a literal Tamil translation (*vṛtti - toḻil*), in which it appears that *ilakkaṇam* (presumably the five components of grammar) was thought to be one of the necessary arts (rather than work with horses?). Yājñavalkya is invoked for this proposition, too, and the words *atra Śaṃkha-vacanam* introduce the text of Śaṅkha again, but this time it is not given in full, stopping with the word 'Rathakāra' followed by a Tamil translation, saying merely that Kammālas who are these (Rathakāras) are '*anulomas*'. The inscription goes on to allege that he (who?) says that menial tasks (*iḻitoḻil*) must be done in the castes which are *pratilomas.*

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1. No. 603 at para - 4. *ivvariṣṭomapattiyaiyuḍaiya rathakārānulomanāgiya karmmārane ivaiayellāñ ceyavānenṟu kallilum cempilum veṭṭikkoḷka venṟu connom.*

2. Note that the Brahmin specialists in architectural texts *seem* much fewer than those who deal with and certify the *dharmaśāstra* position. Here the referees are Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa Somayāji, S'rī Raṅganātha-bhaṭṭa-Vājapeyi (the name is given as *-vājape (ya*[*]) *yāji*, and S'rī-Raṅganātha-bhaṭṭa. But it will be noticed that the section appears to be incomplete, and there *might* have been other names.

The Rathakāras themselves take up the tale, saying that 'we' have acted accordingly because it is stated in the texts of *smṛti* that menial tasks must be done by...(and the inscription is damaged here). The text of Śaṅkha is commenced again, but has a slightly different ending,[1] which may or may not be an error, for the Tamil translation which follows is broken off as the inscription abruptly ceases.

The information suffices to show that the referees expounded, and obtained the Rathakāra's, alias Kammāla's, agreement to a solution as simple as it was intelligent. If any Rathakāras were doing menial tasks these were *pratiloma* Rathakāras, who had no right to participate in architecture; while those who could claim to be *anulomas* would be entitled to the architectural activities prescribed in the texts. Under the caste system as then in operation no Rathakāra could move from one category to the other: and so the solution would be permanent.

A.R No. 479 of 1908

The Brahmins of Rājāśraya-caturvedimaṅgalam dealt with the problem more shortly, though there was a close similarity of treatment. They purported, both at the commencement and the end of the inscription, merely to give the purport of the *śastra* on the subject (*śastrārtham*) with regard to a subdivision of a caste (*jāti-vibhāgam* (sic)).

They started with the text *vaiśvataḥ śūdra-kanyāyāṃ*, here too anonymous. They proceeded to quote Yājñavalkya I. 95ab followed by the curious unknown second line which we saw in No. 603, followed by an *iti*, continuing with *sūtrasya vājino*, etc., which we have supposed (from No. 603) to have been taken from a *Gautamīya-vivaraṇa*. Then what would appear to be Śaṅkha's text *kṣatriya-vaiśyānulomānatarajotpanno*, followed by the two *ślokas*, commencing with *anulomyupaneyānam*, the provenance of which is unclear. Next comes the same quotation of 'another *smṛti* from Maskari (this time properly spelt) described as the 'author of a (or the) *Gautamīya-vivaraṇa*.' After an *iti* there follows a half-*śloka* commencing *māhiṣya iti nāmnā* but in

1. *tasyāś-varathasūtras-ilpavāstuvidyā dhanurvidyānvitāś-ceti*. It is the reference to *dhanurvidyā* which is novel. Such discrepancies would not trouble scholars of a civilisation which regarded all traditional texts as equally valid in what form they were received by the learned.

so bad a shape that it is not clear what it means. Next Yājñavalkya is cited for a rather poor reproduction of Yājñ. I. 92—complete this time. After an *iti* appears another half-*śloka*, also in bad condition commencing *savarṇa*, and ending *akarṇyate janaiḥ*, which is not attributed to any particular author and I have found impossible to trace. Then follows *atra Kauṭilya-vacanam* As mentioned above, this must indicate that the author of the original text of the inscription believed he was about to cite Kauṭilya. The appropriate text is III. 7.35, but it is difficult to see how it could have been left out by haplography : *karmaṇā vaiśyo Rathakāraḥ*. However, it would have fitted well enough had it actually been copied out. Later we shall see that another author is merely cited, and not quoted. What does follow the citation of Kauṭilya is Yājñavalkya I. 95abc, followed by an unintelligible half – *śloka* (apparently) in which the word Rathakāra appears. Next comes the phrase *tathā hi Bodhāyana-vacanam*. But the words of Baudhāyana on the subject (see above) are not quoted.

There follows a long Tamil and Sanskrit sentence in which the Brahmins state that the *anuloma* Rathakāra is born of a Māhiṣya male to a Karaṇa female, the Māhiṣya himself being the offspring of a Kṣatriya male by a Vaiśya female and the Karaṇa female being the offspring of a Vaiśya male by a Śūdra female as is unexceptionable, following Yājñavalkya in preference to other sources). This Rathakāra's ways of earning a livelihood are stated (as compraising *vāstuśāstra*, chariots, carts and the like; sculpture and engineering: the making of what is called *brahmayāgādi*-(?) which calls for some investigation, if it is correctly transcribed; the making of sacrificial implements, statues, palaces, halls, gopuras; certain other tasks which are not clear; then the production of crowns, bracelets, threads and thrones for the royal palace, and above all, the painting of idols or images.

MRS. VASUNDHARA P. S. FILLIOZAT

Three Kaṃpaṇṇas of Vijayanagara.

According to all the historians, for the first time we come across the name of Kaṃpaṇṇa in the inscription of Śṛṃgēri [1], dated 1346 A.D. when, to celebrate his victory, Harihara I, the founder of the Vijayanagara empire, along with his four brothers, Kaṃpaṇṇavoḍeya, Bukkaṇṇavoḍeya Mārappavoḍeya, Muddappavoḍeya, Aliya Ballappaḷ Daṇṇāyaka and Kumāra Sovaṇṇoḍeya, went to Śṛṃgēri, did obeisance to Guru Vidyātīrtha, made some donations to the *paricārakas* who were in the service of Bhāratītīrtha śrīpāda and his disciples at Śṛṃgēri. Later on, practically we do not hear about this Kaṃpaṇṇa. So the historians are of the opinion that he must have lived in or about 1350 A.D.

Then we hear about Kumāra Kaṃpaṇṇa voḍeya and Cikka Kaṃpaṇṇa, voḍeya, sons of Bukka I, the brother of Harihara I. According to some historians, Kumāra Kaṃpaṇṇa and Cikka Kaṃpaṇṇa are the names of one and the same person. They think that "Cikka" is added to this Kaṃpaṇṇa's name in order to distinguish him from his uncle, Kaṃpaṇṇa, the elder brother of Bukka I. There are some authors like Hayavadanarao, the author of "Mysore Gazateer," who suggests that Bukka had two sons, Kumāra Kaṃpaṇṇa and Cikka Kaṃpaṇṇa. He comes to this conclusion because "Madhurāvijayam," the famous work of Gaṅgādēvī. daughter-in-law of Bukka I, while giving a picturesque description of her husband, Kaṃpaṇṇa's conquest of Madhurā, writes that Bukka I, from his wife Dēvāyī had three sons, Kaṃpaṇṇa, another Kampaṇṇa and Saṃgama.[3] The author of this article agrees with this view and, to solve the problem of three Kampaṇṇas, she will take the help of inscriptions which are reliable.

Almost all the historians have neglected the importance of an inscription from Vāraṇāsi [4]. It mentions the name of a certain Śrī Vīra Kaṃpaṇṇavoḍeya, who makes the gift of a village named Vāraṇāsi tax-free as long as the sun

1. Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. VI, Sringeri I.
2. "Madhurāvijayam" by Gaṇgādēvī, II, 34, ed. by Tiruvenkatacari, Annamalai nagar 1957.
3. Ibid. II, 40.
4. L. Rice, "Epigraphia Carnatica," vol. X, Kolar 205, p. 71.

and the moon endure. This inscription is dated *paridhāvi saṃvatsara phālguṇa śu. 5 gu[ruvāra]*. In the absence of the Śaka year, it is accepted that we must take the year of the Christian era to which the astronomical details of the date correspond. In the present case, the details of the date correspond with Thursday, 1st February, 1313 A.D.[1] Here it is certain that this inscription speaks of Kaṃpaṇṇa, brother of Bukka I and not Kaṃpaṇṇa, son of Bukka I. By mistake, L. Rice, the editor of this inscription in the tenth volume of "Epigraphia Carnatica," while giving a summary of the inscription, proposes the corresponding date as 1373 A.D. But the astronomical details do not tally with 1373 A.D.

Kōlār was a part of Nikarili Cōḷa maṇḍaḷa[2] It is not wrong to think that Kampaṇṇavoḍeya, because he is mentioned as Śrīmatu mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. was perhaps a mahāmaṇḍalēśvara under Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III[3], who then had control over this region.

A few more inscriptions of Kaṃpaṇṇa I are found in the Tamil country, e.g. Kolar 202, an inscription of Eḍahaḷḷi, 1351 A.D. In one of the inscriptions of Ballāḷa III we get the name of a certain Kaṃpaṇṇadaṇṇāyaka, but we are not sure whether the same Kaṃpaṇṇavoḍeya who was a mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara was also a daṇṇāyaka. The enigma will be solved after a detailed study of the inscription in the near future.

This Kaṃpaṇṇavoḍeya I must have died by about 1353 A.D., because on this date his son, Sāyaṇa, makes a gift so that his parents may obtain merit (*puṇya*).[4] That is why Bukka I, though younger than Kaṃpaṇṇa, assumes the royal titles and ascends the throne of Vijayanagara in or about 1356 A.D.

It was not uncommon in those days to give the same name to two brothers in the same family by adding "doḍḍa" or "hiriya" and "cikka" which mean "elder" and "younger" respectively. There are hosts of inscriptions which mention Kumāra Kaṃpaṇṇa, the conqueror of Madhurā, as Kumāra Kaṃpaṇṇa the son of Bukkaṇṇavoḍeya. These inscriptions mostly belong

1. S. K. Pillai, "Indian Ephemeris".
2. L. Rice, ibid. X, Kolar 209, p. 69.
3. *M. E. R.* 1920, app. B, n° 401, p. 18, *Stone inscriptions copied in* 1919, on the South of the rock of the Arulala Perumal temple, Kancipuram.
4. Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of South India, p. 192, Madras Ep. Rep. 500 and 503 of 1906.

to the Tamil country and are in Tamil. This Kaṃpaṇṇa was in charge of Nikarili Cōḷa maṇḍala, ruling from his capital, Muḷuvāyi[1].

Cikka Kaṃpaṇṇa was in charge of Hoysaḷanāḍu, that is the region of Mysore, Śrīraṃgapaṭṭaṇa, Guṃdlepeṭ, Naṃjanagūḍu,[2] etc. To make a distinction between these two brothers is rather difficult. In most of the inscriptions, Kaṃpaṇṇa, the elder brother, is mentioned with the suffix Srī Vīra or Srī Kumāra[3] son of Bukkaṇṇavoḍeya, whereas the younger brother, in a few published inscriptions, is mentioned as Cikka Kaṃpaṇṇoḍeya,[4] son of Bukkaṇṇoḍeya. The fact that there are two brothers of the same name in the same family is clear from the following inscription which relates to the death of one of them.

Naṃjaṃṇoḍeya, son of Chikka Kaṃpaṇṇoḍeya,son of Srī Vīra Bukkaṇṇavoḍeya, makes a gift of a village called Maḍehaḷḷi in Kuḍuganāḍu to a certain Rāmayya of Vijayapura when his (Naṃjaṇṇoḍeya's) father obtained svarga.[5] This inscription is dated *Śaka 1296 Srī Ānaṃda saṃvatsarada puṣya ba. 5. sō. (mavāra)*. On verifying the date from S. K. Pillai's "Indian Ephemeris" we get the corresponding date Sunday 25th or Monday 26th December 1374.

Another inscription from Kōlār district mentions that when Vīra Kaṃpaṇṇoḍeya, son of Srī Vīra Bukkaṇṇodeya, was ruling the earth, to procure him dharma, a certain Vīrappoḍeya makes a gift to God Mūlasthānadēva on *Śaka 1297 Ānaṃda saṃvatsarada puṣya ba 15 gu (ruvāra)*.[6] According to S. K. Pillai's "Indian Ephemeris" we get the corresponding date as Tuesday 2nd January 1375 A.D. or Thursday, 4th January 1375 A.D.

Another inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai taluk also mentions Srī Vīra Kaṃpaṇṇoḍeya, son of Srī Vīra Bukkaṇṇoḍeya. This inscription is dated

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1. L. Rice, ibid. X, Kolar 203, p. 70. Also Bangalore 81, p. 19.
2. L. Rice, ibid. III, Namjanagud 117, p. 201. E.C. IV, Gumdlepet 32, p. 68-69.
3. L. Rice, ibid. X Mulbagal 58, p. 107. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. IX part II, n° 411, p. 417-418.
4. L. Rice, ibid. Namjanagud 117.
5. Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1930, n° 20 p. 155, in the village of Maḍehaḷḷi, in the hōbaḷi of Gumḍlept, on a slab at the back of the house of Mādappa son of Kuḷḷappa.
6. Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1926, "Kolar District, Cimtamani taluk n° 74, p. 76, at Gamjuru in Cimtamani hobali, on a stone near the well at East.

Rakṣasa saṃvatsara mithuna śu di caturthī Sunday puṣya nakṣatra,[1] which according to "Indian Ephemeris" corresponds to Sunday, 3rd June 1375; and the *tithi* is *tṛtiya* and not *caturthi*, because *caturthi* corresponds to Monday and the *naksatra*, is *Āslēṣa*.

All these evidences prove that in 1374 A.D. Cikka Kaṃpaṇṇoḍeya died, and his elder brother, Kumāra Kaṃpaṇṇoḍeya, most prabably died in the latter half of 1375 A.D., because early in 1376 A.D.,[2] we get an inscription of Bukka I from Kōlār district and not a single inscription of Kumāra Kaṃpaṇṇoḍeya is found any where after 1375 A.D.

On the whole, from our study we can conclude that there were three Kaṃpaṇṇas born in the Saṃgama family of Vijayanagara and all the three died in the latter half of the 14th century.

From the study of these inscriptions we can solve some problems like the identification of "a certain Bakan, a Hindu chieftain who defeated and made Kurbat Hasan Kangu, the then ruler of Madhura, prisoner" and "how and when the Tamil country came under the sway of Vijayanagara kings,"[3] etc.

The author would like to suggest that the name, Kaṃpaṇṇa, is a deformation or a fancy for the real name, Keṃpa or Keṃpaṇṇa, which means red. In one of the inscriptions from Bengaluru, Keṃpaṇṇa, the son of Bukka I, is mentioned as Keṃpaṇṇa Voḍeya.[4] The poetess, Gaṅgādēvi, adopted the sanskritised form, Kaṃpa or Kaṃpaṇa, and has given an interesting and beautiful derivation of this word: Kaṃpaṇa means "he who makes enemies shiver."[5] This is a poetess's fancy which shows her poetical talent. The real name must be Keṃpaṇṇoḍeya, as the above mentioned inscription says.

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1. M. E. R. 1919, app. C, n° 294, p. 73, on the North wall of the mandapa in front of the ruined temple at Avurur.
2. Ep. Carn., vol. XVII, Kolar 324, p. 17, p. 10 (text in grantha characters), dated *Nala varusa sittirai mada* 2...which corresponds with 27th March 1376. *and ARE*-1948-49, *App. B., para* 35
3. A. Krishnaswami, "Tamil Country under Vijayanagar, p. 3, Annamalainagar 1964. Elliot & Dowson, vol. III, p. 339: from Shams Siraj Afif, during the reign of Firz Shah Tughlak (1351-1388).
4. "Epigraphia Carnatica" vol. IX, Bangalore 67, p. 17.
5. Gaṅgādēvi, "Madhuravijayam," II, 34.

B. R. GOPAL

Mudakkāru

The series of battles fought between the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Choḷas, specially during the reign period of Sōmēśvara I, are quite well-known. When Sōmēśvara ascended the Chālukya throne in 1044 A.D., the contemporary Chōḷa king was Rājādhirāja. These two are said to have met five times on the battlefield and in the last battle of Koppam Rājādhirāja lost his life. It was here, on the battlefield at Koppam, identified with Koppaḷ the taluk headquarters of that name in Raichur district, that Rājēndra II, the Chōḷa, was anointed king.

Earlier, to Rājēndra had been attributed the credit of planting a pillar of victory at Kolhapur. It is now known that this battle was fought at Koppam same as Koppaḷ and not Khidrapur, near Kolhapur as had been originally identified. So, this view "must be abandoned."[1]

The Chōḷa inscriptions, however, refer to Rājēndra II defeating Āhavamalla twice. The Tiruppanandāḷ inscription[2] of Kulōttunga I, as also the Tirumukkūḍal inscription[3] of Vīrarājēndra, refer to him as "*Āhavamallaṉai irumaḍi veṉkaṇḍu Ulaguyyakkoṇḍaruḷiṉa Aṇṇar.*" Of these, the first is the battle of Koppam, while the second is the one fought at Mudakkāṟu. The battle of Koppam is noted above.

An inscription from Tirupāppuḷiyūr,[5] dated in the third year of Rājamahēndra (called Ko-Rājakēsari in the record), who was the son and heir-apparent of Rājēndra II, states that the latter defeated Āhavamalla at Mudakkāṟu. Rājamahēndra appears to have been chosen as heir-apparent in about 1059 A.D. and it has been thought that the Mudakkāṟu battle "may be dated in about March A.D. 1062."[6]

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1. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 257.
2. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 74 of 1931-32 and *Ibid.*, Pt. II. pp. 50 ff.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI. p. 233, line 11.
4. This is not found in the Tiruppanandāḷ inscription. See Text given in *op. cit.*
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII. No. 743.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 247, note 1.

From the records of Rājēndra II, it appears that this battle was fought at the instance of the Chālukya king himself. An inscription of this king from Tirumalavāḍi[1] states that Āhavamalla, who was anxious to wash off the disgrace of his defeat at Koppam, started with a fresh army against the Chōḷa king. Some important chiefs of his army, named in the Chōḷa record, are Daṇḍanāyaka Vālādēva, Irugaiyyaṇ and Vikramāditya, the prince. According to this record the first of these fell in the battlefield along with his followers, while the others fled, unable to resist the attack of the enemy.

It is difficult to identify these officers of Sōmēśvara I, excepting, of course, Vikramāditya. None of the Chālukyan records refers to Vālādēva or Irugayya. But there is one record at Hāvanūr,[2] belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara I and dated S'aka 975, Vijaya, corresponding to 1053 A.D., in which a certain Daṇḍanāyaka Vāmadēva appears as one of the donors of income from certain taxes to the temple of Kalidēvasvāmin. We do not know if this was the same as Vālādēva mentioned in the Tamil record. Vālādēva might be a mistake for Vāmādēva. But the identification is based merely on similarity of names and, so, doubtful.

As usual, the Chālukyan records are silent about this event. But from an analysis of the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara I, we learn something about his movements. The Bennigōḷ record[3] of Sōmēśvara I dated 1055 A D. August 25, states that the king was camping at Bannigoḷa (Lingsugur taluk, Raichur district) on his way back after freeing the fort of Kummaṭa from all troubles. I have shown[4] that this is a reference to Sōmēśvara driving away Rājēndra II from the fort of Kummaṭa (in Gangavati taluk of Raichur district) which had been invested by the Chōḷa on his way back to his country after the battle of Koppam.

In 1057 A.D., Sōmēśvara went to Śrīśailam along with his wife, Maiḷaladēvi,[5] and in June 1058 A.D., we see him camping at Kōḷūru.[6]

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 647.
2. *A.R.S.I.E.*, B.K. No. 72 of 1932-33.
3. *A.R.I.E.*, No. 342 of 1957-58.
4. *Historical Studies*, a Journal of the History Department of the Mysore University, Vol. I, pp. 25ff.
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 119.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 122.

He seems to have been camping in the same place in the December of the same year, as is seen from the Nagai inscription.[1] The editor of this record identifies this place with a village of the same name which "is to the south-south-west of Nagai and on the bank of the Bhīmā." But in the next year, i.e. sometime in 1059-60 (S'aka 981, Vikāri) he is said to have proceeded on an expedition to the south. This we learn from a record found at Donekallu in Anantapur district.[2] According to the Beḷāgami inscription[3] the king visited the fort of Pānuṁgal i.e. Haṅgal in Dharwar district on January 9 1060 A.D.

An interesting record from Sūḍi[4] dated S'aka 981, Vikāri, Māghapuṇṇame, Monday, states that the king was camping at Puḷīy=appayaṇaviḍu or "haltcamp of Puḷi", which place has been identified by Dr. Barnett with Huḷibiḍu in Alur taluk of Bellary district. This inscription is, in a way, important as it states that the king was camping there, and "having made a victorious expedition through the southern region and conquered the Chōḷa, was holding a triumphal progress." From the expression used in the record,[5] it is clear that he was returning after defeating the Chōḷa. Now as seen above, the king's camping place is identified with Huḷibīḍu in Alur taluk of Bellary district by Dr. Barnett who based his conclusion on the identification made by Dr. Fleet earlier.[6] The reason for this was that the village, Pūḷi, is said to have been situated in the Sindavāḍi country ("Sindavāḍi nāḍa baḷiya Pūḷiy=appayaṇa-viḍinnoḷ) and, according to Dr. Fleet, this country included "at any rate the Ālūr taluka of the Bellary district."

But I am not inclined to accept this identification. For one thing, there is nothing to doubt the Beḷagāmi record wherein the king is said to have visited Haṅgal on January 9, 1060 A.D. while on the 20th of the same month, i.e. just eleven days after, he was camping at Pūḷi. If the latter place is somewhere in Alur taluk, how he could have proceeded to that place which is more than 150 miles away within ten days?

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1. *H.A.S.*, No. 8, Inscription B.
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 123. The expression used in "*dakshiṇa diśāvarakke digvijayaṁ geydandu.*"
3. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 152.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 85ff.
5. The expression used is "*dakshiṇa digvijayaṁ geydu Chōḷanam jayaṅgeydu maguḷe bijayaṁ geyyuttaṁ.*"
6. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 257-58.

On the other hand, a record near Āchāpur,[1] in Sagar taluk of Shimoga district, mentions a place called Andhāsura, now an insignificant village near Anantapur of the same taluk, as situated in Sindavāḍi. This part of the country is usually called Sāntaḷige-nāḍu in contemporary records. But this must have been referred to as Sindavāḍi because a branch of the Sinda family, known to us as the Sindas of Beḷagutti was administering the area round about Beḷagutti. I am, therefore, inclined to identify Pūḷi of the Sūḍi inscription with Hūḷihaḷḷi in Ranebennur taluk of Dharwar district which is within 50 miles from Haṅgal, and this place is very rightly near ("baḷi") Sindavāḍi-nāḍu, which is the adjoining territory in Shimoga district and embraces some parts of Hirekerur taluk also.

The Donekallu inscription says that Sōmēśvara was proceeding towards the south for a "dig-vijaya," while in the Sūḍi inscription it is said that he was on his way back after conquering the Chōḷa. The former record does not give necessary details of date to know when exactly he was proceeding towards the south. The given *tithi* corresponded to 1060 A.D., January 20 when the week day was Thursday, and not Monday, as stated in the record. Now, in between these two dates, Sōmēśvara must have met the Chōḷa in battle. So, we may assume that it was at the beginning of the cyclic year Vikāṛi of Śaka 980, i.e. sometime in March-April of 1059 A.D., that the king was proceeding towards the south. The difference between these two dates is only about nine months in which period he completed his war with the Chōḷa.

Now, it has been thought that the battle of Muḍakkāṛu might have taken place in about 1062 A.D,, on the ground that this is referred to in a record of Rājamahēndra dated in his third year. But there is nothing to prevent us from concluding that this event might have occurred much earlier, even in the very year when Rājamahēndra was chosen heir-apparent. On the other hand, the two Kannada records certainly refer to the same battle, for we know that, after the battle of Koppam, it was only at Muḍakkāṛu that the two rival kings met one another on the battlefield. Added to this is the record of Rājēndra II which is dated in his ninth year and speaks of the battle of Muḍakkāṛu. Rājendra started his reign sometime in 1052 A.D., during the life-time of his father and his ninth year falls in 1060-61 A.D., and the battle itself must have taken place before this, in 1059 A.D. itself.

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII Sa. 109 same as No. 165 of *Mysore Inscriptions* : Rice.

Where was this battle fought? Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri is of the opinion that "it is difficult to resist the conclusion, already suggested, that the Muḍakkāṟu of the records of Rājēndradēva and Rājamahēndra and the Kūḍal-sangamam of the early records of Vīrarājēndra refer to one and the same engagement."[1] According to him, the battle of Muḍakkāṟu is the same as the battle of Kūḍal-sangamam fought by Vīrarājēndra against Sōmeśvara I, therefore, he identified the place of battle with Kūḍali at junction of Tungā and Bhadrā in Mysore, or that of the Tungabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇa."

But the learned editors of the Charāla plates of Vīrarājēndradēva have discussed this problem in detail and I agree with their view. It is better to quote them in toto: "In the present record Vīrarājēndra states that, on the very day of his *coronation*, he proceeded against his enemy Ahavamalla and routed him and his sons at Kūḍal-sangamam in the north. This information is interesting and has not been specified in his other inscriptions. As Vīrarājendra's coronation could have taken place only after Rājendradēva's demise in A.D. 1063 this first battle of Kūḍal-Sangamam by Vīrarājendra as king will have to be dated in about A.D. 1064 only. But, on the other hand, the Maṇimangalam inscription mentions that after the notable victory at Kūḍal-Sangamam the king was pleased to attend the "Vīrasimhāsanam" along with his consort Ulagamuḻuḍuḍaiyāḷ and donned (*mēyndu*) the crown ("vijaya-maṇimakuṭam"). In view of the specific post-dating of the Kūḍal-Sangamam battle to his coronation in the present grant, the description given in the Maṇimangalam record has to be understood in the sense that the king signalised his success by a second elaborate coronation ceremonial after his return from the battlefield."

From the above extract it will be clear that Muḍakkāṟu and Kūḍal-Sangamam were really two different battles and that the former was fought in 1059 A.D. as already shown, and not in 1062 A.D. as scholars have thought. This will also be clear from the two names which are suggestive. As shown by these two scholars, "the Muḍakkāṟu may be different from the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which requires more than one river to justify its name."[2] By Muḍakkāṟu, as a name in the Tamil language we understand a "river with a sharp bend." This, therefore, does not seem to be a name of a place, but rather a description.

1. *The Cōḻas*, p. 264.
2. Ibid., p. 246, note 2.

As seen above at the end of 1058 A.D. Sōmēśvara was at Kōḷūru. near Nagai in Gulbarga district, and in the first quarter of 1059 A.D. he might have been camping somewhere in, or near, Donekallu on his way to the south. From there he appears to have turned westwards and met the Chōḷa at some place in Gaṅgavāḍi where there was 'a river with a sharp bend.'

Vīrarājēndra's first meeting with Āhavamalla was as a prince when he participated in a campaign against Gaṅgavāḍi and this may be the time when the battle of Muḍakkāṟu was fought. So, from Donekallu, Sōmēśvara might have turned towards the west or south-west. In Chitaldurg district there is a village called Maḍadakere in Hosadurga taluk. This is very near the Vēdāvatī river. This might be the same as Muḍakkāṟu.[1] This is just a surmise. But from the discussion it will be clear that the battle was fought somewhere in Gaṅgavāḍi, more probably in any place in Chitaldurg, Chikmagalur or Shimoga districts. We must note that after nine months Sōmēśvara was back at Hūlihaḷḷi.

Who won the battle cannot be said. Perhaps nobody won it. The Sūḍi inscription gives credit of victory to the Chālukya, while the Tamil records say that the Chālukyan chiefs were routed. But from the point of the Chōḷas it was an interesting battle wherein the king, the heir-apparent as also the prince, took part together. But the two armies had to meet once again, this time in the east, in the Vengi country.

1. A damaged record of Sōmēśvara dated 1063 A.D., found in Medakera in Channagiri Taluk of Shimoga District (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Ci 18) states that his subordinate Vijayāditya was camping at Muḍukakeṟe while "he was making an expedition of victory to the South." This record is later than the date of the battle of Muḍakkāṟu. But Muḍukakeṟe mentioned here may also be the same as Muḍakkāṟu. This place is near the Tuṅgā river.

S. GURURAJACHAR

Some Revenue Terms in Mediaeval Karnataka Epigraphs

[A.D. 1000 – 1300]

Reference is often found in numerous epigraphs of the period 1000-1300 A.D., to certain revenue terms, a scientific study of which has hardly begun as yet. An attempt may, however, be made here to explain a few of them in the light of contemporary evidence. The explanations and suggestions are to be deemed tentative.

The income of the State fell into various categories, the most notable being '*siddhāya*,' '*pannāya*,' '*daṇḍāya*' and the like. The term. '*āya*' literally means income. In the inscriptions, it appears as a general and fiscal term, denoting revenue or tax.[1]

The term '*siddhāya*' (*siddha*+*āya*) has been taken to be "the name applied to the traditional land tax, always taken for granted, and not in need of any fresh regulations or prescription."[2] This explanation does not seem to be convincing.

We have evidence to show that '*siddhāya*' stood for some tax, levied not merely on lands, but on houses[3] and shops[4] as well. It was not "probably agricultural income," as stated by Dr. D. C. Sircar.[5]

The Nēralige (Hassan district) grant[6] of Hōysaḷa Vīra-Ballāḷa II, dated 1194 A.D., is of particular interest in this context. It shows that the '*siddhāya*' of that '*agrahāra*' village included not only the land tax

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1. See D. C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary p. 41.
2. G. Yazdani (ed.), The Early History of the Deccan, pp. 389-90.
3. EC. VII, Sk. 112 (1139 A.D.).
4. ARIE. 1961-62, B. No. 84 (1077 A.D.).
5. Op. cit., p. 311.
6. MAR. 1923, No. 1.

proper, but also the tax on arecanuts (*aḍike-suṅka*), and all other revenues (*sarvāya*) of the government. In short, it stood for all the aggregate revenue payable to the government. The record also shows that the '*siddhāya*' could be re-assessed and the amount of revenue increased.

Further, an epigraph [1] of 1138 A.D. from Dharwar mentions '*pūrver siddhāya,*' which seems to mean the '*siddhāya*' as was settled during earlier times. The precise meaning of '*prati-siddhāya*' [2] is not clear. Dr. D. C. Sircar,[3] however, thinks that it was same as the '*siddhāya.*'

The term, '*pannāya,*' has been taken in the sense of "income from merchandise including octroi duties, levied at rates specified from time to time, and collected either in kind or its equivalent in money as the case may be." [4] A careful study of the records in which this term appears will show that the above interpretation is not convincing.

There is difference of opinion among epigraphists with regard to the derivation and nature of this revenue term. Inscriptions often refer to terms such as '*pannasu,*' [5] '*pannāsu*' [6] and the like. '*Pannasu,*' according to Dr. L. D. Barnett,[7] seems to denote an estate under some particular conditions by no means clear now: and '*pannasiga*' seems to denote a tenant of it.

Further, Dr. G. S. Gai [8] thinks that the term, '*pannasu,*' is derived from the Sanskrit '*pañcāśat*' (=fifty), and appears also in the other forms like '*pannasa,*' '*pannāsa,*' and '*pannāya*' in the epigraphs. Again, according to Dr. D. C. Sircar,[9] those who received this kind of grant were allowed to enjoy fifty per cent of the income deriving from the granted estate.

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1. KI, V, No. 24.
2. IA, XIX p. 64 (1040 A.D.).
3. Op. cit., p. 260.
4. G. Yazdani (ed.). op. cit.. p. 390.
5. EI, XV, pp. 335-36.
6. IA, X, p. 67.
7. EI, XV, p. 336 (n. 3).
8. Historical Grammar of Old Kannaḍa, p. 203.
9. Op. cit., p. 234.

It has further been pointed out[1] that the two Sanskrit terms, viz., '*pañcāśat*' (=fifty) and '*pañcaviṁśati*' (=twenty-five), figuring in some ancient inscriptions of Karṇāṭaka, later on changed into 'pannāsa' and '*pannavisa*' respectively, and generally stood for an estate granted. If this interpretation is accepted as correct, '*pannāya*' may mean the revenue derived from an estate that was granted. A Ḍambaḷ (Dharwar district) record[2] of 1184 A.D., however, refers to the grant of '*pannāya*' tax on all the gardens (except '*sarvanamasya*' lands) for the repairs, etc., of the tank called Gōnasamudra.

Further, the expression, '*accu-pannaya*,"[3] is difficult to explain. If the term, '*accu*' (used as a prefix here), means a coin—as it often does—the expression may mean that part of the '*pannāya*' income which was collected not in kind, but in cash. Dr. D. C. Sircar,[4] however, takes it in the sense of "department of taxation or coining," which interpretation does not seem to be free from doubt.

The term, '*daṇḍāya*'[5] apparently meant the income derived from fines (*daṇḍa*), levied in courts or in other ways as punishments for various offences. Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi[6] however, takes it as a military tax.

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1. Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka, Vol. 51, Pt. II, p. 92.
2. SII. XV, No. 57.
3. Ibid., IX. i; No. 223 (1127 A.D.).
4. Op. cit., p. 4.
5. BKI, I. i, No. 74 (1041 A.D.); SII, IX. i, 172 (1106 A.D.) ,etc.
6. KI, I, No. 17 (1055 A.D.)

NOBORU KARASHIMA

Relations between South India and China in Chola Times

While the Chola dynasty was dominant in South India, extending its power even to the Malay peninsula and Sumatra, the Sung dynasty was flourishing in China, spreading its influence to east and south-east Asian countries. The fact that there was diplomatic and commercial intercourse between these two dynasties in the eleventh century was first noticed by Hirth and Rockhill in their annotated translation of "*Chau-fan-chi,*" a Chinese work on Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries written by Chau. ju-kua.[1] Basing his study mainly on the evidence presented in it, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri writes in "*The Colas.*" "The commercial intercourse between southern India and China was, therefore, continuous and extensive."[2] The purpose of this paper is to reinforce the statement of this eminent professor by indicating some more evidence on the topic.

In his books concerning South Indian history, Professor Nilakanta Sastri states that three Chola embassies reached China in 1015, 1033 and 1077 A.D. respectively.[3] Examination of the Chinese sources ("*Sung-shih*" and "*Sung-hui-yao*"). however, shows that one more Chola embassy reached China in 1020 A.D., making the total number of the Chola embassies four.[4]

According to the "*Sung-shih,*"[5] the envoy (*p'a-lan-te-ma-lieh-ti*) who reached China in 1020 A.D., died in Kaung-chou, one of the southern districts of China, most probably before getting to the Chinese capital. The paragraph

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1. Friedrich Hirth & W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua : His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-Fan-Chi*, St. Petersburg, 1911, pp. 93-102.
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas* 2nd ed., Madras, 1955, p. 129.
3. *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, Madras, 1939, pp. 25, 26 and 141 - 147; *The Cōḷas* 2nd ed., Madras, 1955, pp. 219 and 316; *A History of South India*, 3rd ed., Madras, 1966. pp. 184 and 191.
4. Hirth & Rockhill, mention this embassy also in note I2 of the section 19 of the part one. which seems to have escaped the notice of Professor Nilakanta Sastri Hirth & Rockhill, op.cit., p. 101.
5. *Sung-shih* 489-23.

concerning this embassy is short and the name of the Chola king who sent it is not given. Though the sentense structure suggests that the king would be the same as the one who sent the embassy of 1015 A.D., i.e., Rājarāja I, the year 1020 A.D. seems to be too late for postulating Rājarāja I, as the king who sent this embassy even if we count the years which must have been spent for travelling this long distance. The omission of the king's name as well as the shortness of the paragraph might be explained as caused by the death of the envoy and the non-completion of his task.

When the author of this paper visited the megalithic excavation site of Chandravalli in Mysore State in 1963, he found a Chinese copper coin in the Local Antiquities Museum at Chitradurga and traced it on a paper with pencil. After returning to Tokyo, he examined it and convinced himself that the coin was "t'ien-sheng-yuan pao" issued by a Sung emperor in 1023 A.D.[1] Though it is reported in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore (for the year 1910)[2] that "it belongs most probably to the middle of the second century B.C.," the author's identification has been further confirmed by the photograph of the coin, which was made available to the author by courtesy of Professor Seshadri, Director of the Department of Archaeology, Mysore State.

Moreover, Dr. T. Mikami, professor of Asian archaeology at the University of Tokyo, who is a well known specialist on Chinese ceramics, has reported that he found a Chinese copper coin of the Sung dsnasty (Yuan-feng-tung-pao, issued during 1078-1083 A.D.) and several fragments of Chinese ceramics of the Sung period among the findings of the Chandravalli excavation in the Archaeological Museum of Mysore State at Mysore when he visited South India in 1956.[3] He found some more fragments of Sung ceramics and a Sung copper coin among the findings of Arikamedu excavation in the Museum of the French Public Library in Pondicherry and many fragments of Sung ceramics in the archaeological site of Korimedu near Pondicherry.

Copper coins of the Sung dynasty were much in demand in the surrounding countries of China and the Sung government, suffering from the

1. In this examination, Dr. T. Yamamoto, professor of Asian History at the University of Tokyo, was kind enough to help the author, for which he is grateful.
2. p. 44.
3. Tsugio Mikami, "Chinese ceramics in Mediaeval Middle East and South Asia," *Orient* Vol. VI, pt, iv, (1963), pp. 4-6.

drain of those copper coins, banned their export. Nevertheless, they were widely used in trade in south-east Asian countries of the time and later[1] and Chinese ceramics were one of the main articles of import from China in those countries and even in western countries. Since the last century, a large number of Chinese copper coins of the Sung period have been excavated in south-east Asia and in east Africa. Their discovery in south India is, therefore, quite natural and it is expected that more would be found if a systematic investigation is made.

The record of four Chola embassies in the Chinese sources and the discovery of Chinese coins and ceramics of the Sung dynasty in south India are good testimony to the vigorous intercourse existed between south India and China in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

1. On the commercial activities in Palembang in Sumatra, a Chinese writer who visited a place in the early fifteenth century states, "In the city market also Chinese copper coins are used." Ma Huan, *Ying-ya-sheng-lan*. Chapter on chiu-chiang-kuo.

C. KRISHNAMURTHY

Some Minor Dynasties of Kolar District

(1179 - 1338 A.D.)

The eastern part of Kolar district, comprising Kolar and Mulbagal taluks, occupies a strategic position. The easily passable Nangali-ghat was considered by the rulers of the past as the gateway between the plateau and the lower coastal plain. It was through this ghat that many armies of the Chalukyas, the Gaṅgas, the Rāshṭṛakūṭas, the Hōysaḷas, the Pallavas and the Chōḷas moved. It was a bone of contention among many ancient kings, as this area could serve as a convenient base for expeditions by the rulers of the plateau down the ghats and also for the rulers of the south for their conquests in the plateau.

At the begining of the 12th century A.D. this region was under the control of the Chōḷas of Tanjore until they were forced to vacate it by the conquests of Hōysaḷa Vishnuvardhana in 1117 A.D. But in spite of the initial success of Vishnuvardhana he could not hold the territory for long. A number of inscriptions of Vikrama Chōḷa ranging in date from 1120 to 1130 A.D. show that the Chōḷa king established his authority there shortly afterwards.[1] Again from 1150 onwards Hōysaḷa inscriptions[2] begin to appear till about 1169, indicating Hōysaḷa interest in commanding control over this strategic region. The Chōḷa king could not have kept quiet, but unfortunately there is a gap in epigraphical sources for about nine years. However, in 1178 A D. an inscription[3] is dated in the year of Chōḷa Kulōttunga III, indicating his authority over the area. But in the very next sentence in the same inscription the name of Hōysaḷa Ballāḷa is mentioned as the ruler. This peculiarity probably reveals the confused political situation in the region the control of which was shifting between the two.

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1. E C. X Sidlaghatta 8-b, 9, 30, Chintamani 70, 78, 160, Kolar 218 etc,
2. E.C. X Kolar 100-a, 160 Malur 142, 143 etc.
3. E.C. XVII Mulbagal 44-b (revised).

I. *Later Gaṅgas*

It was at this opportune moment that a member of the ancient Gaṅga family appeared on the scene. He claimed glowing titles reminiscent of those used by the early Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ. Neither he nor any other of his successors acknowledge the supremacy of any great power of the day and appear to have ruled independently.

That person who inaugurated the rule of this family was Vīragaṅga. A Tamil inscription at Vībhūtipura in Kolar taluk[1] introduces him first as the "companion of the goddess of fortune, the husband of the goddess of victory, who captured by force the Veṅgāli, who had crossed the river Kāvēri of the south, who had vanquished the Tennan (Pāṇḍya) and who is the lord of Muchukundagiri[2] and who is adorned with the elephant banner." He was also well versed in the three forms of Tamil. In a badly mutilated portion the title 'lord of Kacchi' appears, but the context cannot be made out.

The statement that Vīragaṅga was well versed in the three forms of Tamil indicates his Tamil connection. The crossing of the Kāvēri of the south and the victory over the Pāṇḍya might have been achieved earlier when he was in the service of the Chōḷa king. The date of the inscription, 1179, falling just an year after the date of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa's inscription in the same area probably suggests that Vīragaṅga obtained this territory from Kulōttuṅga himself as a reward for services rendered to him.

Vīragaṅga had a long reign of nearly 46 years, as one of his inscriptions issued in his 46th regnal year has been found.[3] It is dated *Tāraṇa saṁvatsara Tai*, corresponding to January 1225 A.D, which, again, confirms the beginning of his reign to be about 1179. His close association with the Chōḷas is seen in his personal name itself. Vīragaṅga is called Selvan in his first inscription. In two inscriptions dated 1218 and 1222 A.D., his name occurs as Uttamachōḷagaṅgar Śelvagaṅgar.[4] Four inscriptions dated in 1216 and 1225 give his name as Vīragaṅga alias Uttamachōḷagaṅga.[5] In many of his

1. E.C. X Kolar 132.
2. The hill near Kolar town.
3. E.C. X Kolar 121.
4. E.C. X Kolar 124 and Mulbagal 212.
5. E.C. X Kolar 120, 121, 129 and 130.

inscriptions all his titles occur, and from these his full name with titles is known to be *Kuvalālapuraparamēśvaran, Gaṅga kulōdbhavan, Kāvēri-Vallabhan, Nandigiri-nāthan, Uttamachōḷagaṅgan alias Śelvagaṅgan alias Vīragaṅga.*

In three of his inscriptions[1] he is described as a Māhāmaṇḍalēśvara or Maṇḍalika. Though this indicates a subordinate status, he appears to have ruled independently, as no suzerain is mentioned in any of his inscriptions.

In the later years of his reign, it appears that he was leaning towards the Hōysaḷas. This may be due to a matrimonial alliance he had with one of the daughters of the famous Hōysaḷa general, Pōlāḷva Daṇḍanāyaka. The fact that Vīragaṅga was the son-in-law of Pōlāḷva is revealed in two inscriptions.[2] From the find spots of his stone inscriptions and the location of some lands or villages granted by him it can be made out that Uttama-chōḷagaṅga Vīragaṅga was holding sway over the area roughly comprising the present Kolar and Mulbagal taluks, i.e. the ancient Kuvalāḷanāḍu and Avaniya-nāḍu in Nigarilichōḷa-maṇḍalam.

Vīragaṅga is not heard of after January, 1225 A.D. and he may have died in that month or shortly afterwards. In the Kolar area there are no dated inscriptions at all after this upto 1262. In the eastern part of his dominion in Mulbagal taluk, a new line of kings, many of whom had the name Jayagoṇḍachōḷa Ilavañjirāyar, rose to power from the latter part of 1225 A.D.

Vīragaṅga had a daughter, Sōmaladēvi[3] and a son, Gaṅgapperumāḷ called 'youthful' in the inscription[4] of 1179, and he appears as a signatory along with his father in a donative inscription of 1224.[5] There are five

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1. E.C. X Kolar 124 a, Mulbagal 212 and XVII Kolar 287.
2. E.C. X Kolar 124 a, XVII Kolar 287.
3. E.C. XVII Kolar 283.
4. E.C. X Kolar 132.
5. E.C. X Kolar 137. In the text by Rice the date in figures is given as 1206. *Tāraṇa chittirai*, which will be March-April 1284 A.D. But at this date all inscriptions usually mention Hōysaḷa Rāmanātha, and the local ruler was a different one. The language and the phraseology of this inscription closely follow those of Vīragaṅga and evidently there is some mistake in reading the date which is in figures. *Tāraṇa* here must refer to 1224 only.

inscriptions[1] of this Gaṅgapperumāḷ, all undated, In all these he bears the traditional family titles, *Kuvaḷālapura-paramēśvaran, Gaṅga-kulōdbhavan Kāveri-Vallabhan* and *Nandigiri-nāthan.* One of the inscriptions give his full name as Uttamachōḷagaṅgan Gaṅgapperumāḷ.[2] In four inscriptions he is clearly described as the son of Uttamachōḷagaṅga alias Vīragaṅga.

Apart from these indications, the general pattern of the epigraphs and the names of some persons mentioned in these are the same as those found in the inscriptions of Vīragaṅga, a fact that confirms the attribution of these undated inscriptions to the above Gaṅgapperumāḷ. son of Vīragaṅga. In an inscription on the Mulbagal hill,[3] Gaṅgapperumāḷ is mentioned as the son of Ādichōḷā, probably referring his father as the first ruler of this new royal family. In this, one Jayagoṇḍachōḷa, the donor of a grant, appears as a subordinate of Gaṅgapperumāḷ. So this inscription has to be assigned to a time before raise of Ilavañjirāyar to power in Mulbagal, but after the death of Vīragaṅga, that is, to a date somewhere in the middle of 1225. This further indicates two points, that Gaṅgapperumāḷ succeeded his father on the throne after the latter's death, and that he lost the eastern part of his dominions (Avaniyanāḍu) to Jayagoṇḍachōḷa Iḷavañjirāyar in the latter part of 1225. In another inscription he is clearly stated to be ruling over only Kuvaḷālanāḍu.[4] At that time his capital was Kuṭṭēri.[5] His wife was Araṇavalli, and she appears as a donor in one of the inscriptions.[6]

There is no clue to the duration of Gaṅgapperumāḷ's rule. An inscription dated *Raudri Tai* mention one Vikkiramagaṅgan (Vikramagaṅga) as the son of Uttamachōḷagaṅgan with all the usual Gaṅga titles like *Kuvaḷālapura-paramēśvara.* The cyclic year *Raudri* with the *Tai* month appears in December–January of 1200-1201, 1260-61 and 1320–21, within the period of latter Gaṅga rule in Kolar district. In 1320–21 there are other rulers with different titles and can be omitted as unlikely. In the two others left, 1200-1201 falls within the early part of the reign of Vīragaṅga, and Vikkirama

1. E.C. X Kolar 143, Mulbagal 16, Bowringpet 54 XVII Kolar 288 and Malur 153.
2. E.C. X Kolar 143.
3. E.C. X Mulbagal 16.
4. E.C. X Kolar 143.
5. Ibid.
6. E.C. XVII Malur 150.

Gaṅga is not known otherwise then. December 1260–January 1261 is the only date possible, and this is substantiated by the other contents of the inscription. One Talaiśiyarāyan is mentioned as the minister of Vikramagaṅga. It is known from another inscription that he was the minister of Gaṅgapperumāḷ too.[1] Further, in specifying the grants made, earlier grants 'made by his grandfather and during the time of Gaṅgapperumāḷ' have also been referred to. So this Vīkramagaṅga was on the throne in about December, 1260 or January, 1261. Vikramagaṅga is described as the son of Uttamachōḷagaṅga, a name which was held by Gaṅgapperumāḷ as well as Vīragaṅga. As 1260 is far removed from the time of Vīragaṅga, Vikramagaṅga can be tentatively considered as the son of Gaṅgapperumāḷ himself.

There are six inscriptions, all again undated, of a ruler called Veṭṭummārabāṇan.[2] He is also associated with the usual Gaṅga titles, *Gaṅgakulodbhavan*, *Kāvēri-vallavan* and *Nandigiri-nāthan*. He is called Uttamachōḷagaṅgan in two inscriptions.[3] In one inscription he is described as the son of Uttamachōḷagaṅga[4] and in another as the son of Uttamachōḷagaṅga Vīragaṅga.[5] It is difficult to place him exactly in the genealogy, If Uttamachōḷagaṅga and Vīragaṅga are taken as common names of the members of this Gaṅga family, he may be placed after Vikkiramagaṅga. somewhere after 1260 and before 1262, when a new family with different titles appeared (see infra.). Either he was the son of the above or a cousin Veṭṭummārabāṇan's inscriptions are also found in Kuvaḷālanāḍu itself except one which is at Naṅgali in Avaniyanāḍu,[6] which probably indicates the territorial expansion at some time under him.

Two members of this family appear in later times, as important persons in the locality (*mudalis*) bereft of any royal titles. They are Gaṅgapperumāḷ mentioned in an inscription of 1273 A.D.[7] and his father, Uttamachōḷagaṅgan Padumidēvar, named in this and another undated inscription.[8]

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1. E.C. X Bowringpet 54.
2. E.C. X Bowringpet 50, Kolar 69, 76, 110 and 123 and Mulbagal 218.
3. E.C. X Kolar 69 and 110.
4. E.C. X Mulbagal 218.
5. E.C. X Bowringpet 55.
6. E.C. X Mulbagal 218.
7. E. C. X Kolar 242
8. E. C. X Kolar 244

The Family of Brahmadhirājars

Meanwhile, by the end of fifties of the 13th century another local family was raising to power in the Chintamani region (i.e. Kaivāra-nāḍu). This was the family of Brahmādhirājars, the members of which appear with this and other Tamilian titles like *Tuṭṭaraditta and Rajanārayaṇa*. As in the case of the inscriptions of the previous family, the epigraphs of Brahmādhirāyars are invariably in Tamil language and in the Tamil and Grantha script. These rulers appear to be members of some branch of the Gaṅga family, as many of them had the name, Gaṅgapperumāḷ. Nowhere, however, do their traditional titles like Kuvaḷālapura-paramēśvara occur in their inscriptions. It is also likely that the name, Gaṅgapperumāḷ simply means lord of the Gaṅga 'territory.'

Barring one Śrī Narasiṅgapoysaḷa Brahmādhirāya,[1] who appears only as a '*mudali*' in an undated inscription, the first ruler to be mentioned is Dushṭarāditya Rājarāyaṇa Brahmādhirāyan alias Gaṅgapperumāḷ. He is seen first in an inscription from Kaivāra in Kaivāra-nāḍu. But shortly by the middle of 1262 he was in Kolar taluk.[2] An inscription from Maḍivāḷa in Bowringpet taluq, dated 1262, reveals the family ties between Brahmādhirājan of Kaivāranāḍu and the Iḷavañjiyarāyars of Avaniyanāḍu. It is stated that a daughter of a Brahmādhirāya Śelvāṇḍai was the wife of Siruvāsudēvar, the king of the Ilavañjiyarāyar family. Probably this further provides a clue to the disappearence of the previous Gaṅga family of Kuvaḷālanāḍu from the scene.

It can be surmised that the Brahmādhirājar of Kaivāranāḍu and Śiruvāsudēvar of Avaniyanāḍu conjointly acted to dethrone the Gaṅga ruler of Kuvaḷālanāḍu, as a result of which, after their success Kuvaḷālanāḍu was shared between the two victors, the northern part going to the Brahmādhirājars and the southern to the Iḷavañjiyārs. The indication for this has been shown already in the appearence in the year 1262 of the inscription of Brahmādhirāyar Gaṅgapperumāḷ in Kolar taluk and that of Śiruvāsudēvar in Bowringpet taluk,[3] the whole of which came formerly under Kuvāḷālanāḍu. This Gaṅgapperumāḷ's inscriptions [4] are found mostly in Chintamani and Kolar taluks, and they run upto the year 1267.

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1. E. C, X Chintamani 46
2. E. C. XVII Kolar 335
3. et, Footnotes 28 and 29
4. E. C. X Chintamani 64, 96 and 97 E. C. XVII Kolar 335 and 340

In 1267 one Tammajayan, with the titles *Chaṁbukulōṛppavan Gōdavari-vallavan*, appears in Kolar taluk.[1] This is a solitary inscription of this alien ruler, and it is difficult to say how far he was responsible for eclipsing the power of the Brahmādhirāyars.

Eleven years after this, in 1278, inscriptions are seen issued by a member of the Brahmādhirāyar family. Now the king is Kūttāḍundēva alias *Mamanaṅkakkāra* Tuṭṭarāditta Rājanārāyaṇa Brahmādhirāyar alias Kariya-gōpala.[2] He is the same as Kariyagaṅgapperumāḷ, described as the son of Aṇṇanaṅkakāra Tuṭṭarāditta Rājanārāyaṇa Brahmādhirāja Chelvagaṅgar mentioned in an inscription[3] of 1279 A.D. This Chelva or Śelvagaṅga is mentioned in two inscriptions.[4] One of these inscriptions from Kaivāra refers to him as the ruler of Kaivāranāḍu. So this S'elvagaṅga is to be placed sometime between 1267 and 1278. Next appears his son, Kariyagaṅgapperumāḷ for whom the dates 1278 and 1279 are available. He appears to have lived at least upto 1281.

In October–November 1280, his son, Vāsudēvan, bearing the titles of *Ayyanaṅkakara Tuṭṭaraditta Rajanarayaṇa Brahmadhiraja* makes a grant.[5] In 1281 he makes another grant 'according to the order of Gaṅgapperumāḷ' i.e. his father.[6] It is not known whether Vāsudēva ruled independently or not. If he did, it must have been between 1281 and 1283.

There is an inscription of the son of this Vāsudeva, who is styled Gaṅgapperumaḷ, with the usual titles, *Ayyanaṅkakāra Tuṭṭaraditta Rajanārāyaṇa Brahmadhirājan*. Probably he is the same as Gangapperumāḷ who issued six inscriptions[7] between August, 1283 and June, 1286. But, due to some unknown reason, in some inscriptions he uses in his title, "*Mamanaṅkakāra*" instead of "*Ayyanaṅakāra.*" "*Aṅkakkāra*" can be generally taken to mean "supporter or defender." "*Ayyanaṅkakāra*" would be "father's supporter," and this title could have been used while his father was still

1. E. C. X Kolar 41
2. E. C. X Sidlaghatta 110
3. E. C. X Kolar 49
4. E. C. X Chintamani 101 and Kolar 171
5. E. C. X Kolar 48
6. E. C. X Kolar 47
7. E. C. X Kolar 45, 46, 50, 55, Chintamani 92 and 98

living. Later he might have tried to emphasise his support to some strong man, who could have been his uncle or father-in-law (*māma*) or somebody who could be called so.

Substantiating evidence for this is available in an inscription from Kaivāra itself. In 1285, Hōysaḷa Rāmanātha himself appears to have been present at the place, and he made a grant in that year to God Amaranārāyaṇa of Kaivāra.[1] The discomfiture experienced by Hōysaḷa Rāmanātha elsewhere made him to consolidate his territory in Kolar district, and for this he shifted his capital to Kundāṇi in this region.[2] The presence of the emperor had to be rccognized in some way or other by petty kings like the Brahmādhirāyars, and Gaṅgapperumāḷ might have done this by adding '*māmanaṅkakāra*' to his own titles. But it is not known whether he really was nephew or son-in-law to Rāmanātha. Gaṅgapperumāḷ's reign may have come to an end around June 1286.[3]

Anyway by September 1286, Vāsudēvar, alias Ayyanaṅkaḳāra Dushṭarāditya Rājanārāyaṇa Brahmādhirāyar, was on throne.[4] But his reign seems to have been very short. In November 1286, one Gaṅgapperumāḷ, described as son of Vāśināyan, appears as the ruler. It is difficult to say whether Vāśināyan was the same as Vāsudēvan, the previous ruler.

Some interesting facts suddenly appear in the pattern of the epigraphs from the reign of this Gaṅgapperumāḷ. They begin to mention the name of the Hōysaḷa emperor, Rāmanātha. They are usually dated in his regnal years.[5] This probably shows that these petty kings lost their independence considerably from this time. Further, all the previous rulers of the Brāhmādhirāyar family were ruling over Kaivāranāḍu (Chintamani taluk) and a part of Kuvaḷālanāḍu (Kolar taluk). But this Gaṅgapperumāḷ, who must have been an obedient feudatory of Rāmanātha, appears to have been invested with authority over Tēkkalnāḍu (Malur taluk) also.[6] There are two inscriptions of this chief dated in 1286. Another dated May, 1289, is the last record available for him.

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1. E. C. X Chintamani 100
2. Derret, J. D. M.; The Hōysaḷas, P. 140
3. E. C. X Kolar 45
4. E. C. X Chintamani 99 and 105
5. E. C. X Kolar 95 and XVII Malur 151
6. E. C. XVII Malur 151

There appears to have been some change around 1285 in the policy of Hōysaḷa Rāmanātha towards his feudatories. The epigraphs of the succeeding period show sudden changes of chieftains or the area, and probably the office of chieftain, to which position the earlier kingship had been reduced, was made to be held at the will and pleasure of the emperor. They were no more hereditary. However, if the king wished he could appoint any of the members of the earlier royal familes to important offices.

Thus we see that one Malaipperumāḷ son of Rājanārāyaṇa Brahmādhirāja Viraganga, in office in the Kolar area in October-November 1288.[1] But in the later part of the same month there is one Gaṅgādhara, son of Sōmadēva, who belonged to a family alien to the area and who had the titles, *'Śrī Bhujabaḷa Viranārāyaṇa Toyyakūranaṭṭu maṇḍalikan Aṇṇanaṅkakāra nalēruganda.*[2] And next year September, 1284 it is one Rāgavadēva of the same Toyyakkūrnāṭṭu family.[3]

The inscription of this Rāgavadēva gives a glimpse of the fate of the early family of Brahmādhirāyar. It is stated in this inscription that he made the grant of a village which was situated in the area and which came under his rule following his victory over Gaṅgapperumāḷ alias Tirucchiraṁbalañalanāyar Brahmarāyar. It is possible that this Gaṅgapperumāḷ was the same as the one previously mentioned. It is seen that in 1288 itself he lost even his home province, the Kaivāranāḍu. The Toyyakkūr maṇḍalika, who copies the titles of Hōysaḷa Rāmanātha, might have acted on behalf of Rāmanātha, his suzerain, against Gaṅgapperumāḷ who might have incurred the displeasure of the emperor.

III. Later Rulers

After the death of Rāmanātha this territory formally came under Hōysaḷa Ballāḷa III. From this time onwards the epigraphical account becomes disjointed making a continuous story of the family impossible.

In November, 1298. there was one Rājarāja Karkāṭaka Mahāraja alias Veṭṭaiyār Śokkan.[4] He might have been a member of a Gaṅga family, but this is not beyond doubt.

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1. E. C. X Chintamani 117
2. E. C. X Kolar 92
3. E. C. X Chintamani 38
4. E. C. X Kolar 38

In September 1333, there appears, in an inscription at Nandi in Chikkaballapur taluk, one Kumāra Śikkadēva, described as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Nandigirināṭha etc.[1] He was probably ruling over Kaḷavaranāḍu (Kaivāranāḍu ?) in Nigarilichōḷamaṇḍalam.

In an undated inscription of the time of Ballāḷa III one...manikka Brahmādhirāyar is stated to be ruling in Kaivāranāḍu.[2]

Again in 1334, in Malur taluk, there is one Uttamachōḷagaṅgan Virundar alias Karkāṭakamārāyan with the titles *Kuvaḷālapura-paramēśvaran Nandigirināthan* and *Satyavachakan.*[3]

In 1336 there is another Karkāṭakarāya who, however, had the alternate name, Sembondiyār, and who held the titles, *Kulōttuṅgachōḷa Tagaḍādhipatiraśan*, again known from an inscription in Malur Taluk.[4] It is difficult to say whether or not he was of the Gaṅga family.

Another change in the administrative policy, introduced this time by Emperor Ballāḷa III, finally wiped out all these petty kings and chiefs, hereditary or not, from the political scene. From 1338 onwards the Kolar region came under the direct administrative control of Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka, one of the generals of Ballāḷa III. Signifying this, inscriptions from this date start a new tradition in mentioning the name of the emperor and this general, as ruling the territory.

From the above discussion the genealogy and chronology of the these minor families from Kolar district may be set as follows :—[5]

1. E. C. Chikkaballapur I8
2. E. C. X Sidlaghatta 36
3. E. C. X Malur 14
4. E. C. X Malur 15
5. The stray rulers listed at the end have been omitted from the table.

Kōḷālapura-paramēśvaran Gaṅga-kulōdbhavan Kāvēri-vallabhan
Nandīgirināthan

Uttamachōḷagaṅga alias *Vīragaṅga* alias *Śelvagaṅga*
(m. a daughter of Pōlāḷva-daṇḍanāyaka)
(1179 – 1225)

Kuvaḷālapura-paramēśvaran Gaṅga-kulōṟppavan Kāvēri-vallabhan Nandigirināthan	Sōmaladēvi (daughter)

Uttamachōḷagaṅga alias *Gaṅgapperumaḷ*
(m. Araṇavalli)
(1225–?)

Kuvaḷālapura-paramēśvaran Gaṅga-kulōdbhavan Kāveri-vallabhan Nandigirināthan

Vikrama Gaṅgan
(? – 1260 – ?)

Kuvaḷālapura-paramēśvaran Gaṅga-kulōdbhavan Kāvēri-vallabhan Nandigirināthan

Uttamachōḷagaṅga alias *Veḍummārabāṇan*
(? 1260–1262)

?

Uttamachōḷagaṅga alias *Padumiśeyan*

Gaṅgapperumaḷ
(1273)

(Narasiṅga Poysaḷa Brahmādhirāya)

|

?

|

Dushṭarāditya Rājanārāyana Brahmādhirāya
alias *Gaṅgapperumaḷ*
(1258 – 1267)

|

?

|

Aṇṇanaṅkakāra Tuṭṭarāditta Rājanārāyaṇa Brahmādhirāya
Śelvagaṅgan
(Somewhere between 1267 and 1278)

|

Māmanaṅkakāra Tuṭṭarāditta Rājanārāyana Brahmādhirāja
Kariyagōpala or *Kariyagaṅgapperumaḷ* alias *Kūttaḍundēva*
(? – 1278 - 1281 – ?)

|

Ayyanaṅkakāra Tuṭṭarāditta Rājanārāyaṇa Brahmādhirāja
Vasudēva
(1280–1281)

|

Ayyanaṅkakāra or Māmanaṅkakkāra Tuṭṭarāditta Rājanārāyaṇa
Brahmādhirāja
Gaṅgapperumaḷ
(1283–1286)

|

Ayyanaṅkakāra Dushṭarāditya Rājanārāyaṇa Brahmādhirāja
Vasudēva (1286)

|

?

|

Gaṅgapperumāḷ
(1286)

IRAVATHAM MAHADEVAN

Pallavas and the 'jar' Legends

The origin of the Pallavas is one of the unsolved problems in South Indian history. The view advanced in this note is based on the meaning of the term 'Palava' occuring as the name of the dynasty in its earliest extent copper plate charter.

It is beyond the scope of this brief note to review the earlier theories propounded by the historians of the Pallava dynasty to account for its origin.[1] Two observations are, however, relevant to the present discussion :—

The attempt to connect Skt., '*pallava*' ('a sprout, shoot, twig, spray, bud, blosom; Monier-Williams) with Ta., '*toṇṭai*' ('a name of several varieties of creepers including '*kōvai*', a creeper of the hedges and '*aṭoṇṭai*', the thorny caper'; D.E.D., 2880 and 2881) is linguistically unsatisfactory as these two words do not mean the same thing;

The known facts about the Pallavas,—their '*gotra*' and personal names, the language and provenance of their earlier inscriptions and the style of their administration,— strongly suggest affinities with the Deccan rather than with the Tamil country. In the present state of our knowledge it seems best to consider the Pallavas as probably one of the many feudatory families rising to power in the wake of the disintegration of the Śātavāhana empire.

The Mayidavolu plates,[2] which are the earliest of the extant copper-plate grants of the dynasty, offer an interesting and probably significant variation of the dynastic name, 'Pallava'. The record, which is in Prakrit and has been assigned to the fourth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, was issued by the crown prince Śivaskandavarman of the Pallava dynasty ('*Palavānam*') belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.

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1. For a discussion of these theories, see (*The History of the Pallavas of Kāñci* R. Gopalan (1928), pp. 15-31; and *Kāñcipuram in Early South Indian History*, T. V. Mahalingam (1969), pp. 21-24

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, VI. p. 84

The term, 'Palava', occurs only once. The Hiradahalli plates[1] issued somewhat later by the same ruler as well as all other subsequent records of the dynasty furnish the form, 'pallava'. One may, therefore, ascribe the variant, 'Palava', to a scribal error or to the tendency in prakrit to use single consonants in the place of doubled consonants found in the corresponding Sanskrit forms. However, the unique variant form, 'palava', seems to be more meaningful than 'pallava' in the context of the mythical origin claimed by the Pallavas.

The term "*palava*" in Sanskrit means 'a basket of wicker-work (as for catching fish)' and is also attested as a personal name (Monier-Williams). It is known that the Pallavas claimed that their family 'issued out of a vessel' (*pātra-skhalita-vṛittīnām*)[2]. They also claimed descent from Droṇa,[3] who was, according to legend,[4] generated by Bharadvāja in a 'bucket'. In fact, the sanskrit word, "*droṇa*" itself means 'a wooden vessel, bucket or trough' (Monier-Williams).

A similar legendary origin from a vessel was claimed by some other dynasties in South India. According to tradition[5], the Chalukyas were so called as the family sprang from a '*suluka*', 'a water-pot'. The Vēḷir chieftains of the Tamil country, who had marital ties with the Cheras and the Cholas and affinities with the Chalukyas and the Hoysalas, arose, according to legend,[6] from the water-pot '*taṭavu*' of a 'northern sage'. The name vishṇu-kuṇḍin (literally, 'one related to the vessel of Vishṇu') seems to imply a similar legendary origin. I have suggested elsewhere[7] that the term "*andhra*" seems to be connected with Proto-Dravidian **aṉṟ–*, the stem from which several Dravidian cognates signifying a variety of vessels are derived (*vide* D.E.D., 107, 109 and 110).

The legend of the 'jar-born' sages is indeed very ancient and is even found in the Rig-veda (VII : 33) where it is said that Vasishṭa and Agastya were gene-

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1. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 2
2. From the inscription on the seal of the Paḷḷankōyil Plates ed. by T. N. Subramaniyan in *The transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India* (1958-59), pp. 41-83, pl. XII
3. *Ibid.*, verse 2 of the Sanskrit portion
4. *Mahābhārata*, 1 : 130
5. *Vikramāṅkacaritra*, I : 318-8
6. *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 201
7. *Dravidian Parallel in Proto-Indian Script*, Iravatham Mahadevan, *Journal of Tamil Studies* vol. II, No. 1 (April 1970), pp. 173-4

rated by Mitra and Varuṇa from a jar. Consequently Agastya was known as *kumbha-yoni kumbha-sambhava* and byother synonymous names and Vasishṭa was called Kuṇḍina ('the vessel') and his descendants came to be known as the Kauṇḍinyas. I have already referred to a very similar story in respect of Droṇa, the legendary ancestor of the Pallavas.

Two significant aspects of these 'jar' legends merit attention as they both seem to indicate that the myth has a Dravidian origin.

The myth of miraculous birth from a jar was shared by the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas, or rather by the families which were both Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya by tradition. Vasishṭha was called Devarāj. Agastya was the reputed leader of the southern migration of the Vēḷir clan which gave rise to many southern ruling dynasties.[1] The Vēḷir chieftains seem to have had a sacerdotal origin. (It is instructive to compare O.Ta *vēḷ*: 'a chieftain' with the verb *vēḷ*: 'to sacrifice'). Droṇa, the Brāhmaṇa preceptor of the Kurus, was also the ruler of North pāñcāla, The Andhras traced their descent from the Vedic sages, as indicated by their matronymics like Vasishṭhīputra, and styled themselves "*Ēka-brāhmaṇa*" in their inscriptions. The Pallavas, and the Śālaṅkāyanas belonged to Brahmanical gotras.[2]

It is sometimes considered that the existence of the Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya families indicated greater mobility among the "*varṇas*" in the early Indo-Aryan society. However the discovery of a pre-Aryan and probably Dravidian civilization in North-West India with some evidence for a ruling priestly oligarchy—("The general indication of a combined kingly and priestly rule fits the habit of the third "Millennium," Wheeler, 1969 : 18)—provides a new explanation for this phenomenon. It now appears likely that the Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya or priest-ruler tradition is pre-Aryan and possibly a survival of the Proto-Indian priest rule.

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1. Naccinarkkiniyar's Commentaries on *Tolkāppiyam*, *Payiram*

2. "The Bhāradvāja Pallavas were not the only Brāhmaṇas who adopted the military career in those days in the Dakshiṇāpatha. There were the Gautamas, Vasishṭhas, Kaṇvas, Kauṇḍinyas, Hāritas, and this Mānavyas of the earlier epoch who intermarried with the reigning dynasty and other ruling families in the Śātavāhana period. The History of Āndhra upto the middle of the seventeenth century abounds in instances where Brāhmaṇas adopted the military career"—*A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, B. Venkatakrishna Rao (1942), Madras.

The second aspect of the 'jar' legends worthy of notice is their special association with the Dravidian south. As we have seen, they were current among many Dravidian dynasties. The Brahmanical sages, Agastya and Vasishṭha (Devarāj/Kuṇḍina) with whom the 'jar' legends are associated, are the ones especially popular in the South Indian and Dravidian tradition. Kosambi (1970: 82–83) goes to the extent of saying: "The seven main brahmin clan progenitors may go back to hoary Sumerian or Indus antiquity as the 'seven sages'.....The adoption of such 'jar-born' seers into the high Aryan priesthood was a fundamental innovation. By such recombination of the Aryan and autochthone, a new class of specialist developed which would eventually claim monopoly of all Aryan ritual - the brahmin caste".

The partial decipherment of the proto-Indian ('Harappan') seal-texts seems to provide a clue to the ultimate origin of the 'jar' legends. It turns out that the most frequent sign in this pictographic script is the symbol of a jar with handles or with a pronounced rim lip. It has been inferred from statistical-positional analysis that the 'jar' sign function as a suffix at the end of what are most probably names and titles on the seal texts.[1] If the further premise that the sales would mostly give the names of the ruling classes is granted, it follows that the 'jar' symbol is connected, probably through homonymy, with the priest-rulers of the civilization.[2] The preservation of the 'jar' legends in later Indian tradition and its association with priestly and royal clans[3] can now be interpreted as an important Proto-Indian survival.

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1. *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its connection with other scripts*, G. R. Hunter (1934), P. 61. I have followed Hunter's analysis of the function of this sign, in preference to the more recent attempts by the Soviet and the Finnish scholars who regard the sign as a case-ending (the genitive).

2. I. Mahadevan, *Op. cit.* (n. 9). pp. 165-174. The suggestions made here are briefly as follows: The Dravidian masculine singular pronominal suffix-**anṟ* is homophonous with a 'vessel' word, and hence the pictogram of a 'jar' in the script probably represented the pronominal suffix added honorifically after male personal names. In due course, the honorific became a dynastic appellation and passed into Sanskrit as a loan word in the form *andhra*.

3. When the memory of the pictographic script was totally lost, its 'jar' sign associated with the priestly and the ruling classes became their symbol around which myths grew up. In a parallel development, the Dravidian honorific, homophonous with a 'vessel' word, was borrowed into Sanskrit in the *latter* sense at various periods in different translations. These words became personal or family names

I came across an interesting report of an early inscribed stone image of Vishnu apparently giving the names Palava ? and Bhāradāyi. ‡

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‡POSTSCRIPT

After I completed the paper and submitted the manuscript to the Editor, I came across a report* of an ancient inscription (c. 2nd Cent. B.C.) on a stone image of Vishṇu (or Vāsudeva) found in Malhar, Bilaspur district, Madhya Pradesh. The text in Brāhmī characters reads :

Palāva [śi] dāna Bharadāyiyā karāpita

It has been translated thus : 'gift of Palāva [śi] ; caused to be made by Bhāradāyi'. There is no discussion of the significance of the names in the report. The appearance of the personal name Palāva (Palava ?) and its juxtaposition with the apparent gotra name (Skt. Bhāradvāja) at such an early date and so far to the north are noteworthy. (*M. Venkataramanayya, 'An inscribed Vaishnava image of 2nd century B.C. from Malhar, Bilaspur district, Madhya Pradesh', *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras, Vol. XXIX (1959–60), pp. 36–40, Pl. I to III.)

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among the ruling and the priestly classes. Words like 'Drona' 'Kundina' 'Palava' are examples of this process. I have dealt with this matter in greater detail in my paper, *Bi-lingual Parallelisms in Proto-Indian Script,* to be published later.

CLARENCE MALONEY

Dynastic Drift : A Process of Cultural Universalization

This is one more essay in the amassing body of literature on the processes by which South Asia came to form a great civilized culture area of the world. The last half of the paper focuses on the Pāṇḍiyas.

In medieval times we can see the civilized world as consisting of four massive culture areas: Europe, the Arab world, the Chinese world, and South Asia. In each of these four, an overarching system of civilization with its world view, pool of religious symbols, sacerdotal language, and syncretized mythology was superimposed on the existing peasant cultures. In each case local traditions were universalized and validated as they merged into the overarching system, and the processes by which this occurred are of great interest. Historians of south-east Asia, for example, have long debated whether the superimposition of Indian civilization in that part of the world was promoted primarily by religious functionaries such as Brāhmaṇs and monks or by merchants and trading colonists.

The absence of a unifying political system extending over the area of Indian civilization was a distinctive feature of South Asia. Even the empires that covered fairly large chunks of South Asia, such as the Mauryas, Śātavāhanas, or Guptas lasted but a couple of centuries each and did not cover all South Asia, much less south-east Asia. The kind of political centricity that we find in the other three civilized world culture areas, persisting from dynasty to dynasty, never developed in the Indian region. India had no Eternal City like Rome, no Altar of Heaven attended by the Son of Heaven as in Peking, and no political institution as enduring as the Caliphate. No doubt, the political system of the Mauryas accelerated the diffusion of Indian civilization, but since that time history has muddled along with the foci of political power shifting hither and yon with each of the myriad dynasties.

If a lasting centralized political system was necessary to the entrenchment of the other three medieval world civilizations, and if India did not have such a political system, might there have been something else to substitute for it? Indeed, I believe there was. And K. A. Nilakanta Sastri alluded to it in his work on the Cōḷas as "what may be styled dynastic drift in Indian history." (p. 101). By this term he meant the dispersion of dynasties or the assumption by upstart ruling families of the names and traditions of prestigious major dynasties. This brilliant but fleeting suggestion of Nilakanta Sastri seems to have not been carried further, though it appears to me to be one of the major processes of South Asian culture history.

For example, the Mauryas appear in Koṅkaṇ, the Guptas get established in Maharāshṭra, while the Nāgas and the Siṁhalas jump over to Ceylon. In the south, the Cōḷas appear in Āndhra and the Pāṇḍiyas arise in Tuḷuva. Farther afield, the Kambojas somehow get ensconced in Cambodia while the Kaliṅgas appear even among the Philippine tribes. By the same principle of dynastic emulation, Indian kingdoms copied the names and traditions of those to the west of India. The Greek Seleucids somehow develop a namesake in Mysore known as the Cālukyas, while the Persian Pahlavas fly over to the eastern Tamil Nāḍu coast as the Pallavas. This whole system is validated, at least for Hindu dynasties, by the epics in general and the "*Harivaṁśa*" in particular so that minor political systems and the civilization they represent are universalized. Of course, historians have a grave problem in deciding in each case whether the prestige name adopted by a lesser dynasty is a result of the actual branching of the major dynasty, an actual movement of people, or whether the claimed genealogical links are entirely fabricated.

The anthropologist is not so interested in the veracity of the genealogical claims as in the function of these claims. I would like to suggest that this political process is unique to South Asia. One does not hear of a multiplicity of Chinese lords simultaneously or successively claiming to be descendants of the imperial line. In Europe the fiction of the Roman empire was carried into late medieval times, but there was not a score of little Holy Roman Empires radiating around the historic one. In the Arab world there might have been competing Caliphs, but dynasties did not latch on to the reputations of other great dynasties, as has been the case in India. And nothing of this sort seems to have prevailed in tribal Africa, which had no overarching civilization system in any case.

It may further be suggested that dynastic drift is compatible with the genius of Indian civilization to assimilate while at the same time allowing for cultural diversity. If there is any outstanding trait running through the whole of South Asian history, as well as contemporary society, it is this willingness to allow cultural fragmentation within the overarching system, in the political scene no less than in religion and in social structure. The caste structure allows unlimited ethnic and cultural diversity while at the same time each entity is linked in a formal way to the wider society. Likewise in religion, any number of deities and beliefs can coexist: each one validated and universalized by linkage to the whole system; godlings are incarnations of high gods, while festivals and rituals of the village "little traditions" can be linked, by way of the "*sthala purāṇas*," with the Great Tradition of Hinduism. Similar devices operate in South Asia for Islām and Buddhism. The Indian traditional political system has been called a weak one, but in the light of this feature, it is extraordinarily strong, vigorous, and flexible, though lacking the monolithic characteristics of the governments of China or Rome.

In many ways dynastic drift operates like caste; in fact, the line between dynasties and castes can hardly be drawn. The Rājpūt model recently emulated throughout western India is both a caste and a dynastic one. The Muslim caste system in South Asia is supported by Islāmic criteria, with genealogical links going back to religious figures or to eminent Muslim royal lines. One could speak of caste drift as well as dynastic drift. Cultural emulation runs strong throughout South Asian history so that culture has not been static, but fluid and dynamic. The tendency to emulation of specific prestigious ethnic and social symbols is still a strong one in South Asia, and is striking to any foreign visitor.

A universal state, therefore, was not needed in South Asia. Any king could vicariously draw upon the prestige of a great dynasty by linking himself with it genealogically and adopting its symbols and religion. This not only validated the king's claim to rule but validated the whole direction of acculturation of his people. A ruling family might be a branch of a major dynasty, or if not, it could employ Brāhmaṇs to produce a genealogical link to the dynasty it wished to have as a model; Brāhmaṇs provided this service in return for the patronage of kings. If no genealogical link could be made acceptable, a lesser king could still attach himself to a greater dynasty and vicariously bask in its prestige. Devānaṁpīya Tissa of

Ceylon, for example, took Aśoka's title, had his kingship officially validated by Aśoka, took Aśoka's religion, emulated his practices of cutting caves, supporting monks, and propagating dharma, and left quasi-historical records reinforcing the image of this link in the story of the missionary Mahinda. The general principle is that when one associates with a more prestigious and superior being, the sanctity, prestige, or power of the latter rubs off, and one is edified. This is true in the religions of South Asia, in the social structure, and in the political system.

In this article we will discuss but a few examples of dynastic drift, beginning with one that is still in process, then shifting to the ancient history of Ceylon and South India.

Contemporary Dynastic Drift: Tribal Rājpūts

The anthropologist, Surajit Sinha, has studied state formation and the adoption of the Rājpūt model among central Indian tribes.[1] A number of tribes which have taken up settled agricultural life have evolved little state systems, such as the Goṇḍs, the Muṇḍās of Choṭa Nāgpūr, and the Rāj Bhumij in Barabhum. All of them emulate the Kṣatriya model, specifically the Rājpūt model derived from western India and the elite among these tribes use the Rājpūt myths to legitimize their authority. Social stratification has been developing as the tribes moved from shifting cultivation to peasant agriculture accompanied by landowning. S. Sinha has defined the social classes that evolved as the Bhumij settled:

(1) "Rājpūt Kṣatriyas,"

(2) inferior "Rājpūts" recognized as descending from Bhumij tribals,

(3) upper class Bhumij who do not eat chicken and do not drink wine, but have Brāhmaṇs serve them in rites of passage,

(4) ordinary Bhumij who do take chicken and wine and can obtain only the services of "degraded Brāhmaṇs" and whose widows remarry,

(5) fallen Bhumij who have breached rules of clean exogamy or caste endogamy.

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1. Surajit Sinha, "State Formation and Rājpūt Myth in Tribal Central India," *Man in India*, XLII, No. 1, 1962.

As these tribal people have begun to merge into peasant society, their cultures have been universalized by linkage with the larger tradition. A complex mythology has evolved linking these Rājpūt leaders with historic and epic Rājpūts farther west, while at the same time tribal gods get assimilated into Hinduism by the normal processes of linkage of divinities. The settled tribals have developed little state systems, made possible by ownership of land and the evolution of a social hierarchy. Goṇḍs, who number some 4 million, still retain their clans, but each clan tends to be identified with a territory. The Goṇḍ kingdoms flourished for four centuries but fell upon evil days with the Marāṭhā raids of the 17th century. Goṇḍ rājas had bards who sang of their glories in the rhetoric of the Rāmāyaṇa. So successful was this process of universalization that Rāj Goṇḍs are now ranked with Hindu cultivating castes, and Brāhmaṇs accept water from them.

Sinha points out that in these cases a theory of conquest does not explain the adoption of the Rājpūt model. There is no evidence that Rājpūts invaded these regions. But the Rājpūt model of valor, chivalry, glamor, and defender of Brāhmaṇs, was the key symbol pool. The culture heroes of the Rājpūts were adopted by the tribals. In modern times, of course, there are alternative avenues for assimilation of tribal and peripheral peoples.

Nāgas

Turning now to the effect of dynastic drift on the early history of South India and Ceylon, we find frequent reference to the name Nāga, which can be traced back to western India and the Pañjāb, specifically to the Takṣaśilā region. We hear of a Nāga king of Gandhāra and Kashmīr.[1] Probably the Nāgas had the serpent as totemic symbol. Like Asuras, Paṇis, Bhojas, Kambojas and Matsyas, the original tribe has become almost lost to history as its name has become elevated to the realm of mythology. The Nāgas had a reputation for trading and wealth and urbanization; presumably words in all Indian languages for city, and also for script, came from Nāga. This prestige name drifted all over South Asia and also to south-east Asia.

We hear of a Nāga dynasty in the Gangetic plain, and another in Rājasthān, while the Karkoṭaka Nāgas were located on the lower Narmadā

1. *Mahavaṁsa* 12.9-28. Also *Mahabhārata*, Ādi, 35 gives a list of principal Nāga peoples including Takṣaka, Karkoṭaka, Āryaka, Ugra, Sūramukha, and Maṇi Nāgas.

in Gujarāt. They were in Sind, too, and in mythology are associated with a city called Pātāla. Pātāla in later mythology came to be thought of as a city under water because it was actually across the water (from Gujarāt). But Greek literature indicates that it was a port at the forking of the Indus. Eratosthenes' map, of the early second century B.C., shows it on the right side of the lower Indus. The pilots of that place refused to sail for Alexander the Great, who thereupon constructed there his own naval station and a dock yard.[1] The "Mahābhārata" says that Pātāla is in the west. The Nāgas ruled the west, and the Nāga king was the Red King of the western quarter.[2] The Nāgas came to be known for diamonds, rubies, other gems, and wealth in general because they apparently engaged in trade from ports in western India.[3] After they ceased to be real enough to serve as models of dynastic and cultural emulation, they were relegated to the level of water spirits.

Moving southward, we see Nāga kings spring up in many places. A Sātavāhana queen had the name Nāyanīka (Nāganīka), the Cuṭa Nāgas supplanted the Sātavāhanas at Banavāsi, the Kadambas claimed descent from the Nāgas, and so did the Tuḷuvas. Nāgas or people who emulated Nāgas were ensconced in Kēraḷa before a new people from the north-west, Brāhmaṇs, moved in; this appears in mythology in statements such as that the Nāgas of Pātāḷam "who had taken possession of the country and settled there" constantly attacked the Brāhmaṇ intruders. When the Brāhmaṇs finally did settle in Kērala, they had to propitiate "Nāgas with human faces," an explanation offered for serpent shrines in back yards.[4] It has been suggested that the name, Nāyar came from Nāgar. We also hear in Śaṅgam literature of a Blue Nākan who gave a garment to a deity.[5]

There seem to have been actual Nāga pirates at the time of Aśoka, according to a 10th century work describing complaints merchants made to

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1. See in R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India* (Calcutta, 1960): Ptolemy, vii. I. 55, 59; Strabo xv. 1.13, 17, 19 33; 2.1; Pliny vi. 21, 23; 23. 26; Arrian, *Indika* 2; Arrian, *Anabasis* vi. 20.
2. *MBh Bhīsma.* 6; see also R. N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India* (Bombay, 1939).
3. Banerji-Sastri, *Asura India* (Patna, 1926); K. M. Munshi, *The Glory that Was Gurjaradesa* Bombay, 1943).
4. For a fuller discussion, see K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala* (Cochin, 1937) IV, 474-498.
5. *Cirupāṇarruppaḍai* 95.

that king charging that Nāga pirates were wrecking their business. When the merchants went so far as to threaten to withhold taxes, Aśoka issued an edict on a copper-plate to cease the Nāga pirating. The Nāgas paid no attention, but later became Buddhists and then stopped pirating.[1] The "*Harivaṁśa*" says that Yadu was carried off by a Nāga rāja whose kingdom was beneath the sea. It was named Ratnadvīpa, and in that place Niṣādas dived for shells and coral, had fleets of boats for pearl fishing, traded in all kinds of precious stones, and travelled far for commerce and to accumulate riches.[2]

This myth might refer to Ceylon. Indeed, the name, Nāga, was widely used in that island. Practically all the monarchs of the first three centuries after Christ as listed in the "*Mahāvaṁsa*" either had the appellation, Nāga, or were directly related to members of the royal family who did. Also the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, from the third and second centuries B.C., record many names with the word, Nāga, some of whom married Siṁhala kings. These Nāgas of the inscriptions were part of an elite or royal line, for one was a chief and several donated Buddhist caves. A Nāga Rāja or Mahānāga seems to have been the elder brother of Uttiya and Devānaṁpīya Tissa. King Uttiya also married a Nāga princess who donated a cave.[3]

Even in the earliest traditions relating to pre-Buddhist Ceylon, Nāga was a prestige name, for there is mention of a Nāga king named Mahodaro who had "a Nāga kingdom in the ocean, that covered half a thousand yojanas."[4] Two Nāga chiefs, in a well known story, are said to have fought over a bejewelled throne and were later converted by the Buddha himself. They ruled in the region of Kālaṇīya, now upstream from Colombo. This story also appears in the Tamil epics. Buddha on another visit is said to have preached to a Nāga king named Maṇiakkhika (gem eyed).[5] These Nāgas lived in the south-west, which has always been Ceylon's source of gems, which they presumably exported. Whether or not the accounts are fictitious, we see the processes of dynastic drift, like a net, gradually bringing Ceylon into Indian civilization.

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1. *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā*, as quoted in R. K. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping* (2nd ed.: Calcutta, 1937), pp. 78-80.
2. *Harivaṁśa*, trans. M. A. Langlois (London, 1834), I. 402-403.
3. *Epigraphica Zeylanica* V, Part 1, pp. 212, 215. 221, 237. 240, 244, 251.
4. *Mahāvaṁsa* 1.48.
5. *Dīpavaṁsa* 2.4; *Mahāvaṁsa* 1.46; *Maṇimēkalai* 9.

Northern Ceylon, especially the Jaffna peninsula, is called Nāgadīpa in the ancient literature of three languages: Tamiḻ, Pāli, and Greek. It was probably the Maṇipallavam from where a Cōḷa monarch is said to have obtained a Nāga bride. The *Sussondī. Akitta,* and other *Jātakas* refer to Nāgas sailing in the southern ocean; some were mythical creatures, but others are represented as having sailed to Nāgadīpa from Bharukaccha heading for south-east Asia, and also from Bengal.[1] The "*Maṇimēkalai*" supports this in stating that there was direct communication between Maṇipallavam and Jāva.[2]

Nāga was also a prestige name in the Cōḷa country, for there was a king there whom the Greek geographer, Ptolemy, called Soranagos (Cōḷanāga) whose city was Othoura (perhaps Uṟaiyūr). He also mentions a ruler named Bassaronagos who ruled from Malanga (Māvilaṅkai, probably Mahabalipuram), and another people called Avarnoi.[3] These are the Aruvāḷar of Tamiḻ literature, doubtless named after the Nāga king, Aravāḷa of Kāśmīra and Gandhāra known in Ceylon.[4] This explains why a Cōḷa monarch got a Nāga bride from Maṇipallavam. The epics link Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam, with the Nāga country,[5] though it was later supplanted by the Cōḷa port of Nāgappaṭṭiṇam. There is no doubt that the prestige name, Nāga, was emulated in the ancient Cōḷa country, and perhaps it was from there that it was carried to south-east Asia. But when memory of the original Nāga kingdom became too dim for it to function as a model in dynastic drift, it was elevated to the realm of fantastic serpent mythology.

Śiva.

It is clear that the Śibis or S'ivis were an actual kingdom or tribe on the Indus before the fourth century B.C., and that S'iva the king or hero evolved into the high deity around which grew the cult of S'aivism. Strabo says the soldiers of Heracles (the Greek counterpart of S'iva) were the ancestors of the Sibae, who wore skins and carried clubs. Diodorus Siculus observes that Heracles had the club and lion skin, and records how Alexander

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1. *The Jātaka,* trans. E. B. Cowell (2nd ed.; London. 1957), III, 124; IV, 150; VI 22.
2. *Maṇimēkalai* 1.54; 24.54; 25.178; 29.3.
3. Ptolemy vii. 1.91-92.
4. *Paṭṭiṇappālai* 275; *Mahāvaṁsa* 12.9-11.
5. *Maṇimēkalai* 9.12-22; *Cilappatikāram* 1.20-21; see also *Paripāḍal* I.59; 5.24 11.67; 12-4.

the Great met the Siboi on the Indus and that country had previously been invaded by Heracles' soldiers, whose descendants the Sibi claimed to be.[1] This prestige name drifted to Ceylon so that many names recorded in the Brāhmī inscriptions of the third and second centuries B.C., as well as names of the royal family, included the word Śiva: Chief Śiva, Siva a village headman, Muṭasiva or Muruṇḍa Siva, Mahāsiva, Sivaguta, Girikaṇḍasiva, Sivali, and king Siva.

At the same time a cult was growing up around this name, so that in the first century Pliny wrote of the people of Ceylon that Hercules is the god they worship.[2] It might be that this cult came to Ceylon and the south by sea because of the location of many early S'aivite shrines along the coast; Tirunākēśvaram, Toṇḍēśvaram, Muṇṇēśvaram, Nakulēśvaram, Kōṇēśvaram, and also Tiruchendūr on the coast of Tamil Nāḍu facing Ceylon. One of the important S'aivite deities of the island, Skanda, also originated as a historic king in the Indus region. The name is almost certainly derived from that of Alexander the Great. This is another example of the principle that, when prestigious names are no longer real enough to serve in the process of dynastic drift, they get elevated as mythological figures and deities, providing religious, instead of political, links to the wider civilization.

Siṁhala

A welter of names from pre-Buddhist Ceylon—in fact, almost all the recorded names—are traceable back to Pañjāb, Sind or Gujarāt: Nāga, Śiva, Siṁhala, Bharata, Gamaṇi (Grāmaṇeya), Kamboja, Yona, Ujjenī (Ujjaini), Pāṇḍya, Puṇḍra, Brāhmaṇa, and others. Place names from western India appear in the early Ceylon records: Lāḍa, Vaṅga, Sīhapura, Bharukaccha, and Sopāra. There is much more evidence than we can list here that early "Āryan" settlers in Ceylon came from the western side, but during and after the Mauryan period when there was more traffic along the eastern coast of India, Buddhist mythology, thought to be localized in eastern India was grafted on to the early level of Ceylon mythology so that it appeared that

1. Strabo xv. 1 8; Diodorus Siculus, ii.39; xvii.94.
2. Pliny vi. 22–24.

the earliest settlers came from eastern India.[1] The bearing of this very early acculturation of Ceylon from Pañjāb, Sind, and Gujarāt on the early history of Tamil Nāḍu has been curiously neglected.[2]

Without going into much detail here, we will simply point out that dynastic drift, in the case of the Siṁhalas and others responsible for the acculturation of Ceylon after the north Indian model, was not entirely a concocted genealogy. A considerable number of people must actually have come from what is now West Pakistan to settle in the island, sufficient to introduce a western type of Pāli speech, a western type of Brāhmī script, dynastic names and mythology, and north Indian religious systems such as Brāhmaṇism, Jainism, Ājīvikism, other heterodox sects, astrology, and perhaps also pre-Aśokan Buddhism.[3] The Vijaya myth simplifies this whole civilizing movement in one individual. The supposed father of Vijaya Siṁhala, built the city of Sīhapura in the country of Lāḍa. The "*Dīpavaṁsa*" says that in the kingdom of Lāḍa the great king, Sīhabāhu, ruled his kingdom of Sīhapura ; this probably refers to a place in Pañjāb.[4] Some interesting new inscriptional sources from Ceylon put out by S. Paranavitana state that the actual Siṁhalas left Pañjāb only after its invasion by Cyrus and Darius, fled to Sind, and came from Sind to Ceylon only after the invasion of Alexander the Great.[5] Lāḍa is thought of as Gujarat, but the name drifted there from Sind, and perhaps was originally in Pañjāb.

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1. This briefly sketched in Clarency Maloney, "The Beginnings of Civilization in South India," *The Journa of Asian Studies*, May, 1970, and more fully discussed in "The Effect of Early Coastal Sea Traffic on the Development of Civilization in South India," dissertation, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, See also H. C. Ray (ed.), History of Ceylon, I, Part 1 (Colombo, 1959)

2. I should have a book out on this subject, to be published by the University of Missouri Press, about 1972.

3. S. Paranavitana, "Pre-Buddhist Religious Belief in Ceylon," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, XXXI, 1929.

4. There is a Sihapura near Multan. Also the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang visited a Siṁhapura some distance south of Taksas'ilā.

5. S. Paranavitana, "Newly Discovered Historical Documents Relating to Ceylon, India, and South-east Asia," Lecture reprint, Colombo, 1964, p. 9 ; and "An Account of Alexander the Great and Greek Culture in a Universal History written in the Reign of Mahāsena," Lecture reprint, Colombo, 1964. Paranavitana claims that these new sources are palimpsest and interlinear stone inscriptions and if correctly represented, are the most important to come to notice in this century.

There was also a Vaṅga in Pañjāb. These names came to be associated with eastern India after Buddhist mythology was grafted onto the original Siṁhala myth.

The lion symbol of the Siṁhala line was a real totem as anthropologically defined; a lion was described as the actual progenitor of the Siṁhalas. The use of the lion as a royal symbol came from Assyria through Persia, and diffused from Pañjāb all over India and to south-east Asia; the names Ceylon (from Sīhaḷa) and Singapore commemorate this aspect of dynastic drift. Many dynasties in India had the crest of the lion with paw raised and tail waving over the back.

Another dynastic name that drifted to Ceylon was the Grāmaṇeyas. Many early Brāhmī inscriptions mention the title, Gamaṇi, a village leader, but the name also harks back to the name of a kingdom or ancient tribe in Sind. The "*Mahābhārata*" refers to the mighty Grāmaṇeyas who dwelt on the banks of the sea.[1] In Paranavitana's new sources, a history called the *Rājavaṁsa* says that Śiṁhala was the title of the chief of a clan of Kṣatriyās named Grāmaṇeyas who were forced by the invasion of Cyrus into the lower Indus region. The traditional Ceylon chronicles also state that Brāhmaṇs accompanied the early royal immigrants into Ceylon. Brāhmaṇs were a kingdom on the middle Indus which the Greeks encountered.[2] But by the time Ceylon was settled from the north, the name had come to be applied to priests.

Bharata

Such a highly prestigious epic name as *Bhārata* was, of course, also taken up in Ceylon. Some 16 early Brāhmī inscriptions in northern Ceylon as published by Paranavitana refer to people named Bharata (or Barata or Bata); while Nichols lists 10 more.[3] The names recorded on the caves were

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1. *Mahabharata*, Sabhā. 32; Virāṭa. 32.
2. Diodorus Siculus xvii. 103 in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), p. 181. Apollonius of Tyana says the country of the Brāhmaṇs was between the Hyphasis and the Ganges, and that Alexander never invaded it because he could not have taken its strongholds (p. 392).
3. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* V, Part 2, 1963; C. W. Nichols, "Texts of the Brahmi Inscriptions in the Ruhuna National Park," *JRAS-CB. New Series*, II, Part 2, 1952.

of prestigious people who had donated the caves, often royalty; they had typical Brāhmaṇical names, but some would have been Buddhists. One inscription records the construction of a terrace of Tamil householders, caused to be made by a Dameḍa (Tamil) Samana who was from a place called Ilubarata.[1] This place cannot be identified, but suggests that Tamils as well as Siṁhalas viewed Bharata as a prestige name.

The prevalence of this name in Ceylon in the third and second centuries B.C. must have been the reason it was claimed by the Tamil coastal fishers, known as Paratavar, now abbreviated as Paravar. By adopting this prestige name and taking to Brāhmaṇism, they became absorbed into the formal structure of Hinduism. They also claimed genealogical links with the Pāṇḍiyas (thought to be related to Bharata). In medieval centuries the Paratavar kingdom was prosperous because of trade and the pearl industry, and its capital for a time was Rāmanātapuram. I have elsewhere described the two millenia of culture history of this caste.[2]

Pāṇḍiya, Pāṇḍu, Pāṇḍava

Though the Tamil region was never incorporated into any of the great north Indian kingdoms, it was surely drawn into the over-arching system of Indian civilization, and the processes were the same as for the rest of South and south-east Asia. Since Śaṅgam literature does not contain any specific historical information about the origin of the Pāṇḍiyan dynasty, we have to look farther afield for hints about its origin. The most important evidence that the Pāṇḍiyas were a distinct dynasty towards the end of the fourth century B.C. is found in a statement by Megasthenes; though much that this Greek writer put down is unreliable, what he says about the Pāṇḍiyas cannot be entirely dismissed because rumours of the Pāṇḍiyas floating around in north India 300 B.C. would not have been fabricated to enhance the prestige of a south Indian kingdom. In writing about Śiva, whom Megasthenes calls Heracles, he says (as recorded by Arrian);

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1. S. Paranavitana, 'Tamil Householders' Terrace, Anuradhapura," *JRAS-CB*, XXXV, 1940.

2. Clarency Maloney, "The Paratavar: Two Thousand Years of Culture Dynamics of a Tamil Caste," *Man in India*, November 1968.

> "This Heracles is held in especial honour by the Sourasenoi, on Indian tribe who possess two large cities, Methora and through whose country flows a navigable river called Iobares... It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter. The name of this child was Pandaia, and the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Heracles entrusted her, was called after her name, Pandaia, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Heracles that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women....."

He goes on to give a quaint description of how pearls are obtained saying they were brought by Heracles from all the seas into the Indian Ocean. The Pāṇḍiyas, of course, did monopolize much of the pearl fishery of the Indo-Ceylon straits. Megasthenes continues:

> "Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Heracles reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, that men lived at most forty years."

Megasthenes then relates the story about Heracles having incestuous intercourse with this seven-year-old daughter because he was getting old and therefrom sprang a race of kings; in consequence of this "the whole nation over which Pandaia reigned obtained this same privilege from her father."[1]

A writer of the second century A.D., Polyaenus, draws from the same or a similar source and adds some new hearsay:

> "Herakles begot a daughter in India whom he called Pandia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to the southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village

1. Megasthenes, as quoted in Arrian's *Indika*, viii-ix.

should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.[1]

The Greek references are so significant to our understanding of the origin of the Pāṇḍiyas that, though historians lightly refer to them, it is surprising they are so seldom fully utilized. The following points seem to be established:

1. The word, "Pāṇḍiya." is etymologically related to Pāṇḍava of north-western India (and is not derived from the Tamil word "*paṇḍu*," as some pandits have suggested.)

2. The word, "Maturai," (Madurai) is etymologically related to Mathurā. This is significant because Mathura was for a time the capital of the legendary Pāṇḍavas. Here Mathurā is mentioned as a city of the Sūrasenas, but tradition places them as relatives of the Pāṇḍavas. The process of dynastic drift included borrowing the name of the capital city.

3. The early Pāṇḍiyas were thought by north Indians to have religious traditions directly associated with north-western India, and these were in part proto-Śaivite; the Pāṇḍiyas were considered as descendants of Śiva whom the Greeks called Hercules (which agrees with the diffusion of the Śiva cult from Pañjāb and Sind to Ceylon about the same time.)

4. The early Pāṇḍiyas were known in the north especially for their pearls, and their territory extended right up to the southern sea.

5. The Pāṇḍiyas as a dynasty were established well before 300 B.C., for by that date tales of their military and political organization had reached the Mauryan capital.

It is clear that the process of dynastic drift had begun to link the Tamil region with the wider political structure of South Asia. It also seems that the adoption of the name and tradition of the epic Pāṇḍavas in the Tamil country was paralleled by the adoption of the name, Pāṇḍu, in Ceylon.

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1. Polyaenus. *Strategica*, i.3.4., in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), pp. 456-457.

Hence it drifted to south-west Asia, for we find many names from the "*Mahābharata*" in Jāva, and including Paṇḍu, with a capital named after Hastināpura, and an island named Madura off the north coast of Jāva. In addition, there was the kingdom of Paṇḍuraṅga in Cambodia. Thsee and other dynasties validated their rule by claiming to be branches of the actual Pāṇḍavas.

In pre-Buddhist Ceylon there was a series of princes of a Pāṇḍu line who are described in the Ceylon chronicles to have come directly from north-west India. The relationship of these to the Siṁhala kings in the chronicles is probably incorrect; they were earlier than the Siṁhalas in Ceylon, and represent an early movement of cultural influences to the island from north-west India.

Paṇḍuvāsudeva was the first. According to traditional chronology, he ruled 444-415 B.C. and was the successor and nephew of Vijaya. Since Vijaya himself is largely a fictitious hero, this has little meaning, but it is interesting that Paṇḍuvāsudeva is stated to have come from Sīhapura, place of origin of the Siṁhalas, and he came with an entourage.[1] His name has been preserved in Paṇḍuvās Nuwera, the town he built in the north-west of the island, and in Paṇḍavāva, name of the great tank of 1360 acres.

Paṇḍusakka had six sons, according to this story, who followed their sisters queen to Ceylon. These spread out over the island and founded settlements at Rāmagoṇa, Uruvela, Anurādhapura, Vijitagāma, Dīghāyu and Rohaṇa.[2] There is a discrepancy here, as two of these cities are mentioned earlier in the same chronicle, but it is significant that these Paṇḍu princes are said to have scattered all over the island.

Abhaya was the name of the son of Paṇḍuvāsudēva and of the queen, daughter of Paṇḍusakka of north India, and it is specifically stated that his given name was *Abhaya*.[3] However, as regent and king he is referred to as Paṇḍukābhaya evidently because he was of the prestigious family of Paṇḍu. He had a Brāhmaṇ tutor named Paṇḍula who was a rich man living in the

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1. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. 8.
2. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. 9.
3. *Mahāvaṁsa* 9.1.

south of the island in a village named Paṇḍulagāmaka. This Brāhmaṇ lord, Paṇḍula, was not only the prince's chaplain, but financed his first army.[1] Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have fought his uncles to gain the throne (probably because of the custom of younger brother's succession) and then built the greater part of the pre-Buddhist city of Anurādhapura described with so much detail in the chronicles.

The pertinent question is whether or not these eight Paṇḍu princes were genetically related to the Tamil Pāṇḍiyas. Both the "*Mahavaṁsa*" and Paranavitana's newly discovered inscriptional sources suggest that they were. The "*Mahāvaṁsa*" has a story (not found in the "*Dipavaṁsa*") of the first lengendary king of Ceylon, Vijaya, putting away his wife of indigenous origin because she was not of high enough status for the Siṁhala king. He then obtained the daughter of the Pāṇḍiyan king with great ceremony, sending his ship across the strait to the Pāṇḍiyan capital and port city, paying the Pāṇḍiyan king pearls and gems for his daughter.[2] This story, whether based on fact or not, does tell us that the pedigree of the Pāṇḍiyas was recognized in Ceylon as a good one, and also lends support to the idea that the Pāṇḍiyas and the Pāṇḍus were actually related. Even more interesting is the statement in the newly-discovered "*Rājavaṁsa*" which says that Paṇḍukābhaya (here called Puṇḍraka Abhaya) "conquered the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms and made Tāmbraparṇī the centre of an empire.[3]" Tāmbapaṇṇī was the first Ceylon capital, where now stands the port of Māntai in the north-west. and of course, before the same name as Tāmbaraparaṇi across the straits on the Tamil side.

I have discussed elsewhere the evidence that the Pāṇḍiyas originated on the southern coast of Tamil Nāḍu, probably around the Tāmbaraparaṇi delta, and that the earliest influence from north India came by sea, for prehistoric traders were attracted by the pearls and conches off the Pāṇḍiyan and north-west Ceylon coasts, and by the gems of Ceylon. The focus of this earliest trade was the Indo-Ceylon straits, and this can be seen in the knowledge in north India of the geography of the far south about 300 B.C.; such knowledge was practically limited to places along the Indo-Ceylon straits. This suggests that

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1. *Mahāvaṁsa* 10.20-24.
2. *Mahāvaṁsa* 7.46-58.
3. Paranavitana, "Newly Discovered..." p. 9

the earliest forces of acculturation from north India impinged on the south first of all by sea parallel with the cultural transformation that occurred in Ceylon, and diffusion overland down the peninsula occurred later. The earliest capital of the Pāṇḍiyas, South Madurai, was on the coast, for when the Ceylon monarch sent to get a Pāṇḍiyan princess as bride, "the messengers were quickly come by ship to the city of Madhura[1]" and met the Paṇḍu king; this is specified as "southern Madurai" in contrast with the inland Madurai which was the capital when the later redaction of the chronicle was written. The Tamil legends of Old Madurai and Kapāṭapuram do have some support in other sources.[2]

There is no firm indication whether the Pāṇḍiyas were an indigenous dynasty that latched onto the "*Mahābharata*" myth and concocted a genealogy relating themselves to the Pāṇḍavas, thereby validating their rule, or whether they were actually an intrusive force that got established on the southern coast of Tamil Nāḍu like the intrusive dynasties of Ceylon. In the case of Ceylon, however, we can be fairly sure that the dynasties consisted of intrusive people, who may or may not have been princes in the lands they came from; one is led to think that the earliest intruders both in Ceylon and on the Tamil Nāḍu coasts were merchants. But certainly many elements of civilization in Ceylon spilled over into the Pāṇḍiyan country, notably the Brāhmī script and Buddhism, while Brāhmī inscriptional sources tell us that by the second century B.C. there were Tamil merchants in Ceylon and Ceylon householders near Madurai. The Pāṇḍiyas would have become established at the same time the Paṇḍu princes ruled in Ceylon, so it is possible that they were indeed genetically related.

The name, Paṇḍu or Pāṇḍya can be traced from the far south by stages back to Pañjāb. Paranavitana's new sources refer to a Puṇḍra (Pāṇḍya) country on the west coast of India (evidently different than the medieval Pāṇḍiyas of Tuḷuva) and say that a Siṁhala from Sind married the sister of Cālukya Nikatora (Seleucus Nicator). He then came to this Puṇḍra on the west coast, ruled there for some time, and died; his son, Muruṇḍa Śiva (Muṭa Siva of the Ceylon chronicles) left Puṇḍra for Ceylon and took possession of Tāmraparṇī on the north coast of the island, ruled

1. *Mahāvaṁsa* 750-58.
2. Maloney, 1968 and 1970. See Footnote 20.

from there, and afterwards built up Anurādhapura. Another version has it that a merchant Puṛṇa came from the lower Indus to Puṇḍra and his son, Siṁhala, came to Ceylon.[1] Whether or not we place credence in these accounts, some people must have come from Sind and western India to the far south. Megasthenes' story shows that north Indians in 300 B.C. believed that Śiva or his descendants had actually gone to the Pāṇḍiyan coast in search of pearls, and were progenitors of the Pāṇḍiyas.

The elaborate genealogy of the "*Harivaṁśa*" links the Pāṇḍiyas with the Pāṇḍava heroes of the "*Mahābhārata*," but, of course, it also links almost all other Indian kings to these heroes. There is likely to be some substance to the epic accounts that the Pāṇḍavas were first of all located in the vicinity of Mathurā, but later moved to the coast of Gujarāt to Dvārakā. Wherever that Dvārakā was, it is represented as having been on the coast. The Pāṇḍavas are mentioned in the epics in connection with Virāṭa at the head of the Gulf of Cambay, which was, interestingly, a Matsya city. (Not only did the Pāṇḍiyas have the fish as symbol, but some of the apparently intrusive dynasties of south-eastern Ceylon did too while it was also used as a symbol in the north of the island). Many nations or tribes, in fact, seem to have migrated from Pañjāb and the Doāb to the Gujarāt region in the wake of invasions and wars in the north-west. The Bhojas and the Sūrasenas fled westward, while the Pāñcālas fled to the country of the Kuntis, and the Matsyas, "leaving their dominions in the north, have fled into the southern country.[2]" Krishna fled from Mathurā to Kuśasthalī in Saurāṣṭra. These movements have to be seen as the diffusion of Indo-Āryan speech to Gujarāt, Sind, and Mahārāshṭra, doubtless supressing the earlier Dravidian speech. Naturally along with this came the *Āryan* heroes and dynastic symbols.

Sind and Gujarāt probably retained prominence in sea traffic from the time of the Harappan civilization, and the profit of this trade was coveted by the early Indo-Āryan-speaking peoples in Pañjāb and the

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1. Paranavitana, "An Account of Alexander..." pp. 9-12.

2. *Mahabhārata* Sabhā. 14; 30; see also S. B. Chaudhury. *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1955.)

Doāb, just as this profit was later coveted by the Persians and then by the Greeks.[1] The epics describe the wealth thus generated by sea trade:

> "And the son of Paṇḍu then made all the Mleccha kings dwelling in marshy regions on the sea coast pay tribute and various kinds of wealth, and sandalwood and aloes, and cloths and gems, and pearls and blankets, and gold and silver and valuable corals... coins and gems..." [2]

The gold, aloes, and sandalwood doubtless came from Karṇāṭaka, the pearls and coral from the Pāṇḍiyan coast, and the gems from Ceylon. It was because so much sea traffic emanated from the coast of Gujarāt that that region came to have such cultural impact on Ceylon, on the whole of the Indian peninsula, and on south-east Asia (the earliest Jāva legends point back to Gujarāt). It is not surprising that early prestige names such as Nāga, Bhārata, or Pāṇḍava diffused from there to the regions whence commercial products were obtained.

Dynastic drift, then, is a sort of political reincarnation. It provides a means whereby lesser states can vicariously enjoy the reputations of, and be linked with, the larger state system, which may be real or mythical. It ranks with the karma theory which links the diversity of castes, and the multiple aspect theory which links the diversity of deities, as an important cultural process peculiar to South Asia. As with the Buddhist belief about rebirth in which no substance is actually transmitted, it may be likened to a flame transmitted from candle to candle.

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1. Darius covered the trade of the Indian Ocean (Arrian, *Indika* 1), and it appears that the Assyrians did before that, which perhaps accounts for the origin of the Asura myths. When the Greeks took Persia, it became one of the Alexander's chief aims to corner the profits of the Indian Ocean trade, whereupon he built two ports on the mouths of the Indus.

2. *Mahābhārata* Sabhā. 40; see also 31 and 32.

R. NAGASWAMY

Pandya Arikesari and Pandikkovai

K. V. Subramaniya Ayyar, with characteristic insight, first suggested[1] the identity of Arikēśari Asamasaman Māravarman of the copper plate charters with the hero of the commentary (the *Paṇḍikkōvai*) on *Iraiyanār Ahapporul.* But Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri states[2] that there seems to be no ground for accepting the identification of this king (Arikēśari of the Velvikkudi grant) with the hero celebrated in the commentary to the *Iraiyanār Ahapporul.* An attempt is made in this paper to re-examine the identity of this king.

Arikēśari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman was mainly responsible for the expansion of the first Pāṇḍya empire and arresting the southward expansion of the Pallavas. The copper plate charters from Velvikkudi and Sinnamanur are the main epigraphical sources for his exploits.

According to the Velvikkudi grant, Arikēśari, who also had the titles Asamasaman and Māravarman, was the son of Sēndan. He won battles at Pāḷi, Sennilam and Puliyūr and subdued the Paravas and the chief of Kurunāḍu. A veiled reference is found to a conquest accross the sea (Ceylon). His notable victory was against Vilvēli at a place called Nelvēli. Arikēśari performed the *Hiranyagarbha* sacrifice and the *Tulābhara* ceremony.[3]

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1. Historical sketches of Ancient Deccan Vol. I pp. 123-5
2. K. A. N. Sastri — Pāṇḍyan kingdom, page 54
3. जन्मावाप जगत्रयार्चितगुणः श्रीमार वर्मा नृपः ॥
   धरणीवलयं समस्तमेतत् दोर्दण्डेन महोरगेण बिभ्रत् ।
   अहरत् स भुजङ्गमादिभर्तुः चिरकालोद्वहनक्लमं धरायाः अधिरुह्यतुलां अमित्रवर्गं युधि जित्वा अमृत गर्भतः जनित्वा सुधियां अधिपः सुवर्णराशिं विधिवत् स प्रतिपादयांबभूव
   Velvikkudi grant Lines 12 to 16

The smaller Sinnamanur plates give him the same names as Arikēśari, Asamasaman and Māravarman but does not list his conquest. They say that he performed the *Tulābhara* and the *Gosahasra* ceremonies by gifting a number of *"gurudānas"* to commemorate its commencement.[1] This charter also states that he performed the *Hiranyagarbha*, sacrifice twice. The larger Sinnamanur plates call him Arikēśari and Parāṅkuśa. Two of his victories, a conquest over Villava at Nelvēli and a battle against a Pallava at Sankaramangai, are recorded in the charter. According to the Vēlvikkudi grant mentioned earlier, Arikēśari defeated Vilvēli at Nelvēli. This grant makes it clear that Vilvēli was none other than Villavan, the Chera, who was defeated at Nelvēli.[2]

At this stage we may discuss the Tamil literary work called *Paṇḍikkōvai* Originally a few stanzas were recognised in the commentary of *Iraiyanār Ahapporul*, but later about three hundred and fifty verses have been collected from various commentaries that now form the work *Paṇḍikkōvai.* The name, *Paṇḍikkōvai,* was restored from a work, *Kalaviyar Karigai*, edited by S. Vaiyapuri Pillai. It is likely that the original work carried more verses.

(*Contd.*) செங்கோற் சேந்தன் மற்றவற்குப் பழிப்பின்றி வழித் தோன்றி / उयगिरिमध्यम त्तुறु சுடர் போலத் தெற்றென்று दिशै நடுங்க மற்றவன் வெளிற் பட்டுச் சு / ழியானை செலவுந்திப் பாழி வாயமர்கடந்து வில் வேலிக் கடற்ருனையை / நெல்வேலிச் செருவென்றும் விரவிவந்தடையாத பரவரைப் பாழ்படுத் / துமறுகாலினம் புடை திகோக்குங் குறு நாட்டவர் குலங்கெடுத்து / ங் கைகலத்த களிறுந்திச் செங்நிலத்துச் செருவென்றும் பாரளவுங் / [த]னிச் செங்கோற் केरल னைப் பலமுறையுமுரிமைச் சுற்ற மோடவர்யா னை / உம் புரிசைம் மதிற்புலி ஊர்ப்பகஞழிகை இறவாமை இக [லா] / ழி உள்வென்று கொண்டும் வேலாழி உம் வியன் பறம்பு மேலாமை சென் / றெறிந்தழித்தும் हिरण्यगर्भं முந் துலா मार முந் தரணி மிசைப்பல செய்து / अन्तण ர்க்கும் अशक्त ர்க்கும் வந்தணைக என்றீத்தளித்த मकरिकै அணிமணி / நெடுமுடி अरिकेसरि असमसमन् श्रीमारमँन् ॥

—வேள்விக்குடிச் சாசனம் lines 51-62

1. जयन्तवर्म्मन் மகஞகிப்ப / கைப் भूपर் தலைப் பணிப்ப परमेश्वरन् வெளிற்பட்டு अरिकेस / रि अप्रमसमन् अलंघ्यविक्रमन् अकालकालன் னெனத்தன / க்குரியன பல ரான மம்முல குமுமுதுகந் தேத்தப்பரா / வனிபகுல மிறஞ்சப் பாரகம் பொது நீக்கி घरासुरर / திடரகல द्यनवर्षं பொழிதற்கு वलाह கத்தின் व्रतं கொண் / டு तुलामार மினிதேறி शरण ஞுயலகளித்து हिरण्य / गर्भं மிருகால் புக்கு गोसहस्र த்துடக்கத்துக் गुरु [दा] / னம் பல செய்து वासवன் போல வீற்றிருந்தனன் वसुधा-पतिमारवर्म्मன்

—சின்னமனூர் சிறிய சாசனம் lines 14-23

2. तत्रासीदरिकेसरी नरपतिर्व्वंशे वशी श्रीनिधिः
வில்லவனை நெல்வேலி உம் விரிபொழிற் (ச்) சங்கரமங்கைப் பல்லவனை உம் புறங்கண்ட பராங் குசன் பஞ்சவர்தோன் / றல்

—சின்னமனூர் (பெரிய) சாசனம் lines 104-106

The *Paṇḍikkōvai* deals with the exploits of a Pāṇḍya ruler, Arikēśari. Some of the mythical exploits of the Pāṇḍya, mentioned in their copper plate charters such as the breaking of a ring on the crown of Indra, the chasing away of the ocean, the learning of Tamil under Saint Agastya etc., are repeated in this work. These mythical exploits apart, the work presents a unitary theme of praising the king's valour and his various victories. It gives both the Tamil and Sanskrit titles assumed by Arikēśari. Thus he is called *Neḍumāran, Pūḻiyan, Mīnavan, Nēṟiyan, Vānavan, Māran* etc., in Tamil and *Arikēśari, Parāṅkuśa, Vicāri, Atisaya, Ranōdaya* and *Ranāntaka* in Sanskrit. Apart from his fish standard, he is said to have possessed a flag with the figure of thunder drawn on it (v. 349). He is also said to have marked on the Meru mountain his "fish and tiger on bow" crest.

No less than 34 victories are attributed to this king. Each stanza mentions one or other battlefield where he distinguished himself. From this work it is seen that his first fight (*Kannivāhai*) was at Āṟṟukkuḍi (v. 282), where he defeated the Chera. It is also seen that nearly 15 battles were with the Cheras. In the northern front, Uraiyur and Vallam of the Chōḻa were captured. Arikēśari led a successful expedition to Ceylon. The Vēnādu ruler was overthrown. At a place called Venmāttu he is said to have defeated two kings. Probably these two rulers were the Chera and the Vēnādu ruler who aided him. A part of Kongu and northern Kolli were also brought under his rule.

Among the places where he won victories over the Cheras were *Pūlantai, Viḻiñjam, Kadaiyal, Kōṭṭāṟu, Āṟṟukkuḍi, Naraiyāru, Kulantai, Vañji, vaṭṭāru, Irunjiṟai.* He is said to have won a battle at *Sangamaṅgai*, but the enemy is not mentioned. Besides these, the following battle where he was victorious needs special mention; *Paḷī, Ṣennilam, Nelvēli* and *Pulippai*. Conquests of Pāḷi, Sennilam and Nelvēli are attributed to Arikēśari Parāṅkuśa in the Vēlvikkudi grant. Pulippai is probably identical with the Puliyūr mentioned in the Vēlvikkudi grant, where Arikēśari gained a victory. Sangamangai is probably identical with the Sankaramangai of the larger Sinnamanur plates, where Arikēśari defeated a Pallava.

Of the battlefields mentioned in *Paṇḍikkōvai*, five are repeated for Arikēśari in epigraphical records. The *Paṇḍikkōvai* specifically mentions that a number of battles he won were against the Cheras. The Vēlvikkudi grant

states that Arikēśari defeated the Chera in a number of battles. Since Viḷiñjam is mentioned in Pāṇḍikkōvai as one of the battles won by the hero, Prof. Sastri holds that the identification is impossible to sustain, for according to him, Viḷiñjam is heard in epigraphy only late in the eighth century A.D. Viḷiñjam was conquered, (by a number of kings,) not only in the eighth century A.D. but also later which proves its importance as a strategic centre. The *Paṇḍikkōvai* (v. 32) refers to it as a seaport. There is nothing to prove that Viḷiñjam rose to prominence only in the eighth century. It should have been a place of considerable importance much earlier. Nor does the view of the learned Professor that "it is quite possible that a rhetorical work like this took for its hero a saintly king of legendary fame and attributed to him all the achievements of the Pāṇḍyan line of kings that the author could think of in his day" (pp. 55 fn.), seem to us acceptable. None of the important exploits attributed in the copper plates either to the predecessors or successors of Arikēśari Parāṅkusa are mentioned in the 350 verses of *Paṇḍikkōvai*.

K. V. Subramaniya Ayyar has attributed the titles Arikēśari and Parāṅkuśa to two kings, to Arikēśari Asamasaman of the Vēlvikkudi grant and his grandson, Māravarman, familiarly known as Tērmāran. Other writers, (but not Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri) including the editors of the recent book "Thirty Pāṇḍya Copper plates" have followed his suggestion. The copper plates give the titles Arikēśari and Parāṅkuśa only to Māravarman, son of Sēndan and to none else. Thus there is only one Arikēśari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman, known to the epigraphs. It is, therefore, clear that the Pāṇḍikkōvai has as its hero the very same Arikēśari Parāṅkuśa of the copper plates.

This identification raises some interesting problems. From the Dalavay puram plates of Parāntaka Vīranārayaṇa, scholars are now inclined to believe that the Saivite saint, Manickavācaka, was a contemporary of Varaguna II. The Tirukkovaiyar of the Saivite saint is the best *kōvai* work in Tamil, but the *Paṇḍikkōvai* would be the earliest *kōvai* so far known.

A. V. Narasimha Murthy

Karnataka Origin of the Sevunas

The Sevunas, popularly known as the Yadavas of Devagiri, played a dominant role in the history of Deccan. But, this dynasty has not attracted the attention of scholars as the Hoysalas or the Chalukyas have done. That is the reason why the origin of this dynasty has not been studied in its true perspective. An attempt is made to study this problem with the help of epigraphic and literary sources.

Dvaravati, or any other northern city, as the original home of the Sevunas is highly improbable. Any quest to locate it has to take into account the other Yadava groups of the Deccan and the south. Many Yadava families were ruling in northern parts of Karnataka, in Dharwar and in Bijapur districts in the ninth century A.D.[1] Mahasamanta Kuppeyarsa, of the Yadava family, held Gadag area as a feudatory of Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha I in 865–869 A.D.[2] Kuppadeva, the chief of Mevundi near Bijapur, a feudatory of Rashtrakuta Krishna, styled himself a Yadava.[3] Yet another Yadava chief Mahamandalesvara Permadiyarasa, is known to have been a subordinate of the Chalukyas.[4] He was even entitled 'Lord of Dvaravati.' Another chief, a Yādavanārāyaṇa, was a subordinate of the Chalukyas.[5]

In the early part of the 10th century A.D. the Hoysala of the Yadava family migrated from the mountainous tracts to make themselves powerful in the plains.

These chiefs, all belonging to the *Yaduvamsa*, were slowly settling down in some area or other about northern Karnataka. Their Rashtrakuta

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1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVIII, p. 312.
2. ibid, Vol. XIII, p. 117.
3. Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. I, pt. I, no. 22.
4. ibid, no. 30.
5. ibid, part II, no. 165.

sovereigns were powerful and not until their fall could some of the Yadava chiefs establish independent kingdoms. Dridhaprahara could possibly have been one among them and Chandradityapura, in Nasik district, could have been the place to give ample opportunity and scope for his political activity.

The question is whether Dridhaprahara's parents migrated to that area. If, they did from where and when? The Rashtrakutas who had several Yadava feudatories ruled from 753 A.D. to the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. During this period, the Gujarat region, where Dvaravati is traditionally situated, suffered no insecurity to provoke any such exodus. Nor have we any positive evidence to show that Dridhaprahara's parents moved into Chandradityapura from the south. But the eagerness of the Sevuna rulers to conquer Karnataka and their Karnataka bias are intriguing, perhaps indicating keenness to win back their patrimony in Karnataka.

An examination of the names of the kings of this dynasty is interesting from this point of view. The names, *Dhadiyappa, Vaddiga, Rajagi, Mallugi and Jaitugi,* were popular in Karnataka. Particularly *Dhadiyappa* is a Kannada form. The suffix *appa,* is of Karnataka origin and even today many proper names in Karnataka region end with *appa.* The word *Dhadiya,* itself means *strong-bodied,* and *Dhadiyappa* means a strong-bodied man. In the case of the names like *Mallugi, Rajugi, Jaitugi and Vadugi,* the ending *gi* was a suffix to proper names in old Kannada and such endings are very common in the Kannada region.

The *ga* ending for proper names is also an old Kannada derivation. *Vaddiga* is the name of another Sevuna king. The *gi* and *ga* endings for proper names are not found in the Karnataka of the pre-Rashtrakuta period. The *ga* ending is found in the names of some of the Rashtrakuta rulers, like *Dadiga.* The *gi* ending could be a variant of *ga.* In that case the Sevunas could have adopted them after their Rashtrakuta suzerains. This would indicate that the emergence of the Sevunas to political importance could not have been earlier than the middle of the eighth century A.D.

Names like *Bhillama* and *Singhana* were popular in Karnataka. The Kalachuris of Karnataka had some of these names. Some other names had a close resemblance to those of many Karnataka dynasties including the Hoysalas, the Sindas, the Santaras and other minor dynasties.

The Sevunas matrimonial alliances with the families of Karnataka are interesting. King Vaddiga married a princess, Voddiyavva, daughter of Dhorappa.[1] Both the names, *Dhorappa* and *Voddiyavva*, are of Kannada origin. Another prince of the dynasty, Bhillama II, married Lacchiyavva.[2] The next prince, Vesugi, married Nayilladevi, daughter of Chalukya Goggiraja.[3] Bhillama III married Hamma Avalladevi, also of Chalukyan origin.[4] The four princesses mentioned above came from Karnataka. The anxiety of the Sevunas to have matrimonial alliances with families of Karnataka, even if it was for political purposes, could have had some special purpose and significance.

The Sevunas are known to have preferred *Kannadigas* as their officers. That the ministers, the governors and other important officers were selected from the people of Karnataka is shown by their Kannada names. Almost all of them had names ending in Kannada suffixes. Bachidevarasa, Boppanna, Kallarasa, Gonarasa, Aneyamallayya and Chaundarasa are just a few of the state officers appointed by the Sevuna kings. These names show that they were of Kannada extraction, in whom the Sevuna kings had confidence. Could not these appointments be regarded as indicative of their Kannada affinity?

A majority of the inscriptions of the Sevunas discovered in the Karnataka area are written in Kannada language. A very small number discovered in Satara, Buldhana, Khandesh and Akola districts is written in Sanskrit. Some of these inscriptions have their formal parts in Marathi language and the actual contents in Sanskrit. This is particularly the case with the inscriptions of Ramachandra, especially when the Sevuna dynasty was coming to an end.

It is said that the Sevunas did not patronise Kannada language and literature. This is not fully true. Kamalabhava, a Jain author, who wrote

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1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 212.
2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 124.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.

Santisvara purana in Kannada was patronised by King Singhana.[1] Except this, we do not find any Kannada work written under the Sevunas. Many Sanskrit works came to be written during this period. Towards the fag end of the dynasty many works were composed in Marathi.

The reason for this is not far to seek. Singhana's conquest of most of Karnataka was temporary. After his death most of the northern parts of Karnataka were reoccupied by the Hoysalas and other Karnataka dynasties. This almost settled the question of who should rule over Karnataka, and it was certainly not in favour of the Sevunas. Though the Sevuna rulers were anxious to assume the title, *"the supreme Lord of the Karnataka country,"* (as was done by Bhillama V and Singhana), the contemporary Hoysalas were not happy to admit them to this great honour. So the Hoysalas became protectors of the interests of the people of Karnataka.

Further, though the political activities of the Sevunas were right in the Karanataka area, they made no attempts to establish their capital there. They went further north. This was because of the danger of constant trouble from the Chalukyas in the first instance and the Hoysalas later. To the subjects of Karnataka looked up to the Hoysalas as their rulers and not to the Sevunas. In this psychological conflict, the Kannada authors did not go to the Sevuna capital.

From these arguments one would conclude that the Sevunas were of Kannada origin. But some scholars have argued that the Sevunas were Marathas. The school of Maratha origin has among its champions Bhandarkar, Altekar and Derrett. Bhandarkar characterised Sevuna rule as a Maratha monarchy.[2] Altekar pointed out that the early patrimony of the Sevunas and their later capital lay in northern Maharashtra and that the literature that flourished at the Sevuna royal court was Marathi.[3] "We may, therefore, most probably presume," says Altekar, "that the Yadava family was, in fact an indigenous[4] Maratha sect...."[4] Derrett is positive that the Sevunas were

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1. Narasimhachar, R. and S. G: *Karnataka Kavicharitre*, Vol. I, p. 292.
2. Bhandarkar; *Early History of the Dakhan*, p. 130.
3. Yazdani, (Edited); *Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 516.
4. ibid.

Marathas. He describes Sevuna rule as "Maratha rule in Karnataka[1] and refers to the Sevunas as the "Maratha power of Devagiri.[2]" He addes "The Government at Devagiri, a great distance north of the Krishna, had a distinct Maratha bias...".[3]

But these views do not seem to be so strong as to justify that conclusion. We have already shown that the Sevunas patronised Kannada language too. Further we have tried to show the favourable Karnataka bias of the Sevunas. The Sevunas may have been one of the Yadava families ruling in the neighhourhood of Bijapur and Dharwar. Finding it impossible to thrive under the imperial rulers, this moved further north, but could never come back permanently, though they made very strong efforts to do so. This may be due to the pressure continually exerted by the Hoysalas in Karnataka. The defeat of the Sevunas at the battle of Soratur may be taken as an important step in this direction. In that case, it could have caused Bhillama V to establish his capital at Devagiri in the north. Gradually, they moved into the Marathi area, found it more congenial for their power and began to consolidate themselves there. From all these facts it could be easily concluded that the Sevunas were Kannadigas.

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1. Derret : *The Hoysalas*, p. 252.
2. ibid, p. 106.
3. ibid, p. 95.

O. Ramachandraiya & C. Somasundara Rao

Muñjeru Plates of Eastern Ganga Anantavarma

The Muñjeru inscription was discovered in an earthern pot nearly one year ago by Mr. J. Appalanarayana while digging for the construction of a cattle-pen in his land at Muñjeru, Bhimilipatam taluk, Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh.[1] Recently we obtained it on loan for study.

The inscription is a set of three plates strung together with a ring, the ends of which are secured by soldering to a circular seal. Each plate measures 17.5 cm. by eight cm. The first and the last plates have a thickness of .3 cm., while the middle one has a thickness of .4 cm. The rims of the plates are slightly raised. The outer and the inner diameters of the ring are 10.5 cm. and 8.5 cm. respectively. The ring passes through a hole on each plate in the left margin. The diameter of the seal is three cm. The three plates weigh nearly 625 grams. The weight of the ring along with the seal is 415 grams.

The countersunk surface of the seal contains in the centre an advancing bull facing left. The sun and the moon are figured above the bull and below there is a lotus.

The grant contains writing on the inner side of the first plate and on both sides of the second and third plates. The inscription has altogether 29 lines.

The characters of the inscription belong to the later Kalinga script of the eigth and ninth centuries A.D. The script generally resembles that employed in the Alamaṇḍa plates of Anantavarma[2] (presumably the same as the issuer of the present inscription) and the grants issued by Anantavarma's successors like Devendravarma[3] and Yuvarāja Rājēndravarma.[4]

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1. The village lies 2 miles south-east of Bhōgapuram.
2. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 17-21.
3. Ibid, XXX, pp. 23-28.
4. Ibid, XXXII, pp. 201-06.

The script is an admixture of Telugu-Kannaḍa and early Nāgari varieties. The letters, '*Ka*,' '*Ḍa*,' '*Da*' and '*La*' have Telugu-Kannaḍa and Nāgari forms. The medial '*e*' and the subscript '*r*' have Nāgari features. Occasionally the subscript '*r*' of the Telugu-Kannaḍa script is used. The letters '*ḍa*' and '*da*' are sometimes written as '*ḷa*' as in the case of *Chūḷāmaṇai* for *Chūḍāmaṇai* in line 4, and *Chūḷāmaṇi* for *Chūḍāmaṇi* in line 7 and *Viḷitamastu* for *Viditamastu* in line 13.

The forms of the letters are not systematic. Different forms of the letter *da* appear in the same line, e.g., *Vṛddhaye*, *Deḍuḍi* and *Danti* in line 18. *Dha* has the usual form of the inscriptions as in *sūtradhārasya* in line 4 and *Madhunāga* in line 14. But it was written differently, as in *Vasa-viddheyai* in line 20 and in *Dhaḍamāri* in line 28. *La* has two forms, one as in *Simāliṅgāri* and another as in *likhyate* (L. 22). The letter *sa* also has two forms, one of the Telugu-Kannaḍa variety as in *Vasakā* (L. 2) and *pratiṣṭhitasya* (L. 3) and the other having a separate form for the left side of the letter which touches the serif as in *Svastyamarapura* (L.1). *Ya* has a peculiar form throughout. The letter was split into two parts, having two vertical strokes with a curvature on each side at the bottom of the vertical. This is not the case in the Alamaṇḍa plates of the king where it has the form of the early Telugu-Kannaḍa script. In the Paṭṭali grant of Yuvarāja Rājēndravarma, this form is used at the end of the inscription (Ll. 34-35)[1] The consonant that follows *r* is doubled only once (sarvvatu, L. 1). The letter *ba* is expressed by the sign for *va* as in *śavda* (*śabda*), L. 6.

The language of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit prose except for the imprecatory verse from the *Mahābharata* in Ll. 26–27.

The inscription records, in the first instance, the gift of the village Chirkudi in Dāvadā-viṣaya (district) by king Anantavarma, son of Rājēndravarma, to a resident of Nāgara by name Sri Kaṇakhaṇḍi, son of Bhaṭṭaśrī Madhunāga of the Vaḍha-gotra and of the Vājasanēya school on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, and secondly, the re-gift of the same village by Kaṇakhaṇḍi to the Brahmins of Deḍuḍi, Muñjeraka and Danti. The composer of the grant was Śrīdharamāri and the engraver *akṣaśāle Śri Vasuśrī Sāmanta*.

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1. Ibid., XXXII, pp. 201-05.

The inscription was issued from Kaliṅganagara. The usual royal *praśasti* of the early Eastern Gangas appears in this inscription, but without three important phrases, *Nijanistriṁśa - dhar = opārjita - sakala - Kaliṅg-ādhirājyah, Parama - māheśvara* and *Gaṅg - amala - kula - tilaka,*

The donor of this inscription was Anantavarma, son of Rājēndravarma. The present inscription is the third of this king. The other two inscriptions are an unpublished grant dated in the Gāṅga year 284[1] and the Alamaṇḍa plates dated in the Gāṅga year 304.[2] The latter records the gift of the village Medelaka in Tirikaṭu-viṣaya to Śrīdharabhaṭṭa of the Kauśika-gotra on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

The inscription is undated, but it should have been issued somewhere between the Gāṅga years 284 and 306, for, by the Gāṅga year 306 Dēvēndravarma, a brother of Anantavarma, issued his inscription.[3] The initial year of the Gāṅga era has been debated and the consensus of opinion is that it started in 496 or 498 A.D.[4] If so, the rule of Anantavarma should be placed between 780–82 A.D. and 801–03 A.D.

We may mention here that at Muñjeru itself, four copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the Madhyama-Kaliṅga branch of the eastern Chālukyas were discovered.[5] One of the inscriptions was issued by Kokkili Vikramāditya-bhaṭṭāraka, son of Maṅgi-yuvarāja and grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana II to record the gift of the village Muñjeru to the residents of Depūḍi at the time of his *aturakāla.* The second inscription records the gift of a village in Bhōgapura-viṣaya by Kokkili's son Maṅgi-yuvarāja (II) to 103 Brahmins of Muñjeru. Both Kokkili and Maṅgi-yuvarāja II had the title of *Śrī-vijayasiddhi.* The third and fourth grants were issued by another Kokkili who was the son of Vinayādityavarma and grandson of Maṅgivarma (probably

1. Ep. Rep. 1924, pp. 97-98. cited in R. Subbarao: *Kaḷiṅgadēśa charitra* (Telugu) pp. 490, 5171-8.
2. Ep. Ind., III, pp. 17-21.
3. Ibid., XXX, pp. 23-28.
4. J. F. Fleet ; 572 A.D. ; Kielhorn and Dubreuil : 439 A.D.; R. Subbarao : 492 to496 A.D. G. Ramdas : 349 A.D. ; B. V. Krishna Rao, 497 A.D. ; V. V. Mirashi: 498 A.D. ; M. Somasekhara Sarma : 504-05 A.D. ; J. C. Ghosh : 496 A.D. ; S. N. Rajguru : 626-27 A.D.
5. Ep. Rep. 1908-09, pp. 104-05, 107.

the same as Maṅgi-yuvarāja II). He had the title of *anivārita*. They record gifts of villages Bodderi and Veṭṭuvāḍa in Bhōgapura-viṣaya to the Brahmins of Muñjeru.

Since Muñjeru appears in the present grant, we may note that it passed from the hands of the Madhyama-Kaliṅga branch of the Eastern Chālukyas to the Eastern Gāṅgas. The date of the conquest may tentatively be assigned to about 800 A.D., with the help of the fairly established chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas. Taking 624 A.D. to be the date of the foundation of the Eastern Chālukyan power, we may assign the rule of Jayasiṁha II to 705-17 A.D.[1] After Jayasiṁha's death, one of his step-brothers, Kokkili, seized the kingdom and ruled for six months after which he was expelled by his step-brother, Viṣṇuvardhana III. When he lost his power in Vēṅgi proper, Kokkili laid the foundations for the Madhyama-Kaliṅga branch with its capital at Elamañchi.[2] He must have begun to rule in 718 A.D. If we assign 20 years of rule to a generation, we will be having the following dates for the rule of Kokkili and his successors.

Kokkili (I) (718-38)
|
Maṅgi-yuvarāja (II) (738-58)
|
Vinayādityavarma (758-78)
|
Kokkili (II) (778-98)

In the last years of Kokkili II, a conflict must have ensued between him and Anantavarma, son of Rājēndravarma, of the grant under study. It must have resulted in the victory of Anantavarma and in the acquisition by him of the Bhōgapuraviṣaya. Then only could Anantavarma have issued this inscription.

The inscription mentions various places, some of which are not identifiable, Kaliṅganagara, the place of issue of the inscription, is generally identified with Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Nagara, the place from which the donee hails is regarded as the same as Nagarakaṭaka near Mukhaliṅgaṁ. The location of the gift village, Chirkudi is not known. Muñjeraka is the same as Muñjeru.

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1. N. Venkataramanayya : The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi, Pp. 55, 70.

2. Ibid., Pp. 71-73.

where the plates was discovered. Deduḍi could be a varient of Depūḍi, whose inhabitants secured Muñjeru from Kokkili I. But Depūḍi itself has not been identified. It is tempting to identify Danti with Dantapura, from which the Eastern Gāṅgas issued their copper plate inscriptions (e.g. Jirjingi plates of Indravarma.) But the presumption is that these three villages should have been in the same neighbourhood. Danti, along whith Depūḍi, still awaits identifiction.

The inscription states that Chirkudi lay in Dāvadāviṣaya. It is likely that this viṣaya (district) was same as Dāvadāmadavaṁ mentioned in the Vizagpatam plates of Dēvēndravarma of the Gāṅga year 254,[1] Unfortuntely. the villages mentioned in Dēvēndravarma's inscription are not identifiable. We have, however, places in Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts with somewhat similar names like Devāḍa in Visakhapatnam and Sringavarapukota taluks of Visakhapatnam district and in the Chipurupalli taluk of the Srikakulam district, and Devādi in Narasannapeta taluk of Srikakulam district. Were one of these the same as the Dāvadāviṣaya of the inscription, it stands to reason that it should be Devāḍ in the Sringavarapukota taluk of Visakhapatnam district because it is the nearest to Muñjeru.

TEXT[2]

1st plate, 2nd side

1. *Siddhaṁ*[3] *Svasty=amarapur-anukariṇā(ṇaḥ) Sarvva=(r*)tu-sukha-ramaṇī-*
2. *yād=vijayavat-Kaliṅgā(ṅga)nagara-vasakā(t*) Mahendr-achal-amala-*
3. *śikhara-pratiṣṭhitasya sa-char-achara-guro(ḥ*) sakala-bhuvana-ni-*
4. *rmaṇeka*[4]*-sūtradhārasya Sa(Śa)śaṅka-chūḷā(ḍā)maṇer=bhagavato Go-*
5. *Karṇasvāminaś=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmād=vigata-*
6. *kali-kalaṅko=nekā-hava-sa(ṁ*) kṣobha-janita-jaya-śav(b)da(ḥ*) prata-pa-vanī(na)-*
7. *ta-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chūḷā(ḍā)maṇi-prabhā-mañjarī-puñja-*

1. Ind. Ant., XVIII, Pp. 143-46.
2. From the copper-plates and the ink-impressions.
3. Expressed by a symbol.
4. Read *nirmāṇaika*.

2nd plate, 1st side

8. *raṇ ji(ñji)ta-vara-cha(ra*)ṇa(ḥ*) Sita-kumuda-kund-endu-vadāta yaśa-samatā*[1]–
9. *ratī-kul-āchalo naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dakṣiṇya-saury-odā*
10. *rya*[2]*-satya-tyāg-ādi-guṇa-sampad-ādharabhu(bhū)to Maharāja Śrīma–*
11. *d=Rājendravarma-su(sū)nu(ḥ*) Śrī Anamtavarma(rmā) kuśalī Dāvadā-viṣaya–*
12. *nta-patina*[3] *Chirkudi-grama-nivasina(ne) kuṭumva(ba)–jaṇapadāṁ-samā–*
13. *day-anu*[4] *viḷi(di)tam=astu bhavatāṁ grām-oyaṁ Vaḍha-gotraya cha*
14. *Nagara-vastavya Vajasā(sa)neya Bhaṭṭaśrī Madhunāga–*

2nd plate, 2nd side

15. *su(sū)nu(ḥ*) Grī(Śrī) Kaṇakhaṇḍīḥ(ṇḍeḥ) Somagrahoda | hage*[5] *u(da*)ka–*
16. *pu(pū)rvakaṁ kṛtva pradato(tto)-smābhiḥ śasanena yāva*
17. *ch(=(ch*)andr-ārka-tārakaṁ mātā-pitror=ātmanaḥ punya(ṇyā)bhi*
18. *vṛd(dha*)ye ten-āpi Deḍuḍi-Muñjeraka-Danti*
19. *vastastavya*[6] *rva*[7]*(brā)hmaṇānāṁ puna(r*)=dānaṁ kṛtaṁ yataḥ śa–*
20. *san-āvalokanād=ravi-kalpato vasa-viddheyai*[8]

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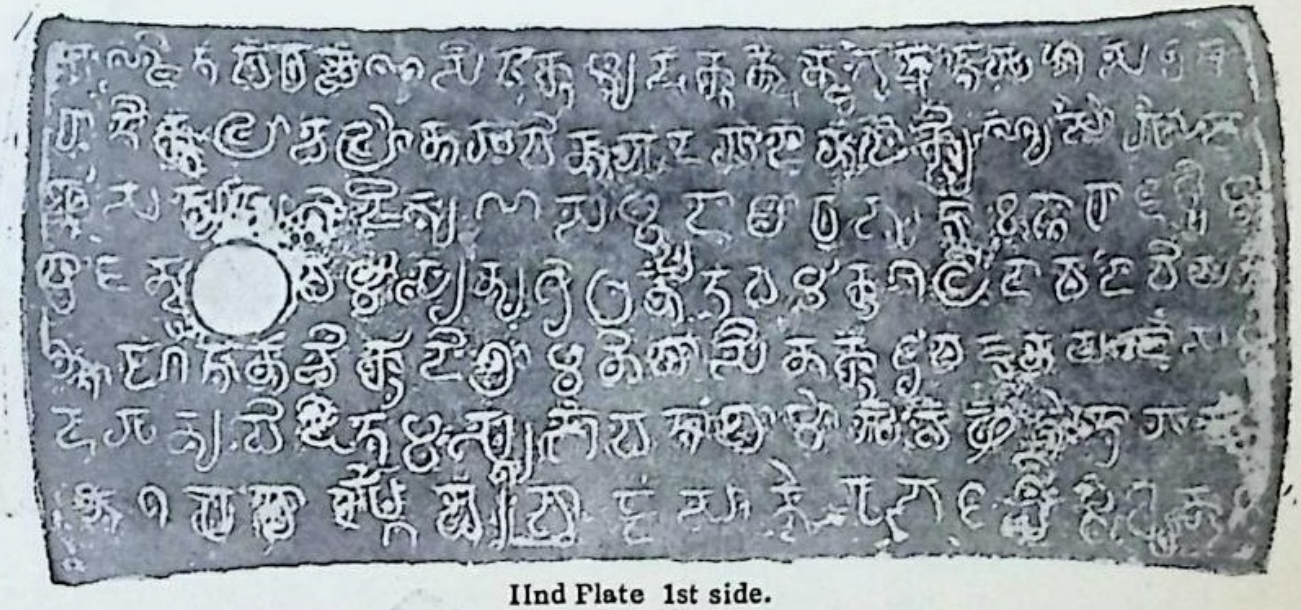
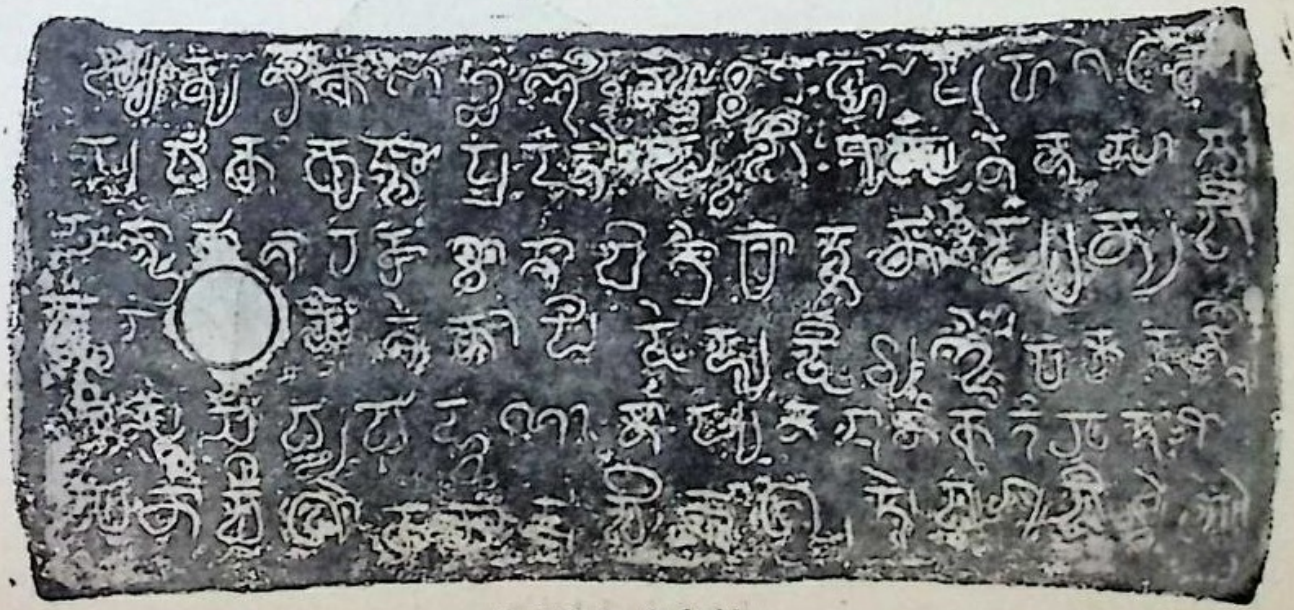
1. Read *yaśonamitā*.
2. Read *Saury-audārya*.
3. Read *Viṣayantarvartine*.
4. Read *jayānu*.
5. Read *grahoparāge*.
6. Read *vāstavya*.
7. The letter might be *va* also. It indicates *ba* since no separate sign is used for *ba*
8. Read *Vaiśa-vṛddhaye*.

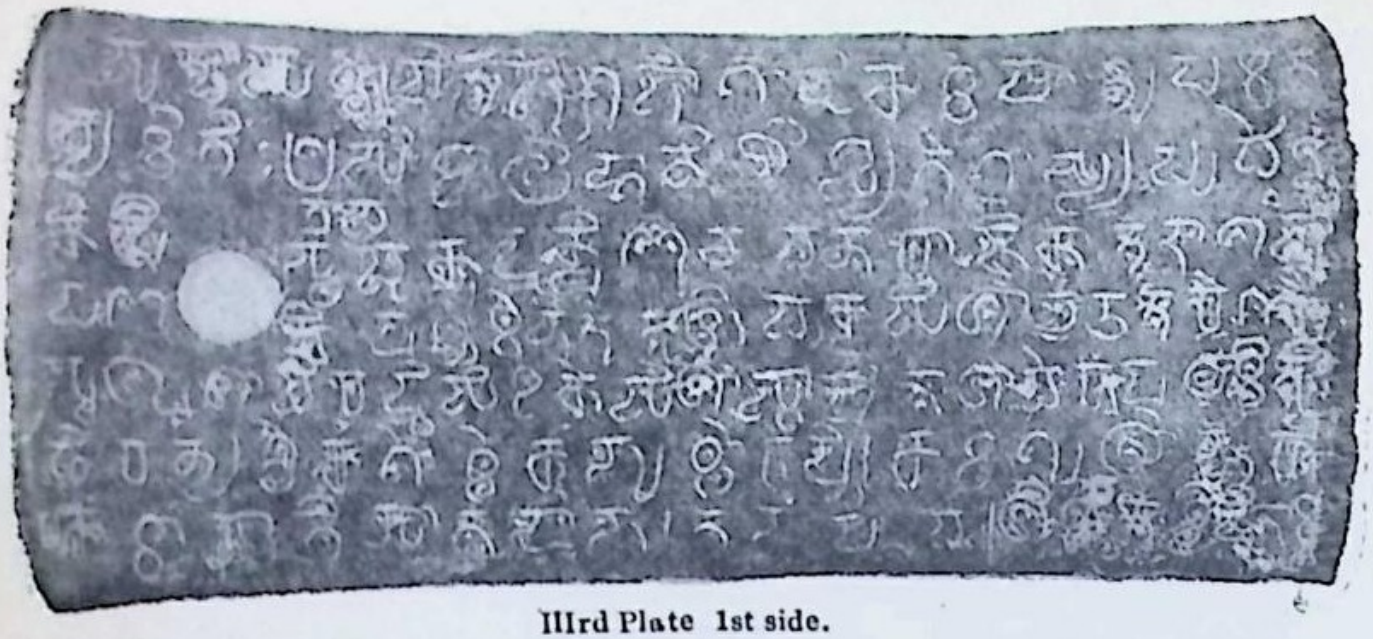
Ist Plate 2nd side.



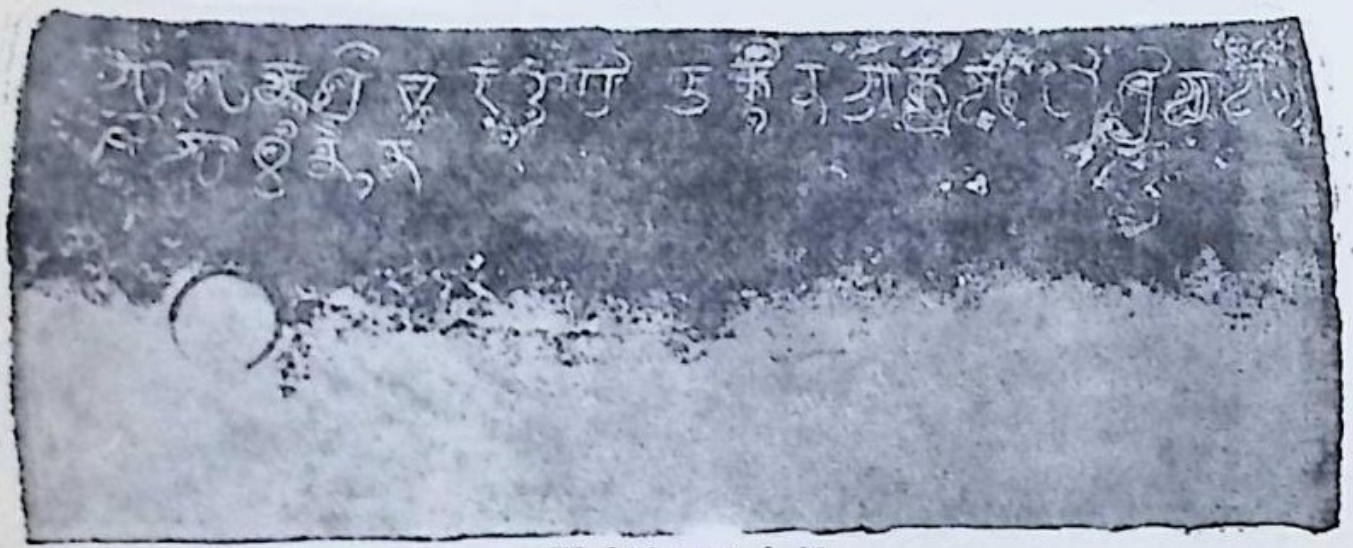
IInd Plate 1st side.



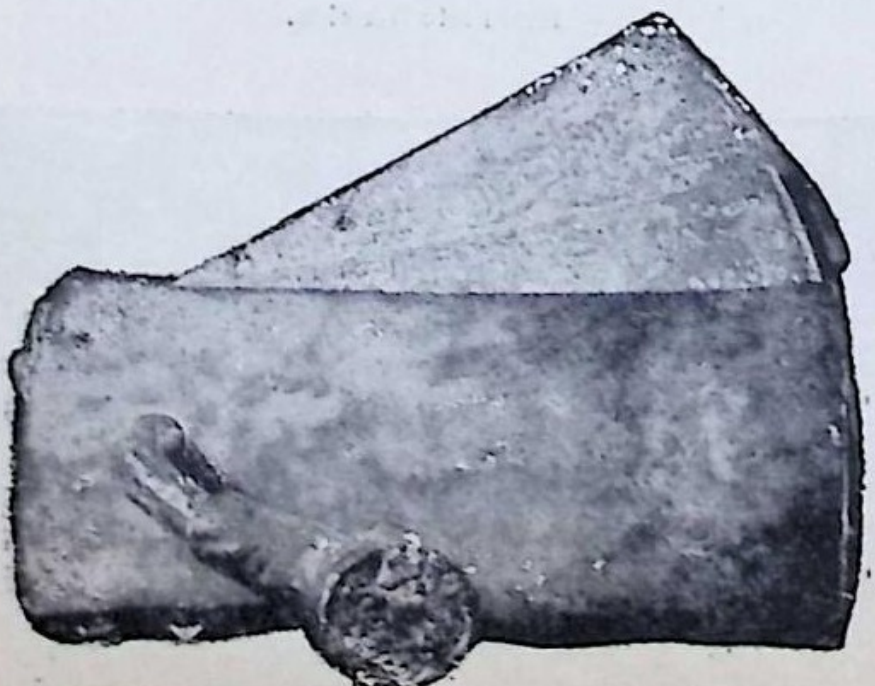
IInd Plate 2nd side.



IIIrd Plate 1st side.



IIIrd Plate 2nd side.



Ist Plate 1st side.

3rd plate, 1st side

21. *bhu(bhū)tva sam-uchita-bhāga-bhog-ādikam = eṣām = upame(ne)ta-*

22. *vyam = itiḥ*[1] *atra cha*[2] *sim-ālingani likhya(ṁ*)te(| *) grā(ma*)sya pu(pā)rveṇa*

23. *kapistha(ttha)-vṛkṣa(ḥ*) (| *) Dakṣiṇena vanarājikā taḍaga-pra-*

24. *paṇam(ṇām)taḥ(| *) paśchimena tetali-vṛkṣa(ḥ*) si(śi)la cha(| *) uta(tta)reṇa*

25. *svalpa-lavera dvi-sīmake silā(śilā) sthāpitā lover-upalam = iti(| *)*

26. *Hiranya(ṇya)m = ekaṁ gom = ekaṁ*[3] *- bhūmo(bhūme)r = apy = eka-maṁ-gulo (maṅgulam) (| *) Haraṁ-na-*[4]

27. *rakam = ayati yavad = abhu(bhū)ta-saṁplava(ṁ*) | (| *)likhitam = idaṁ tāmvra(mbra)*

3rd plate, 2nd side

28. *sā(śā)sanaṁ Śrī-Dhaḍa(ra)mārī(ri) (ṇā*) uktina(utkīrṇaṁ)ch = ākṣasā (śā)li Śrī Vāsu-*

29. *Śrī Sāmaṁtenaḥ* |[5]

TRANSLATION[6]

Blessed be this! From the victorious residence, Kaliṅganagara, which is pleasant with the comforts (simultaneously) of all seasons and which emulates the city of the gods, Śrī Anantavarma, son of Mahārāja Śrī Rājēndravarma, who is freed from the stains of the Kali age in consequence of his prostrations at the lotus feet of the god Gokarṇasvāmi.

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1. Visarga is unnecessary.
2. The letters *tra* and *cha* are written below the line.
3. Read *gām=ekāṁ*.
4. Read *haraṁna*.
5. Read *Sāmantena*.
6. For the praśasti part of the inscription Dr. Hultzsch's translation of the same in the Alamaṇḍa plates is adopted.

whose crest jewel is the moon, who is the sole architect for the construction of the whole world, who is the lord of the animate and inanimate creation, (and) who is established on the spotless peak of the Mahendra mountain; who has caused the roar of victory to resound in the turmoil of many battles, whose feet are tinged by the clusters of the light of the jewels on the crests of all vassals, prostrated by his valour, whose fame is as bright as the water-lily, the jasmine flower and the moon; who has destroyed the principal mountains, viz., his enemies; who has become the basis of wisdom, modesty, kindness, charity, beneficence, bravery, magnanimity, truthfulness, liberality and other excellent virtues, flourishes—

Summoning the members of the several families residing in Chirkudi-grāma situated in Dāvada-viṣaya. the king declares—Be it known unto you that this village has been gifted with ablutions of water under our edict to Śrī Kaṇakhaṇḍi, son of Vājasaneya Bhaṭṭaśrī Madhunāga, of Vaḍha-gotra, a resident of Nagara, on the occasion of lunar eclipse, that it may endure so long as the moon, the sun and the stars last.

And by him, in his turn, is regifted for the increase of the merit of his parents and of himself, to the Brāhmin-residents of Deduḍi, Muñjeraka and Danti.

Therefore, seeing this edict, it should be made available to them, by proper division, for their enjoyment etc., that their lines may continue, till the sun shines. Here the marks of the boundaries are inscribed—To the East of this village, kapittha tree; to the south, the row of the topes till they reach the lake; west, the Tetali tree and the stone; and to the north, the stone, known as Loveru, fixed beyond Svalpa-Lāveru.

One who takes away a gold piece or a cow or even an inch of land will be in Hell, till the five elements dissolve.

This copper-plate is composed by *Śrīdhara Mari* and engraved by *Akṣaśali Śrī Vasuśrī Samanta.*

K. V. Raman

Some Epigraphical Gleanings on Vaishnava Acharyas

Inscriptions which furnish valuable information on various aspects of political, economic, social and religious life are strangely silent about the activities of many great saints, It is well known that no contemporary inscriptions mention any Vaishnava Aḻwārs or Saiva Nāyanmārs, who were held in great reverence.[1]

Rāmānuja stayed for a long time in Srirangam and did meritorious reforms in the temple worship and administration; yet no contemporary inscription makes any direct reference to such an eminent preceptor. Of course, the temple chronicle, *Kōil-Oḻugu* gives graphic details regarding them. They are corroborated by the accounts given in Vaishnava hagiology and contemporary biographies like *Rāmānuja-Nūṟṟandādi*. Incidentally, Tiruarangattu Amudananar, the author of the latter work and a disciple of Rāmānuja is mentioned in an epigraph.

Srirangam was successively the headquarters of a galaxy of Vaishnava preceptors like Nāthamuni, Āḷavandār alias Yāmunāchārya, Rāmānuja, Kūrattāḻvār, Parāsara Bhaṭṭar, Nanjīyar, Nampiḷḷai and down to the last among them. Manavāḷa Mahāmuni (15th century). They were venerated by contemporary Vaishnava laity as great preceptors and several of their works and teachings have come down to us. But curiously, direct references to them are not to be found in the contemporary inscriptions.

Among the hundreds of inscriptions found in leading Vaishnava temples such as Srirangam, Kāñchi, Tirupati and Srivilliputtūr, we look in vain for references to the activities of the *pūrvacharyas*. Only in the Vijayanagar inscriptions are references of the later descendents of the āchāryapurusha family found copiously.

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1. The possible exception is Madurkavi Āḻwār who has been indentified with considerable plausibility with Māran Kāri *alias* Madura Kavi mentioned in the Anaimalai inscription of Nedunjaḍaiyan Parāntakan (A.D. 770).

The obvious explanation for this lacuna is that inscriptions were only documents recording grant and donations made to the temple and not general chronicles mentioning political or religious events of the day. Personalities who figured in the transactions of the temple like donors or service-holders would alone be mentioned. This is at once the merit and the defect of our epigraphical records. They are matter of fact in recording the transactions and are therefore, reliable and trustworthy. But at the same time, inscriptions alone would not give us a full picture of the past events or personalities.

Against this background, let us review a few relatively early inscriptions which do, however, make some brief, but useful, references to the Srī-Vaishnava Āchāryas. Some of them are contemporary records while others, though not contemporary, are relatively early and, therefore, interesting.

1. *Sri Nathamuni*: It was Srī Nātha or Nāthamuni who collected the hymns of the Āḻwārs, arranged the canon and set its musical notes. He was the first of the great āchāryas. He lived towards the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the 10th.[1] He hailed from Kāṭṭumannārguḍi in South Arcot district. The town was called *Viranārāyaṇapuram* after one of the titles of Parāntaka I. Srī Nātha, figuring in the Anbil plates of Parāntaka II, is generally considered to be a reference to Nāthamuni.[2]

The Anbil plates record the grant of a village to Aniruddha Brahmādirājan, the minister of Parāntaka II. There is a description of the Vaishnava family of Aniruddha, the life of his father, whose glory was learning and also to the attachment of his mother and grandfather to Lord Ranganatha of Srirangam. It is well known that Nāthamuni was also known Ranganāthamuni and spent his life at Srirangam, devoted as he was to Lord Ranganātha. Here is perhaps a good epigraphical reference to the first of the Srī Vaishnava Āchāryas. Significantly Srī Nātha's grandson Āḻavandar, who is the second in the Āchārya line, figures in the Vaishnava *Guruparampara* as an important chieftain at the Chōḻa court, probably under Parāntaka II.

2. *Ramanuja*: There is an interesting inscription at the Sri Varadarājaswāmi Temple, Kāñchi, which refers to the consecration of the image of

1. The traditional date of his death is A.D. 920. Some would regard this date as rather too early for him and consider that it might have been the date of his birth.

2. Ep. Ind. XV, p. 54; K. A. N. Sastri—'Chōḻas' p. 477.

Emberumānār (Srī Rāmānuja) in A.D. 1191 by an influential Chōḷa chieftain by name *Iḷaiāḻvan Kalingarayan* of Neṭṭūr. He donated all the taxes accruing from two villages to meet the expenses for offerings to the diety. He also made special provisions for the exposition of *Rāmanuja Bhashya*.[1] This inscription clearly shows that the great teacher was deified at Kāñchi within fifty years of his demise.[2] He was greatly attached to the Kāñchi temple and spent his earlier or formative years doing service there.

The chieftain's title, Iḷaiāḻvān, is significant for the Tamil name of Rāmānuja was Iḷaiāḻvān, as he was considered an *avatāra* of Lakshmana or Iḷaiāḻvān. In the early Vaishnava texts, Rāmānuja is always referred to as *Iḷaiāḻvan and Emberumānār*. The Chōḷa chieftain was obviously a great devotee of Rāmānuja or Iḷaiāḻvān, whose name he also bore.

According to the Srī Vaishnava tradition, the earlier images of Srī Rāmānuja which were made during his own times were those that are now to be seen at Sriperumbudur (birth-place), Srirangam (where he held the apostolic seat) and Tirunarayanapuram or Melkote in Mysore (where he found temporary asylum). All the three images are indeed of serene beauty depicting him in the *anjali* pose, in the act of devotion. But the image at Kāñchi differs from the three, as it depicts him in the Vyakyanamudra, as a great teacher. He is depicted in the same form at Tirumalai.

3. *Tiruvarangattu - Amudanār*: He was disciple and probably a younger contemporary of Rāmānuja. His biographical poem, *Ramanuja-nūṟṟandādi*, extols the greatness and the divine qualities of Rāmānuja. He is referred to in the *Guruparampara* as Peria-Kōil-nambi, hailing from a village named Mūngirkkuḍi. He was probably a priest in the Periakōil or Srirangam. An inscription from the Tirukkoilur Vishnu temple refers to one Tiruvarangattu-amudanār of Mūngirkkuḍi who is stated to have been tending a flower-garden at Peria-Koil (Srirangam) for whose subsistence a gift of land was made.[3]

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1. 493 of 1919.
2. The traditional date for Rāmānuja—A.D. 1017-1137. Sri T. N. Subramanian has shown that this has to be slightly revised in the light of certain known historical facts. Rāmānuja was contemporary of Kulōttunga II (1133-1150), the presecutor. Rāmānuja's flight to Mysore took place in A.D. 1133 and he returned to Srirangam after the death, of Kulōttunga II i.e. after A.D. 1150. He completed his *Srī Bhashyam* in S. 1077-A.D. 1155-1156. (S.I.T.I, vol, III, pt. II, pp. 147-160.)
3. 315 of 1919-20.

The date of this inscription is A.D. 1180, nearly 30 years after the demise of Rāmānuja. Tiruvarangattu-amudanār, being a disciple and younger contemporary of Rāmānuja, was alive and active in A D. 1180.

4. *Brahmatantra - Svatantrar* : A disciple of Vēdānta Dēsika (A.D. 1269–1369), Brahmatantra Svatantrar is mentioned in an inscription at Kāñchi Varadarājaswāmi Temple as the head of a Sri-Vaishnava maṭha for propagating the *Emberumānar-darsanam* (school of Rāmānuja.)[1] The inscription is dated A.D. 1359, i.e. in the life-time of Vēdānta Dēsika. But curiously, the epigraph omits to mention the later, who was a guru of Brahmatantrar. Nor is there any mention of this maṭha in later inscriptions. It was shifted to Tirupati and then to Melkote (Mysore) where it later became the famous Parakāla-maṭha.

5. *Manavāḷa Mahāmuni (A.D. 1370–1443)* ; He is considered the last of the Pūrvāchāryas who had had their headquarters at Srirangam. He was known to his contemporaries as Peria-Jīyar by which name he is also mentioned in the *Koil-oḷugu* and *Thirumalai oḷugu.* He is mentioned by the same name in the inscriptions as well. One of the inscriptions at Tirupati mentions him by his name *Ramya-Jāmātru-muni,* the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil name *Aḷagia-manavāḷa-Jīyar.* One of his disciples, also Aḷagia-manavāḷa-Jīyar, established his maṭha in Vishnu-Kāñchi. It is functioning even today under the same name,

Inscriptions of Sri Varadarajaswami temple, datable from the middle of the 15th to the 18th century, attest to the fact that the Aḷagiamanavāḷa-Jīyars of Kāñchi maṭha were successively custodions of the temple and are mentioned as the *Kōil-Kēḷvi* and *Srī-Karya-Dhurantara* of the temple," [2] The dynamic activities of Kandāḍai-Rāmānuja-ayyan, a royal disciple of Kōil-Kandāḍai Annar of Srirangam and Aḷagia-manavāḷa–Jīyar of Kāñchi are also extensively alluded to in the inscriptions found at Kāñchi, Srirangam and Tirupati.[3]

An epigraph, found at the Varadarājaswami Temple, Kāñchi, and dated A.D. 1556 makes particular reference to offerings to many āchāryas

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1 Ep. Ind, XXV. No. 34.

2. T.T.D. Rep. I. p. 47-447 and 443 of 1919.

3. Ibid ; ARE 1936-37 pp. 90-91,

deified in the temple.[1] They were Tirukkachi-Nambi, Emberumānār, Kūrathāḻvān, Nāthamuni and Peria-Jīyar. It also mentions the birth-stars of the āchāryas and notes that Peria-Jīyar's birth-star was *Aippasi Mūlam*. The latter reference is obviously to Manavāḷa Mahāmuni. This epigraph shows that the latter was held in high esteem and ranked with the great preceptors even as early as A.D. 1555. His deification might well have taken place considerably earlier than that date.

A Vijayanagar inscription at Kondavakkam states that the village was granted as Tiruviḍayāṭṭam to Manavāḷa Mabāmuni at Srīperumbūdūr by one Senjamana Nāyakkar, a royal chieftain.[2] This would again go to show that at Sriperumbūdūr, the birth-place of Rāmānuja, Manavāḷa Mahāmuni was deified quite early.

6. *Later members of the Āchāryas*: In the Srirangam inscriptions there are a number of references to the later members of many āchāryas such as Parāsara Baṭṭar (son of Kurattāḻvān, a close associate of Rāmānuja and the author of the *Pancāsṭavams*), Perianambi (preceptor of Rāmānuja), Koil Kandāḍai Mudaliāṇḍān (another associate of Rāmānuja), Sriraṅga Nārāyana Jīyar, Uttama Nambi etc.[3] Similarly, at Tirumalai, Tirupati and Kāñchi there are epigraphical references to the later members of the Prativāti Bhayankara Aṇṇa, families, Doḍḍayāchārya (author of the *Chaṇḍa-māruthaṁ*,) Aḻagiamanavāḷa-Jīyar, Vaḍa-Tiruvēngaḍa-Jīyar, Van-Saṭagōpa Jīyar, Tātāchārya and a host of others.[4] Indeed the inscription of Vijaya-nagar times are replete with references to the activities of the Srī Vaishnava leaders who came to have more and more privileges in the temples. Some of them figure not only as donors, either directly or through their disciples, but some as doing service to the temple and enjoying certain privileges in return.

In certain inscriptions we come across the names of a few Vaishnava sages whose significance is not yet fully known. For instance, a record of Kulōttuṅga I at Varadarajaswāmi temple, Kāñchi, refers to a maṭha named *Arikēsavan-maṭha* in the temple presided over by one Mahāmuni (the great

1. 653 and 479 of 1919; SITI, I no. 429.
2. 203 of 1949-50,
3. 21 of 1905-6; 324 and 342 of 1950-51.
4. See my paper on Varadarajaswami Temple inscriptions in the *Seminar on Inscriptions* Edited by R. Nagaswamy (Madras, 1966).

sage) of Peria-Kōil.[1] Could he have been Mahāpūrna or Peria-Nambi of Srirangam who lived for sometime at Kāñchi and initiated Rāmānuja into the Visishṭādwaita fold?

There is another interesting epigraph at Āḻvār-tirunagari, in Tirunelveli district which mentions one Tiruvāymoḻi-māmuni, a disciple of Tirukkurugūr-māmuni. The inscription is dated in the fourth year of Māravarman *alias* Tribhuvanavīradēva Kulasēkharadēva, probably the second of that name, who ruled from 1314 to 1346.[2] In this period lived a renowned Vaishnava āchārya Tiruvāymoḻipiḷḷai, who figures next to Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya in the line of preceptors of the Prabhandic school. He was a native of Aḻwār Tirunagari and was greatly immersed in Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*. Hence his name, *Tiruvaymoḻi-piḷḷai*. Perhaps, the Tiruvaymoḻi-mahāmuni of this inscription refers to him and Tirukkurugūr-māmuni obviously refers to Nammāḻvār. Probably, the practice of suffixing *Mahāmuni* to great teachers was in vogue during that time and it is interesting to note that another great teacher hailing from the same village (Āḻvār Tirunagari *alias* Kurugūr) and a disciple of Tiruvāymoḻipiḷḷai was named Manavāḷa-Mahāmuni. The latter was born in A.D. 1370 and his teacher, Tiruvāymoḻipiḷḷai's earlier days would tally well with the date of this inscription viz. A.D. 1310-20.

An inscription dated in the 10th year of Vikrama Chōḷa (i.e. A.D. 1128) from Srirangam mentions a Srī-Vaishnava of the place by name Kandāḍai Tirivaranganārāyanan Srī Saṭagōpan.[3] The identity of this person remains obscure, but perhaps he was a scion of the famous Kandāḍai-Mudaliāṇḍān (a contemporary of Rāmānuja) family.

Thus, we can see from the foregoing account, that references to the activities of the early *Pūrvāchāryas* is rather limited. But they tend to grow in the latter Chōḷa and the Vijayanagar days. In the latter period, the descendants of the āchārya families were not only closely connected with the temple but also with its administration and as custodians of the religious services and rituals in the temple. For they figure more frequently in the temple transactions embodied in the later-day inscriptions. They figure as donors or donees or as holders of certain services and rights in the temple.

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1. 635 of 1919.
2. 465 of 1909.
3. 437 of 1954-55.

CHIDAMBARAM S. RAMANUJAM

The Madras Revolution

With the victory at Plassey and the overthrow of the French in the Carnatic in 1761, the East India Company had clearly established its position in India, and if there was less to fear for the Company from without, it soon became clear that there was more to fear from within.

The Company's territorial acquisitions in the decades following were startling indeed, but with the rapid increase in responsibilities came the realisation that the triumphant trading Company was not, after all well suited to function properly in its new role. The evidence that the new acquisitions were misgoverned was overwhelming, and the Regulating Act, aiming to reform the Company both in London and in India, was far from successful. The Directors remained largely ignorant of the real situation in India, and the ever increasing spirit of 'party politics' that began to dominate the Court, the shareholders and even Parliament in Indian affairs made effective administration more difficult. The Company servants, who with the sudden acquisition of power had grown to respect less and less their masters and the local princes, continued to act more in their own interests than in the interests of the Company.

There was in the south the additional problem of a prince who was for ever trying to influence the Company's policy to suit his own schemes; the inordinate importance given to the Nawab of Arcot by the Company, the opportunity afforded to him to artfully identify his interests with some of the Company's servants, and the privilege he enjoyed of dealing directly with London, all made sound administration very difficult. The extraordinary incidents that took place in Madras in August, 1776, are ample proof of the defects in the administrative system.

The kingdom of Tanjore, a supposed tributary of Arcot, had been invaded and captured by Mohammed Ali with the help of the Madras Government in October, 1773; but the fact that Madras had neither the authority nor the competence to accomplish this extension of Arcot territories was to

lead to a discreditable chapter in the history of the East India Company. The Court of Directors, after a long delay, ordered in April, 1775 the restoration of the Tanjore raj. Much as they stressed the need for haste, they neglected to define exactly the period from which it was to take effect, and this was to prove the basic cause for the scandal that soon exploded.

Lord Pigot, who had come in December 1775 as the new Governor to implement the orders of the Court, found it very difficult to persuade the Nawab to relinquish his authority over Tanjore, and the eventual restoration of Tulaji as the Raja of Tanjore in April, 1776, took place only after tedious negotiations. But this did not conclude the entire question, for the revenue of Tanjore from the spring harvest came to assume enormous importance, and the contention for it was to lead to extraordinary occurrences in the Madras administration.

Mohammed Ali's primary concern in acquiring Tanjore had been its revenue and it was inevitable that he should try every artifice to retain all that he could. He argued, therefore, that he had been lawfully in possession of the country, that its acquisition had entailed enormous expence, and that since he had already assigned the land revenue of Tanjore to his creditors, the proceeds of the harvest of 1776 were his of right. The Raja's claims to the revenue were put forward with equal conviction. His restoration had been ordered in 1775 and the Madras authorities had hastened to secure its early proclamation mainly because the collection of the harvest revenue would allow of no further delay. And behind this immediate action lay the Court of Directors' condemnation of the whole two years' occupation by Mohammed Ali. If that was unjustified, and the Raja had already suffered the unwarranted loss of two years' revenue, the Raja's claim to the February harvest could scarcely be disputed.

Had the issue been a straightforward one between the Raja and the Nawab, it is probable that the matter would readily have been settled. For the British to impose their decision upon the Nawab, even an inequitable and derogatory decision, would have been no novelty. But behind the Nawab stood those to whom he had assigned lands and who expected to secure handsome profits, and behind the Raja stood those who hoped to manoeuvre themselves into positions of power and profit at his court. During the discussion of this revenue question the Madras authorities divided, therefore, into two distinct sections, indifferent to the interests of the Company whom they

represented, or even of the two princes with whom they were negotiating, indifferent to any sense of responsibility, of compromise or of integrity.

When Pigot returned from Tanjore after placing Tulaji on the Tanjore throne, the entire proceedings effected by him there received the Council's vote of approbation.[1] But it soon became clear that approval was to relate only to the restoration and that on other issues dissent was likely to grow. Only too clearly personal interests were involved. Thus, when Pigot originally proposed that he should visit Tanjore. Sir Robert Fletcher, the Commander of the Madras forces, at once declared that he wished to be the person to effect the restoration of Tulaji — and if Pigot is to be believed, Fletcher without the knowledge of the Council, had already sent his baggage and one of his secretaries to Tanjore and had borrowed money which he lent to the Raja.[2] When it was agreed that Pigot should undertake the journey for that purpose, Fletcher argued that two members of the Council should accompany the Governor to prevent the actual restoration from serving the "corrupt interests of individuals at the expense of the Publick."[3]

Flectcher could not carry a majority in imposing this condition, but his proposal indicates how much importance was attached to any British visit to Tanjore and to the notion of concealed private interests. In the event, Pigot did take two Councillors with him "to convince them and the world" that he had "no sinister view" in going to Tanjore, but both men were his choice and not appointed by the Council.[4] Even the reasons for Pigot's choice of Jourdan and Dalrymple to accompany him seem dubious: both men later declared that they had not wished to journey.[5] Nor did their inclusion still the suspicions of the other members of the Council.

The actions of the Council seem to suggest that suspicion of all members' motives was justified. If the Directors had failed to provide instructions about the settlement of revenue questions, there was no good reason why the Council should not have done so. The Nawab had already made it clear that

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1. Ft. St. Geo. Cons., 6 May 1776, Mds. Mil. & Sec. Proceeding, Vol. 85
2. Pigot's Narrative, 11 Sept. 1776, Papers Relating to Madras, p. 2
3. Ft. St. Geo. Cons., 25 Mar. 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 267, p. 88
4. Pigot's Narrative, 11 Sept. 1776, Papers Relating to Madras, P. 5
5. Dalrymple's Notes, Papers Relating to Madras, P. 30

he had made assignments to Europeans on the Tanjore revenue due from the February crops to the amount of 15 or 16 lakhs of rupees; and that the holders had cut and received the grain into their keeping. Had the Governor and Council in reply taken a definite decision regarding the harvest, any further intervention by the Nawab, or those allied to his interests, could have been prevented. But from the haste they showed to implement the orders on Tulaji's restoration, and the ease with which they postponed a decision on the important aspect of the task, the revenue of Tanjore, it can only be surmised that both the Governor and members of the Council had ulterior motives for their behaviour.

The Governor must have realised the difficulties of the revenue question; he perhaps postponed a decision, hoping to settle it in the Raja's favour by hastily effecting the restoration. The members of the Council, for their part, probably thought that, since the crops had alaeady been harvested and stored with the holders of assignments on the Tanjore revenue before the actual restoration was effected, it would not be tampered with. It was because the Governor's activities in Tanjore were not confined to the matter of Tulaji's enthronement alone, but involved the revenue, that initial acquiescence in his proceedings turned to disagreement.

That the disagreement eventually became violent and total was almost certainly to be attributed to the presence in Madras of Paul Benfield, a civil servant of the Presidency. Even before Pigot's departure for Tanjore, Benfield had informed the Governor that he had interests in Tanjore revenues, and indeed his extensive monetary connections with the Nawab and his complex financial arrangements were well known to the Governor. Pigot's immediate reply, given without much concern for general interests, it would seem, was a casual assurance that he had no intention of injuring Benfield's rights. Once arrived in Tanjore, however, Pigot proceeded to adopt measures diametrically opposed to such an assurance.

Whether in declaring that the February harvest revenues should be surrendered to the Raja, Pigot was making on honest judgement or fulfilling his side of some corrupt bargain cannot be known. In either case his action was a blow to all whose fortunes were linked with the Nawab. His further action in demanding that the Nawab's manager produce all the revenue accounts for Tanjore, and in then despatching a force to pursue and arrest him within

the Carnatic when he left Tanjore to avoid compliance, was certainly challenging.[1] Such a measure as the seizure of the Nawab's official, within the limits of the Nawab's territory and without his sanction or authority, caused great indignation. as could be expected. This furnished the Nawab with an excellent pretext to make a complaint, which he duly lodged with the Madras Council as well as with the Governor-General and his Council.[2]

As though this were not enough, Pigot also proceeded to a more direct break with Benfield, equally understandable, but equally unwise. Kumara, the *dubash* of Benfield, had been specifically desired by the Governor not to proceed to Tanjore until he himself had completed his journey. But not only had the *dubash* arrogantly disobeyed Pigot by visiting Tanjore, but he had also taken upon himself the business of informing the Raja secretly that he would like to have the management of the country and would advance him whatever sum he required. Dalrymple later deposed that Kumara had also warned the Raja that Pigot would advise him to place the country under the Company and accept a British garrison in the fort of Tanjore—this was indeed the proposal Pigot was bringing from the Council—but that he should decline the proposal. The Raja was further assured by Kumara that if he did so, he would be supported by at least seven members of the Council.

All this was reported by the Raja to Pigot.[3] It should have been clear from Kumara's knowledge of Council proceedings that in his arrogant behaviour in Tanjore he felt himself supported by some person or persons of authority. Had Pigot investigated Kumara's behaviour as *dubash* of Benfield, he might well have exposed those who had instigated his actions and thus strengthened his own hands. Instead, he chose to inflict a public insult on Kumara and hence on his master, Benfield, without securing any evidence to justify his action, by ordering the corporal punishment of Kumara with the whip in public.[4]

To this Benfield replied by denouncing Pigot's action in allowing British troops to help the Raja in taking possession of grain already out and

1. Pigot-Capt. Tonyn, 13 Apr. 1776, Home Misc. series, Vol. 132, p.711
2. Nawab-Gov. Gen & Coun., (n. d) Home Misc. Series, Vol. 133, pp. 374-377.
3. Dalrymple-Court of Dirs., 19 Jan. 1777, Papers Relating to Madras, p. 3
4. 'The Case of the President and of the Council' (p. 3) Home Misc. Series, Vol. 269, p. 167

stored by holders of assignments on the Tanjore revenues. This could not have been done without the sanction of the Governor, Benfield declared, and this amounted to a violent seizure of British property by Pigot, who should be made accountable for the act. He also invoked the Council's aid in pressing his personal claims upon the Tanjore revenues.[1]

If the Governor's actions seem questionable, or at least unwise, the claims of Benfield must be dismissed as preposterous, Benfield had come out to Madras 1764 as architect and engineer, and was employed on the works of Fort St. George with the rank of lieutenant, though his name was also in the civil list. In 1769 he resigned his post to become a contractor for the erection of a rampart for the defence of the town of Madras. He was dismissed from service in 1770 for factious conduct, but was reinstated ; and was again dismissed in 1772 for disobedience. He subsequently contracted for new works at Fort St. George and was engaged on them till 1776. Under cover of these activities, Benfield had also built up a close association with the Nawab ; was in fact, the banker to the latter and all the drafts of bills for the payment of the Nawab's *kists* were sent to, and discharged by, him.

Apparently, he had indulged in the lucrative business of lending money to the Nawab from the amounts he had made from contracting for the Company – a business which was both "corrupt and undesirable."[2] Now, in the Council meeting of 29 May, 1776 his claim was solemnly put forward that, by virtue of mortgages and assignments of the Tanjore revenues from the Nawab, there was due to him a grand total of over half a million rupees. As Marshman observes, "nothing can more clearly demonstrate the total demoralization of the public service at the Madras Presidency than the fact that this Paul Benfiled, occupying an inferior post, not worth more than 200 or 300 rupees a month, and keeping the grandest equippage at Madras, should not consider it by any means preposterous to assert" that he had advanced such a large amount on the Tanjore revenue.[3] But preposterous or not in terms of abstract justice, the claim was not preposterous in practice when so many of the most important Company servants were directly or indirectly involved in Benfield's transactions.

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1. Benfield Gov. & Coun., 29 May 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 128, pp. 362-4,
2. East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics-Sutherland, p. 318 (f.n)
3. History of India-Marshman, Vol. I, p. 380

This was to be shown in the successive responses of the Madras Council to Benfield's appeals. When he first asked the Council to instruct Pigot at Tanjore to recover his property, the move in Council to take the matter under consideration was deferred by the majority.[1] Then, after Pigot's return, Benfield's claims were taken into deliberation. He was asked to produce particulars and vouchers for his transactions. He was unable to comply with the request and on enquiry his claims on Tanjore had dwindled to Rs. 30,000, and even for this there was no corroborating evidence. The Council, therefore, decided that his claims on Tanjore, having no connection with the Government and being without sufficient explanation and evidence to enable them to form any opinion, could not be taken up by them.[2]

In this rejection of Benfield's claim, as in the earlier approval of Pigot's actions in Tanjore, there had been consistent majorities in the Council. Ambiguous as the Directors' orders had been, the Madras authorities interpretation of them had been entirely reasonable, as was their decision that since the restoration there could be no connection between the Tanjore revenues and the private debts and commitments of the Nawab. It is startling, therefore, that on 3 June, only five days after this verdict on Benfield's claims, Henry Brook, who had voted with the majority on 29 May, should be found moving for a reconsideration of Benfield's case. He explained that Benfield's letter to the Council could be viewed in two different ways: one that of his demanding and the other of his requesting, the assistance of the Council. Since he was originally of the impression that it was made in the former sense, he had voted against it; but now that he was satisfied that Benfield had only requested the Council to assist him, he moved that the entire claim should be reconsidered.[3] It is utterly ridiculous that the sense in which Benfield submitted his claim should have any bearing upon its validity; and the Councillor's explanation for the change in his attitude is as outrageous as the motion that he moved. Nevertheless, it was decided by a majority to discuss the claim once again.[4]

That there was active collusion between Benfield, supported by the Nawab, and some members of the Council in this reversal of the earlier decision is

1. Stratton & Coun., Court of Dirs., 24 Sept. 1776, Papers Relating to Madras, p. 65.
2. Gov. & Coun., Court of Dirs., 22 June 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol, 128, p. 352.
3. Ft. St. Geo. Cons., 3 June 1776-Home Misc. Series, Vol. 136, p. 352.
4. Ibid. p. 197

clear. Dalrymple later succinctly put it; "Benfield, with whom most of the Madras people were involved...had influence enough to get this resolution revoked, the Nabob having conciliated some of the members who had hitherto supported His Lordship."[1] Henry Brooke was one of those so worked upon and George Mackay was another, though this was the man who earlier had proposed "publicly in Council to seize the Nabob's person" in order to overcome his obstinate refusal to accept the restoration of Tulaji.[2] How they were worked upon is unknown, but it should be noted that Benfield had been joined at this time by another agent of the Nawab, a man to be on good terms with the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, John Macpherson.

When Pigot had been endeavouring to prevail upon the Nawab to agree to Tulaji's restoration, Macpherson had been surreptiously visiting Mohammed Ali,[3] obviously to champion his interests and so to gain recognition and reward for his former services as the Nawab's agent in England. In january 1776, after the Nawab had been forced to realise that Tanjore was lost to him, the Madras Council was handed by the Nawab himself a document entitled, "A Short Memorial of Services to His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic," which set forth the activities of John Macpherson in England during 1767–1769, and his negotiations on behalf of the Nawab.[4] Macpherson had thereupon been summoned before the Council and asked if he were the author. He had declined any definite answer, arguing that the transactions mentioned related to a period anterior to the date when he became a servant of the Company. He had been dismissed from service for conduct prejudicial to the Company's interests, but had continued to stay at Madras hoping to be reinstated in service. Meanwhile he became a close friend and ally of Benfield, and in the creation of a majority against Pigot and for Benfield and the Nawab, Macpherson may be presumed to have played a part.

Governor Pigot tried to stultify the move of Brooke by persuading the Council to stand by its original decision, but he was defeated by a

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1. Dalrymple-Court of Dirs., 19 Jan. 1777-Papers Relating to Madras, p. 5
2. Pigot's Narrative-Palk, 11 Sepr. 1776-Papers Relating to Madras. p. 2
3. Chokkappa-Palk, 2 Feb. 1776-Palk Mss.-Love. p. 264
4. Baker.Palk, 15 Feb. 1776-Palk Mss.-Love, p. 270

majority of seven to five. Mackay then moved that the Nawab had the right to the crops sown in 1775 and harvested early in 1776. Advances for cultivation had been made by him and the country itself had been under his authority during the greatest part, if not the whole, of the harvest. Moreover, he argued, the Directors' orders had not sanctioned any seizure of the Nawab's property in Tanjore as would be implied in the handing over of the February harvest to the Raja. So, he declared that the Nawab's aasignments on the Tanjore revenues were legal and that the Raja should be instructed to respect and restore all the claims of Benfield. The Governor objected to the motion as the Nawab's right was not to be discussed by the Council; but he was again defeated and Mackay's motion was adopted by a majority of seven to five.[1]

Pigot then tried to separate Benfield's claim from the question of the Tanjore revenues by declaring them private and so no concern of the Raja's. But once again the majority successfully opposed the Governor and decided that the claims were, "so far as they regard Mr. Benfield, private claims; so far as they regard the Nabob's assignments to Mr. Benfield, public." It was further resolved that the Raja should be recommended to account to Benfield for the Nawab's share of the crops in the districts assigned to him.[2] Legally, much of the argument was feeble, for Benfield's claims were private and the fact that the debtor was the Nawab could not make them public and so bring them within the Council's jurisdiction. Or, if the Nawab's involvement did make the matter public, it is hard to see why the Raja should deal not with the Nawab, but with Benfield, who had appeared so far not as the Nawab's agent, but as his creditor.

However, for Governor Pigot the question was not one of legal niceties but of immediate practical politics. He had two constitutional alternatives before him: either to acquiesce in the majority's decision, hoping for a reversal by the Directors at some future date, or to record his dissent and at once appeal to higher authority for support. Neither of these lawful alternatives seems to have appealed to him, probably because of the uncertainty of their success. Since the original orders with which he had come to Madras were due to his endeavours at home, passed indeed by a slender

1. Fr. St. Geo. Cons., 14 Jume 1776.Home Misc. Series, Vol. 136, pp. 239-248.

2. Ibid. p. 250.

majority of four votes in the Court of Directors,[1] it is understandable that he was not willing to risk a reference home, or to reveal his failure to command a majority in the Council. He resorted, therefore, to the more damaging and uncertain method of attempting to crush the opposition.

Since it was evident that the Nawab was personally and deeply involved in the moves of the rebels, the Governor's first move was to try to isolate and neutralise the Nawab. This he did in two ways, both provocative and unpopular, first by laying down that no European should visit the Nawab without the knowledge and sanction of the Council, and secondly by proposing that the Nawab should be removed from Madras to Arcot. The earlier measure he had passed by the exercising of his casting vote. The latter which was designed to strengthen the first was defeated.[2]

Nothing could have indicated more clearly the stress and impatience under which Pigot was working than his determination to move the Nawab from Madras. It had been in his day as Governor that the Nawab had originally adopted Chepauk for his permanent residence. And it had just now been Pigot who had denounced Mackay's proposal to seize the Nawab as "a breach of national faith to the Nabob, who had come with his family to live under the protection of the English....[3] His proposal, therefore, represented a complete *volte face* in his attitude to Mohammed Ali, and though it was defeated, it understandably gave the aspect of a personal vendetta to the conflict between the two parties.

The next moves in the conflict concerned appointment to be made at Tanjore. Pigot's proposal was that a factory should be opened at Tanjore; but the Council did not consider this necessary, and the suggestion was rejected. Fletcher then moved that Colonel James Stuart should be appointed to the garrison at Tanjore. Vellore was, in fact, the major military post after Madras in the Carnatic, and a "post of Honour, assigned to 'the officer second-in-command." The reasons for sending Stuart to Tanjore were, therefore, clearly nothing to do with military strategy since only a small number of troops was required in Tanjore. Stuart was evidently to be posted there with the intention of assisting Benfield in the recovery of his assignments. That such was the motive seems to have been generally realised as the

1. 28 Feb. 1775, Court Book 83, p. 462
2. Ft. St. Geo. Cons., 17 June 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 136, pp. 261-265
3. Pigot's Narrative, 11 Sept. 1776. Papers Relating to Madras, p, 2

Raja himself expressly stated his desire to the Council that Colonel Harper, who had been at Tanjore since he was restored, should, be allowed to continue. However, the Council approved of Fletcher's proposal and Stuart's appointment was carried despite Pigot's opposition.[1]

Pigot now sought to counteract the Majority's move by sending one of his own men to Tanjore also. As grounds for this he reported that the Raja was apprehensive because of a report that he himself was speedly to return to England. Naturally he had assured the Raja, through his vakil that there was no truth in the rumour. But he advanced the argument that it was "absolutely necessary to quiet the Rajah's alarams, by sending a person of consequence thither, in whom the Rajah could confide."[2] The argument was scarcely convincing, for assuming that the Raja was apprehensive of the probable departure of the Governor, who had taken office only recently, the official denial and an assurance of protection of his interests would surely have been sufficient. What the Governor's statement did reveal indirectly was his belief that the Raja would be destitute of protectors in his absence and the existence of a personal relationship with him. To add to the suspicion, he proposed that Claud Russel, a member of the Council and a particular friend of his who was about to marry his daughter, Leonara, should be allowed to proceed to Tanjore as the British Resident.[3]

With this move of the Governor, the struggle between the two parties began to reveal itself in its true colours. The appointment of Stuart to the Tanjore garrison had been accepted; and if Russel had also been allowed to proceed to Tanjore, neither party would have been able to accomplish its desired objective. Had large personal interests in the revenue question not been involved, it is inconceivable why Pigot should have been so particular about having one of his party at Tanjore; and similarly why the other party should have so objected to Russell's Residency. The struggle between the Governor and the majority now was whether Stuart, who would manage the business agreeable to the views of the majority, or Russell, who would manage it agreeable to the views of Pigot, should go to Tanjore. Since Stuart's appointment had already been carried, the majority now insisted Stuart should proceed to Tanjore immediately, Pigot refused to sanction

1. Ft. St. Geo. Cons , 9 July 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 136, pp. 329-332
2. Pigot's Narrative, 11, Sept. 1776, Papers Relating to Madras, p. 6
3. Ft. St. Geo. Cons., 19 Aug. 1776, Home misc. Series, Vol. 136, p. 356

the appointment, though he proposed that, if Russell was allowed to go to Tanjore he would agree to stuart's appointment.[1]

This was to be the last stage of any order, both in point of form and procedure in the Council. The majority were determined to check the Governor sending any one of his choice to Tanjore and were adamant upon sending one of their own. The Governor was equally decided in his wish to prevent Stuart from going to Tanjore alone. Personal motives and passions took the place of considered administration and the natural result was a revolution.

The majority sought strength in the standing orders of the Company which laid down that "whatever shall be agreed on by the majority shall be esteemed the order by which one is to act";[2] but the Governor maintained that the Council was not competent to act without him. He further declared that it was his duty to the Company, to his friends in the Council and to the good order and Government of the Presidency to see that the majority did not proceed further, that without his name to those orders they were not the act of the Government, and that men executing such orders would be liable to difficulties.[3]

Even if the Governor had been willing to rest the matter without achieving his object of sending Russell, the majority were determined to order Stuart to Tanjore. Since the Governor refused to sign the order for Stuart's instructions, they held that the Secretary should sign them. If the Secretary refused, then the majority looked upon themselves as authorised to order the Secretary to do so.[4] Pigot positively denied the Secretary's right to sign the orders without his sanction; and thereupon two members of the majority, Henry Brooke and George Stratton wrote a letter to the Secretary directing him to sign the orders. After these two had signed the letter, and before it could be passed to the other members of the Council, the Governor took possession of the letter and declared that he would leave the matter as it was till a reference was made to the Directors for their decision.[5]

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1. Ibid.
2. Standing Orders of the Company, 3 Jan. 1678; Mar. 1702. Home Misc. Series, Vol. 136, p. 363
3. Ft. St. Geo. Cons., 20 Aug. 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 136, p. 363
4. Ibid. p. 372.
5. Ibid. p 373.

It is possible that the Governor had by now realised his precarious position and the extremity to which the matter had proceeded. It is also likely that the affair might have stopped there if he had, in fact, acted according to his declaration and allowed matters to rest until orders could be received from London. Instead, he immediately proceeded vindictively to charge Brooke and Stratton with being "guilty of an act subversive of the authority of Government." As a result, he declared that their suspension was necessary, and his motion to that effect was adopted by the exercise of his casting vote.[1] This was indeed clean contrary to his expressed desire for a truce and his unwarranted and imprudent action was the immediate cause for the majority's retaliatory violence.

The majority assembled the same evening of 22 August at Benfield's house, where a meeting took place between them, Macpherson, Benfield and the Nawab's two sons.[2] At another meeting at Fletcher's residence the next morning, they decided to take the extraordinary and irregular measure of declaring themselves the "legal representatives of the Honourable Company, under the Presidency." They sent public notices to the effect that they would assume the authority of Government, and to establish their authority and to remove that impediment which represented itself in the Governor, they decided that he must of necessity be arrested.[3]

On the same day, Pigot summoned the Council and had the members who had signed the declaration suspended; and ordered that the Commander of the Forces, Fletcher, should be put under arrest and court martialled for his association with the majority. The command of the army was offered to Stuart.[4]

Colonel Stuart seems to have occupied a peculiar place in the eyes of both parties. Despite the majority's eagerness to send him to Tanjore, he was now offered the important post of Commander by Pigot himself ; and soon, to his great inconvenience and mortification, Pigot was to become familiar with the real attitude of Stuart. After offering him the appointment, the Governor preferred Stuart's particular company the following day. He breakfasted with him,[5] and

1. Ibid. 22 Aug. 1776, p. 374
2. Chokkappa-Palk, 15 Spt. 1776, Palk Mss, Love, p. 289
3. Ft. St. Geo. Cons., 23 Aug. 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 136, p. 390
4. Ibid. p. 393
5. Tanjore Papers. Vol. I p. 417

after intermittent sittings of the Council during the day, he invited him to supper at his Garden House.[1] It was on their way to the Garden House Stuart managed to execute the most important task, the actual arrest of the Governor.

They set out from the Fort after dark, in a chaise driven by the Governor himself. The road lay across the island through a double avenue of banyan trees. When the carriage was midway between two bridges, two officers, Lieutenant Colonel Edington and Captain Lysaught, stepped on to the road and signalled the carriage to stop. They had an armed party of sepoys concealed in the shadow of the trees, and as soon as Pigot reined in, Lysaught shouted, "You are my prisoner."[2] Then came the revelation of Stuart's real attitude, for he ordered the Governor to get out. Pigot was immediately hustled into a closed carriage belonging to Benfield, and was driven to St. Thomas Mount, where he was delivered into the custody of Major Horne, Commander of the Company's artillery.[3]

There could scarcely be any doubt Stuart's complicity, for after effecting the Governor's arrest, he returned to the Fort where the majority had already assembled. All slept in the Council Chamber that night. They adopted a motion the next day by which Russell, Stone, Dalrymple and Lathom, the members who had supported Pigot, were suspended. An announcement to the civil and military servants in the form of a proclamation declared that they had assumed the authority of the Presidency with George Stratton as the Governor.[4] Though there was a minor protest by a few civil servants, their assumption of authority was generally accepted.[5]

Edington presented himself on the evening of 27 August with the intention of removing Pigot to a secret place of detention. But the Governor steadfastly refused to accompany him and when Major Horne summoned the garrison, Pigot harangued them to such effect that the troops tacitly avoided exercising any force.

An appeal was then made by Russell to Admiral Hughes, then cruising off Madras, for protection for Pigot.[6] The Admiral refused to

1. Papers Relating to Madras, p. 10
2. Pigot's Narrative, Papers Relating to Madras, p. 10
3. Stuart–Horne, 24 Aug. 1776, Papers Relating to Madras, p. 16
4. Home Misc. Series, Vol. 129, p. 707
5. George Smith-Palk. 20 Sept. 1776, Palk Mss. Love, p. 291
6. Russell's Narrative-Home Misc. Series, Vol. 131, pp. 272-276

intervene. He had long since made it clear to Robert Palk that he was in favour of the Nawab, declaring in March 1776 his view that the Nawab "certainly merits every attention from the English, being in my opinion their most sincere friend in the country." Indeed he maintained that there was no fault to be found in giving up Tanjore to the Nawab.[1] He was against the restoration of Tulaji and in his opinion, everything would have been satisfactory if Tanjore had been left with the Nawab, with only a British garrison in the fort. Holding such views as he did, whether from considerations of public policy or private advantage, the Admiral was unlikely to sympathise with Pigot and his friends. When Stratton and his supporters communicated the news of their *coup* to Hughes, he had hastened to assure them that "finding you in possession of the Government," he would readily join them in all measures tending to the good of the common cause and welfare of the Company.[2]

Russell having failed, Pigot himself then appealed to the Admiral, seeking safety in the King's name.[3] Hughes did then claim a safe conduct to the ships for the Governor, but when the majority pointed out that there was no proof of the King having empowered "any of his officers to require the removal of any servants of the Company",[4] Hughes accepted their point with questionable alacrity, adding that he "should have been disappointed to have been told" that there was any proof of a similar instance.[5] The majority, having refused to deliver the person of the Governor to the Admiral, did promise that no further attempt would be made to remove Pigot from the Mount, and with this assurance Hughes showed himself very ready to be satisfied.

On the broader issue of the legality of the revolution, the Admiral promptly decided that the only line he could adopt was that "of not pretending to determine that of which" he was "not a competent judge". This seemingly humble profession of insufficiency is interesting indeed since earlier he had not only declared himself in support of the Nawab's interests, but

1. Hughes-Palk, 22 Mar. 1776, Palk Mss. Love, P. 273
2. Hughes-Stratton & Coun., 27 Aug. 1776, Tanjore Papers, Vol. I, p. 433
3. Pigot Hughes (n.d) Home Misc. Series, Vol. 132, pp. 735-737
4. Stratton & Coun., Court of Dirs., 24 Sept. 1776 Papers Relating to Madras, pp. 105-6
5. Hughes-Palk, 26 Sept. 1776 Palk Mss. Love, p. 302

had even lamented the orders for the restoration. It is clear, however. that he did not practise his professed principle, for immediately he offered the assistance of his fleet to the majority on the grounds that they had the power of carrying on the administration of the Presidency.[1]

Soon after assuming authority, the majority appealed to the Supreme Government at Calcutta for their approval of, and support for, the change in the Madras administration. It is evident from the correspondence between individuals in the Councils of Madras and Calcutta, even before the drastic changes that took place at Madras in August, that the Supreme Government's sympathies were with those men who were to form the majority. As soon as they heard of Pigot's deposition, they promptly acknowledged the majority as "the legal Administration of the Presidency of Fort St. George," and offered them their assistance in support of their authority. Their declared arguments for such a conduct were that the rights and powers of the Governments in India were "by the Original Constitution of them, vested and established in the Majority of Council...".[2]

It has been said by Dr. Lucy Sutherland that in acknowledging the authority of the majority, the Bengal Government's decision was "a reasonable one."[3] In the narrowest constitutional terms this may have been so, for the Governor certainly had no right to override a hostile majority. But in any wider view the decision was far from reasonable, while the way in which it had been arrived at must seem suspect in the extreme. There is little doubt that the Governor-General had always shown himself in favour of Mohammed Ali, that he was blindly attached towards the restoration of Tulaji, and that his Council was equally opposed to the role Pigot had planned to play at Madras, since he belonged to the opposition interests in England and the orders for the restoration ran counter to their views.

Warren Hastings was well versed in Carnatic affairs, and his association with Mohammed Ali had been long and intimate. He had always favoured the Nawab as a particular ally, and though he was not in the administration in 1773 when Tanjore was captured and made over to the

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1. Ibid.
2. Gov-Gen. & Coun., Court of Dirs., 12 Sept. 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 131, p. 499
3. East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics Sutherland, p. 319

Nawab, it can be assumed that he was in complete agreement with measures undertaken then; for he was to observe later in 1781 that he could hardly allow Tanjore "the credit of a serious argument. The measures of our first Settlers dignified the Rajah with the Title of King, and by that misnomer, ...he has acquired all the prerogative of Royalty, though the Nabob, his undoubted Sovereign has been without scruple treated as a Dependent."[1] It was unfortunate that Hastings had not understood the part played by Tanjore in the growth of the power that he represented, had not acknowledged that Tanjore was indeed an independent state, and had been so unreasonable in his bias towards Mohammed Ali; and such a bias did not fail to provide some indirect support to the Nawab in his fight against Pigot.

If the Governor-General was personally in favour of Mohammed Ali, it was also true that his own interests were somewhat combined with those of the Nawab. Lauchlin Macleane, Hastings' agent in England, was also the agent of the Nawab. He had originally come to India to make a quick fortune, and was quick to see that his best prospects lay at the disorganised court of Mohammed Ali. There is no doubt that Macleane persuaded the Nawab to represent his case in England,[2] and when Macleane soon found it necessary to resign his post with the Bengal Government on the appointment of Philip Francis to the Calcutta Council,[3] he accepted the post of the Nawab's agent in January 1775.

It was unfortunate that Hastings' personal sentiments were shared by his Council, who had always shown themselves equally in favour of Mohammed Ali. Earlier in June 1775, they had supported the Nawab in his quarrel with the then Madras Government regarding his right to nominate his son, Amir ul Umara, as the Nawab of the Carnatic. To the Nawab's complaint against Pigot's arrest of his manager, they had responded warmly by denouncing the Governor's action as "a Violation of the Independent Rights of the Nabob," and had expressed a strong objection to the loss that his interests were to suffer by the restoration of Tulaji.[4] Seven weeks later they had again declared that they would "support the rights of the

1. Hastings-Macartney, 23 July 1781 Additional Mss. 38408, p. 171
2. Macleane's Narrative, 13 Feb. 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 286, pp. 41-42
3. Reward is Secondary Maclean, p. 429
4. Gov-Gen. & Coun., Gov. & Coun., 15 may 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 128, p. 427

lawful Nabob...against all such attempts in future," and that they would "exert with effect the power vested in them by the Legislature of superintending and controuling the Government of the Presidency of Madras..."[1] And to Pigot's move in Council to alienate the Nawab from his British supporters and to remove him from Madras to Arcot, they had strongly objected by openly criticising the personal character of the Governor: " Your President's conduct and behaviour to the Nabob manifest symptoms of a strong personal indisposition towards him, heightened by a tone of authority unbecoming the Nabob's dignity and independency ".[2] Their sentiments though misguided, were certainly strong, for on the same day they passed 17 resolutions in Council supporting the rights of Mohammed Ali and condemning the actions of Pigot ;[3] and went on to cast a further doubt on Pigot's integrity by questioning whether or not some pressure, similar to that used on the Nawab, had been put on Tulaji by Pigot to make him agree to the terms that had been settled by the restoration, for the expressions of the Raja, they remarked, " were never voluntarily used by any independent prince, however grateful he might be for the services rendered to him ".[4]

Sir Robert Fletcher, one of the chief opponents of Pigot, had himself been in intimate correspondence with Sir John Clavering of the Supreme Council, as well as with Hastings ; and the dissensions in the Madras Council had been doubtless, described in a partial light.[5] Fletcher had originally expected to effect the restoration of Tulaji personally, declaring that it was a purely military matter, and when his proposal was rejected, he had expressed his mortification to Clavering, who had readily sympathised with him. Indeed, Clavering considered it derogatory for the Governor to have superseded the Commander.[6] While the attitude of Clavering seems basically one of support of all military personnel and not strictly against Pigot, it can nonetheless be seen that he had very little sympathy for Pigot or the orders he was to carry out. The flow of private correspondence was conducive neither to an unbiased presentation of the facts nor to a strict consideration of the general interests,

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1. Ft. William Cons., 7 July 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol 129, p. 725
2. Gov-Gen & Coun., Gov. & Coun., 7 Aug. 1776, Tanjore Papers, Vol. I, pp. 516-19
3. Ft. William Cons., 7 Aug. 1776, Tanjore Papers, Vol. I, pp. 520-1
4. Gov.-Gen. & Coun., Gov. & Coun., 7 Aug. 1776, Tanjore Papers, Vol. I, 518-19
5. Additional Mss., 29137. p. 409
6. Clavering Court of Dirs., 20 July 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 132, pp. 7.10

and it denied Pigot the advantages of fair explanation and chances of support from Bengal. It was equally unfortunate that Pigot had failed to cultivate a good understanding with the Supreme Council, while the members of the majority corresponded privately with Bengal and ascertained how far they might expect support. Pigot was certainly aware of these unfavourable trends, but apparently had preferred to ignore them due either to over-confidence in his ability, or to the probable notion that the majority would never resort to violence.

Mohammed Ali on his part had been labouriously exerting himself to bring about a reversal in the policy of the Directors, and had it not been for the subsequent drastic events in Madras, it is probable that he would have succeeded. In March 1777, the Directors had decided in favour of the Nawab's protests and had actually introduced modifications respecting "the collection and application of the Revenues and the administration of affairs of the Kingdom of Tanjur".[1] This change was mainly due to Macleane—"the Nabob owes him much" wrote Sulivan to Hastings[2], who had successfully persuaded the Ministry to view his master's case in a favourable manner; and it was even believed that Macleane was to be appointed as the representative of His Majesty at the Court of Arcot.[3] Even though the Nawab's direct influence in Parliament is not a fact,[4] it is clear that he not only had influential friends, but that he had also managed to bring about a modification in the orders for the Restoration. The Ministry was favourable to him, and he was also in correspondence with the British Crown, which had always supported his interests. This sudden rise in the Nawab's position had definite attractions for the prominent personalities of British India. Apart from the private gains to be made in their relations with him, it also became an important object for his friends to support his interests with a view to satisfying the Crown and currying favour with the Ministry.[5] Hastings, whose position in England at this time was not altogether satisfactory, found this an excellent opportunity to strengthen his interests by giving his support to the Nawab;—"the protection you have afforded the Nabob", wrote Macleane to Hastings,

1. 5 Mar. 1777 Court Book 85. p. 634
2. Sulivan-Hastings, 14 May 1777, Addl. Mss. 29138. p. 409
3. East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics-Sutherland, p. 315 & 323
4. Ibid.
5. Macleane Hastings, 12 May 1777, Addl Mss. 29138, p. 405

" has recommended you in the strongest manner to the King and the Ministry particularly Lord North ".[1]

It was even suspected, though unjustly says Dr. Sutherland, that Hastings was involved with the Majority in bringing about the overthrow of Pigot.[2] His opposition to the Restoration of Tulaji, and his resentment at the consequent loss to the Nawab's interests, turned to a positive dislike of Pigot, who must have seemed to many to be the cause for the rendition of Tanjore. There is little doubt that Hastings began to favour those who were opposed to Pigot, and who were actually in favour of Mohammed Ali. Macpherson, who had been dismissed by the Madras Council and who had since associated himself with the Majority, was a very close friend of Hastings : and had always been the main channel of intercourse between him and the Nawab. It is only reasonable to assume that Macpherson had led his friend to consider his interests, as well as those of the Majority, in a favourable light. Another friend of Hastings, John Stewart, who paid a visit to Madras early in 1776, gave an opinion of Pigot to the Governor-General, which may also have assisted the latter in determining the line of conduct to be adopted. Stewart reported that Pigot, apart from enquiring after Hastings' health as a mere formality, had not expressed a "single sentiment of kindness" towards the Governor-General. Indeed Pigot had been offered opportunities to evince some interest, but had consistently fended them off by "professing the most perfect indifference".[3] A shrewd anticipation on the part of Pigot might have enabled him to strengthen his position, but unfortunately be ignored the opportunity. Such an insalubrious atmosphere both at Calcutta and in Madras, which was "nothing but a nest Hastonians" was to prove most unhealthy for the Governor.

It is clear from the correspondence of the Governor-General with George Stratton that he was in fact in agreement with the Majority. There is no evidence, it is true, to incriminate him in the actual conspiracy, but there is little doubt that he desired the removal of Pigot and encouraged the Majority in their action. It can be accepted, as maintained by P. J. Marshall, that Hastings was not interested in any financial gain for himself, but it is difficult

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1, Ibid.

2. East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics Sutherland, p. 320

3. Stewart Hastings, 13 Feb. 1776, Addl. Mss. 29137, pp. 66-67

to accept his further argument that Hastings " cannot be accused of favouring the Nawab's creditors ",[1] The Governor-General was well aware of the fact that the basic disagreement between the Majority and Pigot was the question of the revenues of Tanjore; and that it was claimed on behalf of the Nawab mainly to satisfy the people to whom it had already been assigned. If in him to have referred the matter to London without offering his support to either party. While informing the Governor-General of the Revolution, Fletcher desired him not only to approve the measure, but also to write " fully your sentiments to England upon the whole matter." [2] The Governor-General's immediate reply was to approve and applaud the measure, and also to congratulate the Majority "upon the Facility and success with which it was accomplished." Apart from hastening to inform the new Governor of his approval " as expeditiously as it could have been," he assured him also that the Majority's action would " be ratified at home." [3]

Besides rejoicing at Pigot's deposition, Hastings went a step further to observe that he would be easier in his mind when he heard that " your late President is returned to England. His presence must be productive of some distrust and check the operations of your government." Then the Governor-General, in what provides further evidence of his intimate association with the Majority, proceeded to advise Stratton as to the future course of his action. "you have yet, my friend," he wrote, "a very difficult task to perform. The whole world will have an eye upon your conduct and be ready to impute what you have already done to motives of self interest if the least shadow of a pretext is afforded...you must consider your place as a place of honour not of profit, nor should you suffer an action to escape you that will not bear to be viewed in the broadest daylight." Furthermore, he warned him that personal integrity would be insufficient "unless you prevent others from availing themselves of the late change for their own undue advantage." He, therefore, specifically desired Stratton to leave the matter of the Tanjore assignments alone, without intervention in their actual realisation.[4] The advice shows that Hastings was well aware of the basic issue in the clash between Pigot and the Majority. It also shows a very clear

1. The Impeachment of Warren Hastings-Marshall, p. 7
2. Fletcher Hastings, 5 Sept. 1776, Addl Mss. 29137, p. 337
3. Hastings-Stratton, 18 Sept. 1776, Addl. Mss, 29137, pp. 338-339
4. Ibid.

perception of the manner in which the whole be viewed by the Directors for, after advice which covered the whole affair with grace and justice, there comes a shrewd judgement of the Court's likely response. He was certain, Hastings said, that a "demand of such magnitude, and involving the property of so many men who have friends and connections at home to assert their rights to it, will in the end obtain it: and such a reference, in my opinion, is the most likely way to gain the Company's sanction to it."[1] This, in fact, was the real situation of the Company administration and a factor which Pigot had attempted to fight.

From the sentiments that the Governor-General expressed to the majority and from the eagerness which he hastened to confirm their action, it is clear that he desired and indeed rejoiced at Pigot's deposition. And it was Pigot's misfortune that the Supreme Council, notorious for their disagreements on almost every issue, were here unanimous in their support for Stratton and the majority. They did not evince the slightest concern for the deposed Governor or his supporters—Francis callously remarked of Pigot that "he was caught like a canary bird and there he may whistle."[2] Their official letter of 10 September to Pigot was scarcely less brutal, for after declaring that they would have been happy to effect a reconciliation, they added that they feared that the differences had gone too far to admit such a possibility; "and that a want of success, in promoting that desirable end might have been attended with consequences more fatal than any which can result from our present decided resolution."[3]

Such public realism was matched by a private frankness and cynicism in the correspondence of Hastings. To Stratton he made clear his belief that private interest was likely to triumph over public morality and justice: "while the principal servants of the Company have such claims in the Country, they will always lean to the side of their interests, when the rights of the Company come in competition with theirs or where theirs may be affected by the public measures which their duty may demand". While the Governor-General's conduct remains questionable, it becomes understandable in the light of Hastings' own dictum that "men cannot always reason fairly when their fortunes are at stake, but will often be influenced by such a concern even

1. Ibid.
2. East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics-Sutherland, p. 319 (f. n. 1)
3. Gov-Gen. & Coun., Pigot, 10 Sept. 1776, Papers Relating to Madras, p. 130

without suspecting the bias that leads them on wilfully departing from their integrity ".[1] This was true not only of the Governor-General, his Council, and all prominent men of the Madras administration, but of the authorities in England also.

The attitude of the Nawab was openly and understandably in favour of Pigot's deposition : his two sons had openly associated themselves with the Majority and were actually present at the meetings when the decision was taken to assume the authority of the Presidency. But the Nawab protested entire innocence of complicity in the affair, and gave his assurance that he knew nothing of the Majority's actions until after the arrest of the Governor.[2] Though he refused the sanction of his name to the measures that had been adopted,[3] it may fairly be assumed, as Dalrymple put it, that his gold had the " credit of being the instrument which brought about these events."[4] The day after the Majority's assumption of power, he entered the Fort in great splendour to congratulate them and give " public testimony of his rejoicing." It is also on record that the new Governor assured the Nawab that he would have no further cause to complain against the servants of the Company, and indeed that it would be his sincere pleasure to evince his esteem and respect for His Highness.[5] There is no doubt that the Nawab encouraged the Majority and was pleased at the fall of Pigot, but in his case at least the hostility was open, of long standing and forthrightly declared.

In England intelligence of the Madras Revolution excited great initial indignation and surprise, but oddly little practical disturbance to the power pattern. The Opposition interests, which had secured Pigot his appointment, embarked upon measures to secure condemnation of the late proceedings at Madras, an ineffective order to recall both parties to the dispute was issued, but the undue dominance in the Company's affairs of party politics in the main helped to minimise the real magnitude of the question. The proceedings of the Home authorities provided a facsimile of the diverse interests that compelled their servants in India to unjust actions, with this difference only that they

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1. Hasting-Stratton, 18 Sept. 1776, Addl Mss. 29137, p. 340
2. Nawab-Palk, 25 Sep. 1776, Palk Mss Love, p, 297
3. Nawab-Court of Dirs., 25 Sept. 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol. 130, p. 608
4. Dalrymple-Court of Dirs., 19 Jan. 1777, Papers Relating to Madras, p. 608
5. Stratton-Nawab, 14 Sept. 1776, Home Misc. Series, Vol 130. p. 626

could act with impunity. Hastings' analysis was quite correct—"the majority of the Madras Council had their friends just as Lord Pigot had his."[1] Where all was "Party"[2], the resolutions taken on the Madras usurpation depended more upon the pull of interests than upon a just consideration of the political and administrative requirements of the Tanjore state.

Before news of the Revolution in Madras arrived, the Court of Directors had already decided to heed the Nawab's protests against the Restoration, and to introduce drastic modifications in their plans for Tanjore.[3] Had the Court's deliberations not been rudely interrupted by the Madras news, Pigot would have found himself ordered to implement measures opposed in principle to the Restoration. The violent actions of the Majority thus served to postpone measures which would have been most disastrous to Tanjore. This, however, was almost the only positive outcome of Pigot's overthrow. The Court of Directors' only immediate response, on 18 March 1777, was to seek a speedy conveyance to Madras for Thomas Rumbold, Pigot's old rival, and then on 19 March to postpone consideration of what Rumbold's orders should be "to a future day".[4] Nearly a fortnight then elapsed before a preliminary decision was taken by the General Court to recommend to the Directors to adopt the most effectual means to restore Pigot to power.[5] On 4 April the General Court added the suggestion that five Commissioners be appointed with "full powers for the supervision and management" of the affairs of Madras and to inquire into the late disorder.[6] A week later it was further resolved that Pigot and his supporters should be restored to power and the members who had effected the Revolution should be suspended from service for conduct "unjustifiable and of the most dangerous tendency". At the same time, a vote of censure on Pigot was also adopted as his proceedings appeared "to have been in several instances reprehensible".[7] Since no specific instances were adduced, the censure of Pigot must be seen as a recognition of a faction within the General Court which must be conciliated if Pigot was to be restored.

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1. East India Company in Eighteenth century Politics—Sutherland, p. 320
2. Palk—Goodalad, 16 Mar. 1769—Palk Mss. - Love, p. 97
3. 5 Mar. 1777—Court Book, 85. p. 634
4. 19 „ „ „ p. 654
5. 31 „ „ „ p. 677
6. 4 Apr. 1777—Court Book, 85, p. 686
7. 11 „ „ „ p. 699

If the General Court had been dilatory and indecisive, the Ministry showed itself uninterested: as late as 12 April 1777 John Robinson was complaining that he could not persuade Lord North to think seriously about the Madras question.[1] The fact was that the Ministry did not feel concerned, and held no brief "either for Lord Pigot or for the Majority..."[2]. There was a general idea, as King George III noted, that both the parties involved in the Revolution had been "stimulated by motives alone of private interests."[3] Though Pigot's case was actively supported by the Opposition interests, and Admiral Pigot, the Governor's brother, gained some sympathy for him among the Proprietors, there was not such unanimity within the Company as would produce speedy and decisive action in Pigot's favour. When on 9 May 1777 a resolution framed by Robinson for the recall of both Pigot and his opponents was put to the General Court, in the absence of "a solid combination in the Company against Ministerial control," Robinson carried the day by 414 to 317 votes.[4]

Failing to effect the desired result in the Court, the Opposition raised the question in the House of Commons. Resolutions, approving the conduct of Pigot and condemning his recall, were moved. It was in the course of these proceedings that Edmund Burke became interested in the question of Tanjore. The proceedings in Parliament achieved little; all that emerged was a face saving formula under which it was agreed on 10 June that Pigot should be restored to office, but that after his restoration he should relinquish his post and return to England. The members of the Madras Council who had brought about the Revolution, and Benfield, were to be recalled; the military officers who had supported them were to be court martialled; and Sir Thomas Rumbold was to succeed Pigot as Governor.[5]

Even this compromise solution was not ultimately applied, for when on the last day of August 1777 John Whitehill arrived from England with despatches to "Lord Pigot, our President and Governor of Fort St. George," he had to assume the Governorship himself since Pigot had already died in confinement on

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1. East India Company in Eighteenth century Politics—Sutherland, p. 321
2. Ibid,, p. 320
3. George III—Robinson, 29 Mar. 1777
4. Court Book 85, p. 711
5. Home Misc. Series, Vol. 269, pp. 233—37

11 May.[1] Pigot had thus died even before his friends in England could send copies of the Directors' orders for his restoration overland by the hand of William Burke, cousin of the great Edmund, who was coming to seek a quick fortune. On his arrival in September, Burke too thus found his mission thwarted by death. The one product, therefore, of Admiral Pigot's efforts on his brother's behalf was involvement of William Burke with the affairs of the Raja of Tanjore, whose agent he soon became.[2] To William the appointment, which he was to hold in India and in England for some five years, was one "with the promise of great prosperity" in his affairs.[3] But this connection, by interesting Edmund Burke in the affairs of Tanjore and Warren Hastings' part in them, proved ultimately to have a national significance.

Meanwhile, an inquest had been held at Madras on the death of Pigot. The Grand Jury was summoned by the Coroner, George Ram, who had declared himself against the Majority when they seized power in August 1776, and under his direction a verdict of wilful murder was brought in against Stratton, the Majority and the military officers concerned.[4] Stratton and the Majority were committed for trial at the Quarter Sessions. Advice was sought for from the Supreme Court at Calcutta, which declared that the inquest afforded insufficient evidence for the indictment,[5] and therefore the proceedings were dropped. Stratton and the other members then left for England where they were prosecuted by the State. For all their offences, they were fined the comparatively paltry sum of one thousand pounds each.[6]

Stuart remained under suspension and was tried by court martial for arresting Pigot. But he was acquitted on the technical ground that he had effected the arrest outside the limits of Fort St. George, and was therefore beyond the sphere of the Governor's military command. Not only was he back into service, but was soon promoted to the rank of general. But during the governorship of Lord Macartney, he was dismissed for insubordination, arrested

1. Whitehill—Court of Dirs., 20 Sept. 1777—Home Misc. Series, Vol. 140, p. 163
2. Raja—Court of Dirs., 1 Apr. 1778—Home Misc. Series, Vol. 140, p. 243
3. W. Burke—G. Cooke, 29 July 1778 — The Impeachment of Warren Hastings Marshall, pp. 3-4
4. Gov. & Coun.,—Court of Dirs., 3 Oct. 1777—Home Misc. Series, Vol. 269, pp. 5-6
5. Gov.—Gen. & Coun., Gov.—Coun., 21 Nov. 1777—Home Misc. Series, Vol. 269, pp. 355-355
6. State Trials—Howell, Vol. XXI, p. 1292

and deported.[1] This led Amir ul Umara, the Nawab's son, to compose the mot: "Once General Stuart catch one Lord, now one Lord catch General Stuart." [2]

The orders for a local inquiry, given by the Directors, were to prove equally inefficacious. In October 1773, they were informed by the Madras Government that they had not been successful in obtaining any dependable information regarding the Revolution. The chief culprits had saved themselves with a negligible fine; Stuart and other military officers had been found not guilty as they had acted under orders; and many others who had taken an active part had managed to re-enter the Company's services. In this manner, a major incident of an extraordinary and revolutionary nature was to pass without leaving any mark either on the administrative machinery of the Presidency, or on the pattern of private interests involved in the Carnatic. The Direction had thus proved to possess "neither policy nor leadership" equal to the demand of the incident.[3]

Before this extraordinary chapter in the history of Madras is closed, a final word is required about the outcome of the revolution for Tanjore. It will be recalled that conflict had come to a head over the question of sending Stuart to Tanjore — an issue which undoubtedly involved private financial interests, though no solid evidence ever emerged from the spate of accusations of sinister motives. It might have been expected, therefore, that with the triumph of the Majority their private interests and those of their ally the Nawab would have been rewarded. In fact, though the Majority had declared that the revenues derived from the Tanjore harvest of 1775–1776 belonged to the Nawab, they did not venture to disturb the Raja in his possession of it. Similary, though Stuart proceeded to Tanjore after the Revolution to support Benfield's claims, on enquiry he declared that they could not be insisted upon "with any degree of justice." [4] Stratton and the Majority were displeased with Stuart's conduct, but the latter's representations were so pointed that they desisted from the demand of the money.[5] It is ironical that Stuart, whose

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1. Home Misc. Series, Vol. 342, pp. 109-111
2. Tuzhuki-i-Wallajahi History of the Carnatic–Nainar. p. 171
3. East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics-Sutherland, p. 322
4. "State of Facts Relative to the Carnatic and General Politics of India", pp. 207-8
5. Ibid

appointment to Tanjore had been so vehemently opposed by Pigot, should have found Benfield's claims unsupportable. The Majority, however, sent Major Horne to Tanjore to make another application on Benfield's behalf;[1] the Raja positively declined to acknowledge the claims;[2] but an arrangement was arrived at by which he agreed to pay four lakhs of rupees to be kept as a deposit with the Company till the orders of the Directors were known.[3] This entire sum, however, was never realised and though the deferred payments continued to strain the Tanjore treasury, the major claimants of 1776 did not realise an amount which in any way reached their original expectations.

1. Gov. & Coun, Court of Dirs., 19 June 1777—Home Misc. Series Vol. 140, p. 108
2. Raja-Stratton, 14 July 1777—Home Misc. Series, Vol. 140, pp.. 199—201
3. Raja-Stratton, 19 Aug. 1777— ,, ,, pp. 209—211

SADHU RAM

Sarangarh Copper-plate Inscription of Chhatra Shah

Samvat 1747 (A.D. 1690)

The estampage of the Sārangaṛh copper plate was obtained from the Superintendent of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi, The plate was found in the Sārangaṛh Sub-Treasury, Madhya Pradesh, and belongs to the reign of King Chhatra Sāe, the ruler of Sambalpur. It measures 7.9″×9.9″ by .1″ thick, and has a raised rim for the protection of the incised record. There is no seal, but it bears a cross-*triśūla* design at the top, and weighs 57 *tolas*.

TEXT

१. स्वस्ती श्री माहाराजधीराज श्री माहाराज राजा श्री
२. छत्रसाऐ देव—
३. ईंआस देवान श्री उदोत्तसाऐ को कबुलता में पटा लीष दी
४. हे कारन अैसा जो हमको दल लोग दहसत देकर संभलपु-
५. र सो नीकाल दीऐ सो ईंहा से सारंगढ मो भाग गऐ थे उहा
६. एक बरस तक रहे बादहमको सारंगगढ से देवान उदोतसा-
७. ऐ फोज साथ मोलेकर दल को मारकर हमको गादी मो बैठार दी-
८. ऐ सो हम अपने घुसी से कीकीरदा परगने सो ऐक बआली-
९. स सरसवा नीकाल के दीआ ऐ मो अंतर नहीं जौन देवानउ-
१०. दोत साऐ के कोई रहे सो पुस्त-पुस्तान सो भोगा करे बौ अपने ज-
११. गह का डाड कौडी १७॥= देते रहो ऐके साषी दसो दीरग
१२. अस्ट लोकपाल चद्रसुरज घर्मराज लीषत साषा बेजुना-
१३. थ दुसरे सोभासीघ बावु बौ पदुमनजमादार बौ बीरोस्व (बीरेस्व) -
१४. र पहे(टे) दार मीती मार्गसीर बदी १ बुधवार संत १७४७
१५. साल

TRANSLATION

(The lines of the record are indicated within brackets)

(1) Good Luck ! The illustrious Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Mahārāja Rājā, the illustrious,

(2) Chhatra Sāe Deva

(3) The lease deed has been written from here with the assent of Dīwān Udota Sāe, the illustrious.

(4) The reason for doing so is that a body of raiders, by terrorizing us,

(5) had driven us out of Sambhalapurà. We had, therefore, fled from here to Sārangaḍhā. There

(6) we lived for one year. After that, Dīwān Udot Sāe,

(7) having taken us and the army from Sārangaḍha with him and beaten off the body of the raiders, reinstated us on the throne of Sambhalapura.

(8) Hence, we have, with pleasure, taken apart one tract measuring forty-two (9) *saraswa* (8) out of the *parganā* of Kīkīradā,

(9) and given it (to Udot Sāe). There is no dubiety about it. Anybody,

(10) who may succeed Dīwān Udot Sāe, may enjoy its benefit for generation after generation, and

(11) go on paying rupees 17 and annas 10 as the ground rent of his place. Witnesses to this are the ten directions,

(12) eight Lokapālas, moon, sun and Dharmarāja. Witnesses to the writing are Baij Nāth,

(13) and others, Bābu Sobhā Singh, Jamādār Paduman and Bīrospar (Bīresvar)

(14) Paṭedār. Date (the month) Mārgaśirṣa, dark fortnight 1, Wednesday, *saṁvat* 1747,

(15) the year.

Fig. 1. Sarangarh Inscription of Chhatra Shah—Samvat 1747 (A.D. 1690)

NOTES

1. *Dīwān*[1] (line 3)—Chief Minister or Chief Officer of State.

2. *Kabūlata* (=*Qabūlipat*)—A written agreement, especially one signifying assent as a counter-part of a revenue lease.

3. *Paṭā* (=*Paṭṭā*)—A deed of lease.

4. *Dala* (line 4)—A body or gang of raiders.

5. *Sarasawa* (line 9)—A measure of land.

6. *Ḍāḍ kauḍī* (line 11)—Lease money or ground rent.

7. *Jamādār* (line 13)—A chief or leader of any number of men. Here possibly, an officer appointed to protect the crops from the depredations of an army or its followers.

8. *Daso dīraga*: The ten directions. Here probably the Dikpālas are meant.

9. *Lokapāla*: The Guardians of the World. They are sometimes regarded as the guardian deities of the different orders of beings, but more commonly, of the four cardinal and four intermediate points of the world. They are: Indra of the East; Agni of South-East; Yama of South; Sūrya of South-West; Varuṇa of West; Vāyu of N-West; Kubera of North; and Soma or Chandra of North-East.

10. *Dharmarāja*: It is the post-Vedic name of Yama, the restrainer or punisher of the dead persons whose souls repair to the Yamapura, where the Recorder Chitragupta reads the account of their actions from his book *Agra-saṁdhānā* in order that Yama may dispense justice to them. Yama is represented as green in complexion, clad in red, riding on a buffalo, and holding a club in one and a noose in the other hand with which he draws the soul of the beings out of their body.

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1. For some of these terms vide Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* 1940, and *Index to Land Revenue Records*, 1838-1859.

11. *Paṭedār* : As the lease is in the favour of Diwān Udot Sāe, it cannot mean 'a lessee.' It may, therefore, denote the writer of the lease deed (?).

12. *Mārgasīra ba dī l* (? 5), Wednesday, *saṁvat* 1747 : *The Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 183, gives the day as Saturday on the first lunar *tithi*. We have therefore to read the figure 1 as badly executed 5 with the top carelessly closed so as to make it look like figure 1 of Nāgarī.

LANGUAGE AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The language of record is corrupt and full of spelling mistakes. According to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, whom I had the honour to consult, it is a kind of modified Khaṛibolī with no dialectical influences in it. There are some popular expressions which belong to the whole of the Khaṛībolī area.

Some of the linguistic peculiarities of the record are the use of *so* for *se* as in *Saṁbhalapura so* (line 5) or *paraganā so* (line 1); *mo* for *mē* as in *Sarāṁgadha mo* (line 5) or *ai mo* (line 9); *ai* for *is* as in *ai mo* (line 9) or *ai ke* (line 11). and *bau* for *aur* (lines 10, 13), etc. Among the orthographic irregularities are the use of *ai* for *e*, long for short and short for long vowels, *ṣ*, *s*, *b* for *kh*, *ś*, *v* respectively, and the writing of initial *ai* with the double *mātra* of *ai* over the short vowel *a*. One instance of each would suffice to illustrate these irregularities, viz., *Mahārājadhīrāja* (line 1) *suraja* (line 12), *liṣa* (line 3); *ṣusī* (line 8): *Biresvara* (lines 13-14) and the word अैसा (line 4) respectively. Omission of nasal as in *uhā*, *chadra* (lines 5, 12).

HISTORY

Sārangaṛh[1] : A doubtful tradition assigns Lāñjī as the ancestral home of the family of the Sārangaṛh chief. Sārangaṛh became a dependency of the Ratanpur Raj, and was afterwards included in the Aṭhārā Garḍhjāt States (i.e., fortified states) subordinnte to Sambalpur. The headquarters town was 32 miles from the nearest railway station, Raigaḍh.

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1. Vide *Central Provinces Gazetteers, Chhatisgaṛh States*, pp. 203ff. By E.A.De Brett, Political Agent, Bombay, 1909.

Sambalpur[1] : It was part of Chhatīsgaḍh division. The river Mahānadī traverses Sambalpur from north to south-east. It was once held by the Chouhans who were supposed to have come from Mainpurī district of U.P.

According to tradition, the Mahārājās of Pāṭnā, who were the head of Aṭhārā Gaḍhjāt, ruled Sambalpur. Their ancestor, a Rājpūt prince, living near Mainpurī, was driven out of his territories by the Mohammadans. He was killed in a battle at Pāṭnā which was then divided among the eight chiefs each of whom ruled over the whole country for one day by turns. The widow of the prince gave birth to a posthumous boy who, on growing up, killed the eight chiefs and became the sole ruler of Pāṭnā. His succeeding generations extended their influence over Sambalpur district and made the chiefs of the adjoining States their tributaries. In the 15th century, Narsingh Deva, the 12th Rājā of Pāṭnā, ceded to his brother, Balrām Deva, all the jungle territory bounded by the Mahānadī, the river Tel, the country Aṅga, and the Jonk on the north, east, south and west respectively. Balrām Deva was the founder of the Sambalpur Rāj which became the most powerful of all the Gaḍhjāt States.

GENEALOGY

Balrām Deva (The founder of the Sambalpur Rāj)
|
Hirde Nārāyan (eldest son)
|
Balbhadra Sāe (Settled the country now called Sonpur)
|
Madan Gopāl (Second son)
|
Madhukar Sāe (succeeded to the Sambarpur Rāj)
|
Baliār Singh (So called because of being a strong man and a powerful ruler)
|
Ratan Singh
|
Chhatra Sāe (succeeded by his son Ajīt Singh who died in 1766).

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1. *Bengal District Gazetteers, District Sambalpur*, pp. 21ff. By L.S.S.O'Malley. Calcutta, 1909.

Chhatra Sāe fortified the town of Sambalpur and excavated a tank known as Chhatrasāgar. The country was, however, invaded by a troop of raiders who were probably Mohammadans, because in A.D. 1768 when Motto visited Sambalpur, there was a tradition of the country having been invaded by the Mohammadan general, Kālāpahār. This confirms the invasion, though wrongly attributed to Kālāpahār because the latter, as the story goes, invaded Orissa in A.D. 1568 and the priests of Purī fled with the image of Jagannātha and buried it on the Mahānadī to the south of Sambalpur.

The Sambalpur Rāj seems to have been target of frequent raids and invasions, for Motto has given an account of how the Marāṭhās attempted to storm the fort during his visit, and has also stated that the reign of Ajīt Singh (who died in May of that very year) was on of internal feud and that this continued to be the order of the day when his son Ubhaya Singh succeeded.

Even afterwards, Sambalpur had no peace, for, another copper plate of *saṁvat* 1838 (A.D. 1780–81) from the same region records its invasion by one Diwān Akbar during the reign of king Jait Slngh who was rescued and re-instated by Rājā Biswanāth Sāe. He was the same as Viśvanātha Sāe (1778-1808), the ruler of Sārangaṛh.[1]

1. *Vide Central Provinces Gazetteers, Chhatisgaṛh States*, pp. 203ff.

M. D. SAMPATH

New Light on Nolambas

The study of early Noḷamba palaeography and the artistic traditions of the Noḷamba sculptures help us to understand their dynastic history. The sculptor's art at Hēmāvati surpasses the art history of the earlier and latter periods. The representation of themes and the graphic description are well portrayed in their hero-stones, found in Hēmāvati, Dharmapuri and Puṅganūr-Zamindāri.

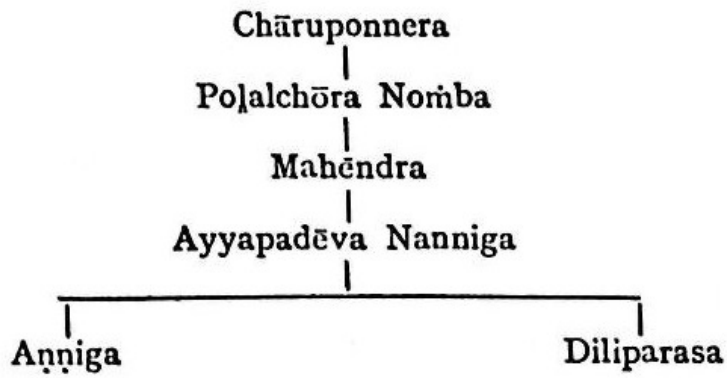
The Noḷambas were a feudatory family like the Vaiduṁbas and they flourished during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A.D. They were the rulers of districts of Tumkūr and Chitaldroog in Mysore State, parts of Anantapūr district, portions of Salem and North Arcot districts. Their epigraphs are largely found in the Kōlar area, Hēmāvati, Dharmapuri, Bhōganandi etc. They remained loyal to the Gaṅgas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas who helped in their administration. They also claimed to have been the rulers of Noḷambalige, latter known as Noḷambavāḍi 32,000, extending as far as Kōlar district on one side and Anantapūr on the north. The historical name of the Noḷambas with its echoes of the Pallava rulers shows that they succeeded the main line of Pallavas, probably in the 8th, 9th century A.D.

The genealogy of the Noḷambas bristles with problems. There is no unanimity among the various genealogical schemes offered, most of them involving contradictory identifications.

One of the Hēmāvati epigraphs furnishes the following genealogy[1] :

Triṇayama Pallava of Īśvaravaṁśa
|
Maṅgala Noṁbādhirāja
|
Siṁhapōta
|

1. Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. XII Si 24, 28, 35 and 36.



At attempt is made to revise the genealogy of the Noḷambas and to re-examine the identification of Noḷamba Poḷalchōra, Mahēndra and Iṟiva Noḷamba II in this article.

The Dharmapuri inscription of Mahēndra Noḷamba, earlier than the Hēmāvati record by 50 years, is dated in Śaka 815. The kings mentioned in the two Dharmapuri inscriptions (A and B) are Pallavādhirāja, his son Noḷambādhirāja, his son Mahēndra Noḷamba, and his son Ayyapadēva Nanniga of inscription B.

An inscription dated in 977 A.D. from Kalugōd (MAR 1924. para 4) refers to Mahēndra, his son Ayyapa, his son Aṇṇiga, his son Iruḷa and Diliparasa (Noḷipayya). The relationship of Diliparasa with Iruḷa (or Aṇṇiga or Bīra Noḷamba) is not known.[1]

The genealogy in the Karshanapalle record of Vīra Mahēndra[2] commences with Dilipa, hin son Nanni Noḷamba, his son Poḷalchōra and the latter's son Mahēndra, the conqueror of Cōḷanāḍu, had a grandson Dilipayya.

The inscriptions of Magandlapalle in the Puṅganūr Zamindāri, belonging to the king Iṟiva Noḷamba Ghaṭēyankakara Pallavāditya, a later member of the Noḷamba family, give his genealogy from downwards, Iṟiva Noḷamba, his son Nanni Noḷamba, his son Poḷalchōra, his son Vīra Mahēndra, his son Ēkavākyadēva, his younger brother Iṟiva Noḷamba II Ghaṭēyankakara Pallavāditya. But in the Nelapalli inscriptions Iṟiva Noḷamba II is mentioned as a son of Ēkavākya.

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1. Annual Report on epigraphy 1911-para 14.
2. ARE 325 of 1912.

Mb. 38 and 50 give three steps in later Noḷamba genealogy which can be set forth as under:

Poḷalcōra (*Rājamanōja Bhūpa*) m. Divalabbaraśi[1]

Mahēndra — Iṟiva Noḷamba

A later inscription of Śaka 887, from Kambadūru[2] calls Nanni Noḷamba (of the Karshanapalle record) the eldest son of Dilipayya or Iṟiva Noḷamba (Iṟiva Noḷamba I) *chaladankara* and *Pallavarama*. Both the Kambadūru and Karshanapalle records agree with this.

Besides Mahēndra I are represented Ayyapadēva and Dilipayya Iṟiva Noḷamba in the Mānepalli and Hindupūr reeords.[3]

The king Noḷambādhirāja is referred to in the other inscription of 933 of the reign of Vikramāditya V, whose sister he had married.[4] The date of this record is comparatively later than that of the inscriptions of Iṟiva Noḷamba II from Nelapalli.

Inscriptions from Kōnapalli in Chintāmaṇi[5] and Ālavatta in Śrīnivāspūr[6] mention an Iṟiva Noḷamba. On palaeographical grounds he has been identified with Diliparasa of the Noḷamba family.

A record at Nelapalli mentions the genealogy as follows:

Ēkavākya Iṟiva Noḷamba I[7]

Nanni Noḷamba

Poḷalchōra

1. E. C. X, Mb 38, 50.
2. ARE 93 of 1912.3.
3. ARE 1913.
4. Epigraphia Indica XVII p. 25.
5. ARE 655 of 1958-59.
6. ARE 659 of 1958-59
7. ARE 242 of 1913; South Indian Inscription Vol. IX, pt. I - 41.

Vīramahēndra
|
Ēkavākyadēva
|
Iṟiva Noḷamba II Ghaṭēyankakara Pallavāditya.

One of the inscriptions from Kōlar district introduces a younger brother of Mahēndra called Noḷambādhirāja Noḷipayya, 897 A.D. before Aṅkayya [1] described as Mahābali Kulavidhvaṁśanam.

The kings following Iṟiva Noḷamba I to Ēkavākyadēva of the Nelapalli record agree with the genealogy mentioned in the Magandlapalle inscription from Puṅganūr Zamindāri. The list of rulers in the Karshanapalle record of Mahēndra ends with him. The first two kings in the Kambadūru are also the same as in the Nelapalli inscriptions. Hayavadana Rao has taken Mahēndra as a successor to Poḷalchōra (Noḷambādhirāja)[2]. Krishna sastri agrees with him in this identity. In an inscription at Vanamaladinne, a certain Noḷambādiaraśa is referred to as belonging to the Pallava lineage. This Noḷambādiaraśa may be identified with Noḷambādiaraśa of the Kalakattūr record.[3] The other kings Poḷachora Noḷambādhirāja and Mahēndra are mentioned as successors in the above inscriptions.[4] An inscription from Tumkūr district records a certain Noḷambādhirāja as the son of Pallavādhirāja, Poḷachōra Noḷamba and his son Mahēndra. The State Department of Archaeology, Tamilnadu, has recognised for the first time a dated record of a Vīra Noḷambarāja of his 15th regnal year noticed in the village, Kiḷi Eri Navalai of Dharmapuri district. Vīra Noḷamba figures in another record from Chinnakkoundanpaṭṭi (Dharmapuri district) of the 9th century.[5] In all probability he may be identified with Mahēndrādhirāja or his father Poḷalchōra Noḷamba and the 15th year would correspond to 893 A.D. and 828 A.D. respectively. Fleet has fixed the date of 813 A.D. as the upper limit of Noḷambādhirāja and 878 A.D. for Mahēndra.[6] This identification is confirmed by a Gaṅga record 775 and a record from Kalakattūr.

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1. E.C. X. 26, Hayavadana Rao—Mysore Gazetteer Vol. II, pt. II.
2. Ibid.
3. ARE 306 of 1912.
4. ARE 198 of 1931 - 32.
5. Damilica I, December 1970, p. 22.
6. E. I. VII, p. 66.

An undated inscription from Nandi in Chikkaballapūr District mentions Noḷambādhirāja ruling from this region.[1] The vīragal inscriptions of Maindammaraśa dated in c. 880 A.D. refer to a raid on the village Māragal and the death of Māragalla Gāmuṇḍa's wife's brother.[2] This king may be identified with Mahēndra, son of Poḷalchōra Noḷamba in the other records. The records from Hēmāvati, Magandlapalle, Mānēpalli, Hindupūr and Nelapalli agree with the two generations of Noḷamba kings subsequent to Mahēndra. But a record from Kalugōd dated in 977 A.D. traces the four kings who succeeded Mahēndra. King Dilipa (or) Iṛiva Noḷamba is mentioned as son and successor of Ayyapa (or) Nanniga in the inscription from Hēmāvati, Mānepalli and Hindupūr. A certain Ēkavākyadēva or Vākyadēva is mentioned as a son of Mahēndra in the inscriptions from Nelapalli and Magandlapalle. It is not known whether he was the same as Ayyapa, son of Mahēndra. But Hayavadana Rao has taken this Ayyapa who appears in the name of Noḷipayya as a younger brother of Vīra Mahēndra, also called Noḷamba Nārāyaṇa and Noḷambādhirāja. The Ayyapa is also called Nanniga in the Dharmapuri record.[3] Aṇṇiga also called Bīra Noḷamba and Aṅkayya, is mentioned as a son and successor of Ayyapa.[4] This king figures as a successor of Mahēndra's brother in some records.[5] Dilipa is represented as a brother and is assigned to a date c. 943 A.D. in the inscription of Hēmāvati. In the Kalugōd inscriptions Diliparasa has been assigned to 943 A.D. But in between Aṇṇiga and Dilipa a certain Iṛuḷa is introduced as a successor of Aṇṇiga.

Iṛiva Noḷamba was the son of Ayyapadēva whose dates range from A.D. 943 to 966.[6] G. N. Saletore has identified the Poḷalchōra of Kambadūru record as Poḷalchōra II son of *Chaladankakara*. The Noḷambādhirāja of Kambadūru record may be identified with Iṛiva Noḷamba Diliparasa. Saletore says that the title of *Amōghavākya* was borne by Mahēndra II. But in the Nellapalli record the words *atanamagaṁ vakyadēva* mentioned have been misconstrued by him as *ataṉ Amōghavākyadēvan*. This Mahēndra cannot be

1. E.C. XVII. 26 - R, p. 70.
2. E.C. XVII, 93-5, p. 34.
3. E.I. X. p. 56-7.
4. E.C. XII Si. 59, E.C. XII. Mi. 27.
5. E.C. IX. Mi. 38.
6. L. Rice-Mysore and Coorg incriptions p. 57; ARE 17/1919.

identified with Mahendra II who married a Gaṅga princess named Gāmabbe Mahādēvi and not a Kadamba princess Divalabbaraśi.[1] Nanni Noḷamba, the eldest son of Iṟiva Noḷamba I, called in the Kambadūru as *Pallava Rama* is further noticed in the Dharmapuri record and another record from Mulbagal taluk. The name *Pallavanvaya* also appears in these records.[2] But this Nanni Noḷamba who assumed the biruda of *Chaladankakara* has been identified with the son of Iṟiva Noḷomba II.

The Noḷamba chief Śiṅgapōta mentioned in Hēmāvati record lost his life as a vassal of W. Gaṅga in a fight with Gōvinda III. The Noḷambas changed their allegiance from the Gaṅgas to the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the reign of Śrīpurusha. This change of subordination was for a short period i.e., between the reign of Krishṇa I and Gōvinda III. In fact, Śrīpurusha married a Noḷamba princess. Dr. Mahalingam says that the Noḷamba chief assumed the title of *Nayadhīra* as a result of Nandivarman Pallavamalla's annexation of the territory over which Noḷamba Śiṅgapōta was reigning and that the Noḷamba later changed his allegiance to the Pallavas.[3] Since Nandivarman II's reign came to an end earlier than the reign of Śiṅgapōta, and the suzerainty of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was accepted by his successor Chāruponnera in the 8th century, the Pallava king could not have ceded the Noḷamba territory. Chāruponnera, who reinstalled Śivamara II, recognizd the suzerainty of Gōvinda III.[4]

The Noḷambas did not support of the collateral lime of the Gaṅgas during the 9th century. Noḷamba Poḷalchōra married the daughter of W. Gaṅga Rāchmala I. He has been identified with Noḷambādhirāja of the Dharmrpuri inscription.[5] His rule from Gaṅgaruśāśira is referred to in a record from Kalakattūr.[6] But the later Noḷambas were made to accept the suzerainty. The records of Noḷambādhirāja are found mostly in Kōlar, Mulbagal and Bowringpet taluks right from c. 870 A.D. In a mutilated record dated in Ś. 775 the Noḷamba subordinate of the W. Gaṅga king is said to have ruled as far as Kāñchi. He has been identified with Noḷambā-

1. G.N. Saletore.Indian culture, Vol. VI, No. 4; E C. X Mb 38, 50.
2. ARE 305/1901; EC X Mb. 59.
3. T.V. Mahalingam-Kāñchipuram in early South Indian History (1968) pp. 179-80.
4. A.S. Altekar-Rāshtrakūṭās and their times-p. 63.
5. E.I. X. p. 56.
6. ARE 306 of 1912-13.

dhirāja Poḷalchōra, the father of Mahēndra and also with himself. The possibility of Poḷalchōra is mentioned in the Kambadūru record (ARE 1913). Under the orders of Rāchamalla Pērmanaḍi, the Gaṅga army marched against Kāñchi to oppose the army of Bāṇa Vijayāditya, who despatched one Aggalaraśa the ruler of Tekalnāḍu.[1]

Gaṅgaruśāśira was lost by the Bāṇas in the reign of Poḷalchōra in a battle at Munagapāḍi, where one Pompalla of the Noḷamba army helped the Gaṅgas in the success over the Bāṇa ruler.[2] Under the orders of Nītimārga Eṛegaṅga, a Jaina cave was excavated at Mēlpāḍi in North Arcot. This evidently was a result of the conquest of Kāñci made by Noḷamba Poḷalchōra.[3] The loss of Gaṅga–6000 province should have occured in the reign of Malladēva Jagadēkammalla, a Bāṇa king. Koṅgudēśa Rājakkal has identified the Gaṅga king, to whom Noḷambas extended their assistance, with Rāchamalla.

Mahēndra

An inscribed pillar at Hēmāvati in Canarese-Telugu characters mentions king Noḷambādhirāja, born of Jayabbe, daughter of Rāchamalla, with his high sounding titles.[4]

The artistic tradition followed in the different stages is evidenced from the sculpture of a king, obviously Mahēndra, flanked by two chieftains and represented with the royal insignia.

Mahēndra, the most powerful of the Noḷamba, is credited with the title of *Tribhuvanadhīra* in a record at Kambadūru dated in Śaka 805 (883 A.D.). Mahēndra's invasion of Pulināḍu and the destruction of the Bāṇa family are seen from the inscription of Noḷambādhirāja, and his opponents, Bāṇa Vidyādhara and Vijayāditya II. The hero-stone inscription at Dharmapuri mentions him with the title of *Mahabalivaṁsa vidhvadvaṁsa*.[5] An inscription from Iggali states that Mahēndra killed a Rācheya Gaṅga

1. ARE 588 of 1912.
2. E.C. X Kl. 79; ARE 107 of 1889; E.I. IV. p. 741.
3. E.I. IV. p. 140, ARE 91 of 1899.
4. 124B of 1899.
5. E.I. X p. 65.

about 891 A.D. who fought of behalf of the Gaṅgas.[1] The hostility between the Gaṅgas and the Noḷambas, evidenced from this record is contradicted by the Kalakattūr record of Noḷambādhiraja, wherein he is stated to have made a conquest of Talakkāḍu under the orders of Pērmanaḍi (the Gaṅga King.) This Noḷambādhirāja, identified with Mahēndra Noḷambādhirāja, asked his chief Kāḍuveṭṭi and Maḍuvu to capture Pulināḍu. The Gaṅga king Rājamalla II ordered the Noḷamba feudatory to capture Pulināḍu with a view to divert the attention of the ally from helping his other Gaṅga line.

The chiefs of Mahēndra took the town of Pērmāvi and burnt it, The forces of Bāṇa Vijayāditya Vīra Chūḷāmaṇi bore the brunt of attack. dispersed the enemy's troops and stabbed several chiefs in a tumultous fight.[2] Obviously this Vijayāditya was the same as Prabhumēru, son of Vikramāditya. Evidently the Noḷamba capture of Pulināḍu and the dynastic conflict in this area took place in the reigns of Bāṇa Vidyādhara and his son Vijayāditya II. The conquest of Pulināḍu by the Noḷamba king and the capture of Koyārṟūr identified with Laḍḍigam are referred to again in the Modugalapalle record.[3] Further a certain Nīlagaṇḍan, son of Muṇḍan and a servant of Vijayāditya died while capturing the fort of Ariyapaḷḷi in the course of the campaign led by Kāḍuveṭṭi against Pulināḍu.[4]

Since both Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya II are said to have been subdued by Noḷamba Mahēndra and this took place probably at the beginning of the 10th century, his reign period may be extended as far as 900 (or) 910 A.D.

Battle of Sōrēmati

A certain Nagila Mulagunduru, son of Mulagunduru, fought with an enemy chief, probably identified with the chief of Vaiduṁba family who lifted cattle and died in the encounter.

The records of king Mahāvaḷi Bāṇaraśar from Vanamaladinne indicate the temporary occupation of the Bāṇas over the Gaṅga-6000 province and

1. E.C. VI. p. 49.
2. ARE 542 of 1906.
3. ARE 318 of 1912-13.
4. ARE 195 of 1931-2.

the loss of their rule over this territory, consequent on the destruction of the Bāṇas by the Noḷamba king Mahēndrādhirāja under the orders of Gaṅga overlords.[1] The Śaka dates mentioned in ARE 1931-32 for Bāṇa Vidyādhara are 820, 827 and 832. The above records must be placed before 892 A.D. in lieu of the fact that his rule has been extended upto 895 A.D. This is also confirmed by two other reeords of about the 9th century A.D. from Peddavelagatūru wherein a Mahābali Bāṇaraśa is mentioned.

The date of the fight at Sōrēmati has to be placed before the period of the Gaṭṭavādipura plates of Rāchamalla II, which say that his brother Būtuga's son Eṛegaṅga (Eṛeyappa) killed a Mahēndra and thereby assumed the title of *Mahēndrāntaka*.[2] In an inscription from Kurupalle the Mahābali Bāṇaraśar who took part in the battle has been identified with Bāṇavidyādhara of the middle of the ninth century A.D. and is stated to have been hostile towards o Kaṇṇakuri. The Gaṅga origin of Kaṇṇakuri known from Chikkaballapūr plates shows that they had some hand in the conflicts over Pulināḍu.[3] The success achieved in the battle of Sōrēmati by Vīramahēndra is evidenced from the Karshanapalle record which says that he honoured a private person by conferring on him the rank of an officer and granting a village in Pulināḍu. Mahēndra[4] is credited with this benevolent act while he was camping at Kōḷāla. The possibility of his campaign against the Cōḷa country is ruled out due to this event, and as a consequence of Eṛeyappa's success over Mahēndra.

An inscription from Puṅganūru refers to the battle of Sōrēmati wherein the Bāṇa king opposed the Noḷamba, Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi (ARE 1907). The Bāṇa king, in alliance with Vaiḍumba Gaṇḍa Trinētra, attacked the Noḷamba at Sōrēmati.[5] This is confirmed by an inscription from Bāṅgavāḍi in Kōlar district.[6] The fight between the Vaiḍumbas and the Noḷamba king is also referred to in an inscription of Gaṇḍa Trinētra from Cuddapah district.[7] Rāchamalla, who was connectcd with the battle,

1. ARE 196-7 of 1931-2.
2. E.C. XII. p. 3.
3. Mysore Archaeological Report-1914 p. 36.
4. Contra-G.N. Saletore—Indian culture VI No. 4, pp 436-7, E.C X-Mb, 38;
5. ARE 295 of 1905.
6. ARE 102 of 1899.
7. ARE 533 of 1906.

has been identified with Satyavakya Koṅgunivarma Pērmanaḍi Rājamalla of c. 870 A.D.[1] Mahābali Bāṇaraśa has been ascribed to the middle of the 9th century A D. In the middle of the 9th century, Bāṇavidyādhara (Mahāvaḷi Vāṇaraśa) ascended the Bāṇa throne and ruled over a territory which extended as far as Puṅganūr.

Manne was one of the places occupied by Prithivipathi I[2] of the collateral Gaṅga family probably at the time of the Sōrēmati battle which has been placed before 826-7 A.D.[3]

Battle of Mudumaḍuvu

The battle of Mudumaḍuvu took place between Vaiḍumba Gaṇḍa Trinetra and the Noḷamba king. During this period the Noḷamba is stated to have been ruling over the Renāṇḍu-7000 country. In this battle a certain Mahārāja Chemtamanadaḍi is said to have been killed. He was probably a great warrior like Kōṭa Dēśinga who also aided the Vaiḍumba king. The place Madumaḍuvu has been identified with a village, Muḍivēḍu, in Madanapalli Taluk. A certain Loṅkula chief, who supported Noḷambas, fell in this fight against the enemy king of the Vaiḍumba dynasty.[4]

Bāṇas and Noḷambas

The Bāṇa reoccupation of Gaṅgaruśāśira is evidenced from a number of epigraphs. This is due to the master-plan of the Gaṅga who sent his Noḷamba feudatory in the direction of Pulināḍu. In spite of precautions taken against attacking Talakkāḍu, the occupation of the Gaṅga country by the Bāṇas could not be averted (1913, para 15). This was a counter invasion or a move to put down the Gaṅgas. A Bāṇa Vijayāditya II had occupied Gaṅgaruśāśira when Ballaha came with a force to exact tribute from Kāḍuveṭṭi. The identification of Ballaha with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, seems to be uncertain.

Bāṇa Vijayāditya, who succeeded his father, Bāṇavidyādhara ruled from 895-910, as his śaka dates 827 and 831 are available. An inscription from Kāpalle belonging to the reign of Kaṇṇaradēva or Krishṇa II

1. E.I. X. p. 59.
2. ARE 2 of 1900.
3. JMU. Vol. II pp 193-219.
4. ARE 292-4 of 1905.

mentions Bāṇavidyādhara Jayamēru ruling over Vaḍugavaḷi-12,000 and Gaṅga-6,000. It also records a cattle raid on Cemmaṅguru led by a Mahāraja[1] Mahēndrādhirāja Noḷamba on the Bāṇas during this period (Obviously this indicates the overlordship of these provinces by the Rāhsṭrakūṭas). When the Bāṇas were engaged in their fight for Pulināḍu, they were attacked by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. This is indicated by an inscription of Indra III. Contemporary king of Bāṇavidyādhara who made attempts to conquer the south were Krishṇa II and Indra III. If the destruction of the Bāṇas by Mahēndra as a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas is accepted, he could not have been killed by Gaṅga Eṛeyappa by 895 A.D. A record of his 15th regnal year from Dharmapuri district indicates his rule over the border district of Kōlar. The Ballaha who led an expedition into the Gaṅgaruśāśira province may be identified with Krishna II in view of his long reign. Earlier his father Amōghavarsha I, called Vallabha, took the Vijayāditya to put down the Gaṅgas. This is confirmed by the battle at Rājarāmaḍu between the Gaṅgas and the Rāshṭrakūṭa General, Baṅkēśa (P. B. Desai—*History of Karnāṭaka*). An inscription from Arasanahalli in Mālur taluk of Kaṇṇara Ballaha dated in c. 900 A.D. refers to the death of the son of a Māragalla Gamuṇḍa who figures in the inscriptions of Maindammaraśa of c. 880 A.D. identified with Mahēndra. Evidently this Kaṇṇara may be identified with Krishṇa II.

Interference of Krishṇa II in Gaṅga affairs

At the invitation of Krishṇa II, Vijayāditya III, the Eastern-Chāḷukya king, invaded the Gaṅga country, killed the Noḷamba General Maṅgi, in a battle, frightened the Vallabha and his ally Saṅkila. This is known from the Idār plates.[2] The Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Amma II and the Pithāpuram inscriptions confirm this event.[3] Vijayāditya could enter the Noḷamba territory as it lay between Gaṅgavāḍi and Vēṅgimaṇḍala.

Noḷamba Chāḷukya Struggle

Prof. A. S. Altekar[4] states that the Eastern-Chāḷukya ruler, Amma I, was engaged in the fight against the Gaṅgas and the Noḷambas. The

1. ARE 164, 168, 170 of 1933-4.
2. E.I. II. p. 396.
3. ARE 1922-23, para 20; E.I. IX p. 51; E.I. V, p. 233.
4. A. S. Altekar, op. cit. p. 94 fn. 15

Noḷamba ruler at this time was Ayyapa. The battle of Tumbepāḍi is said to have occurred between Ayyapa, with the help of Ereyappa (908–938), and Bhīma II, the Eastern Chāḷukya king. According to the Kaluchamburu grant, Bhima I was a contemporary of Krishṇa II and Indra III, in whose time Gaṅgavāḍi was invaded. Ayyapa sought the aid of Gaṅga Ereyappa and opposed the Eastern Chāḷukyan forces led by Amma I. Ayyapa's rule ended by about 910 A.D.[1] as evidenced from his inscriptions in Srīnivāsapūr, Bowringpet, and Malur dated in the years between c. 900 and c. 920 A.D.[2] The battle mentioned earlier could not have been fought between Ayyapa and Bhima II in view of the fact that the date 934–45 canot be ascribed to Ayyapa.[3]

The hero-stones at Hemāvati dated in śaka 888 or 966 A.D. claim an heroic effort in the fierce battle waged by Ayyapa and his chief, Uttiga, who died on the battle field.[4] These inscriptions give a vivid picture of the battle scene and the attainment of heavenly bliss by Ayyapa.[5] Evidently this battle should have taken place between the Noḷambas and the Eastern Chāḷukyas prior to the development of hostility between the Gaṅgas and the Noḷambas. The date of the epigraphs 966 A.D. may be assigned to Iṟiva Noḷamba II, a grandson of Mahēndra.

L. Rice has identified Noḷipayya with Ayyapa. An inscription from Āvaṇi ascribes Noḷipayya or Ayyapa to c. 915 A.D.,[6] and states that during his reign, a certain Bendaramāki died whiie rescuing the "morukās" engaged in cattle-lifting.

As there are only two generations after Mahēndra, Ayyapa and Ekavākya cannot be disassociated and Aṇṇiga can be introduced between Mahēndra and Dilipa Iṟiva Noḷamba.

Aṇṇiga Noḷamba is mentioned as a son of Ayyapa and brother of Iṟiva Noḷamba in the Hēmāvati record. This suggests that Ayyapa had two

1. E. C. XII, Si. 39.
2. E. C. X. Sp. 29, 23; Bp. 112; Mr. 52.
3. E. I. X, p. 62.
4. C. Sivaramamurti.—Noḷamba Sculptures, pp. 24.5.
5. ARE 17 of 1899; 127 of 1899.
6. E. C. XVII, Mb. 327; MAR. 1911, p. 39.

sons, Aṇṇiga and Iṛiva Noḷamba. Aṇṇiga seems to have ruled from 920 to 940 (EC. X). An inscription of Aṇṇiga from Āvaṇi dated in c. 940 A.D. mentions him as a Vīra Noḷamba.[1]

The Rāshṭrakūṭa contemporaries of Aṇṇiga were Amōghavarsha III, and Krishṇa III, while undertaking the task of securing the Gaṅga throne for his brother-in-law, Būtuga II, attacked Rāchamalla III and his Noḷamba ally, Aṇṇiga by Krishṇa in 940 A.D. is confirmed by an inscription from Thaṭṭankere.[2] Krishṇa is said to have killed Dantiga and Bappuva, the Noḷamba princes, who were the allies of Rāchamalla (G. Yazdani—*Early History of the Deccan* p. 292; A. S. Altekar *Rashṭrakūṭas and their times* p. 112). But the Noḷamba chief at this time was none other than Aṇṇiga. So the death of Dantiga is not certain.

Noḷamba Rashṭrakūṭa Relations

Iṛiva Noḷamba II is mentioned as a son and successor of Ēkavākya-dēva and grandson of Mahēndra in the Nelapalli inscription, but as a brother in the Magandlapalle records. In these records he is called *Ghaṭeyaṅkakara* and *Pallavāditya*.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa contemporary of Iṛiva Noḷamba II (c. 943)[3] was Krishṇa III who ascended the throne in 930 A.D.[4] The descendents of Mahēndra I helped Krishṇa III in his conquest of the Cōḷa country. The Kambadūru inscription dated in Ś. 887 states that a Noḷambādhirāja, identified with Iṛiva Noḷamba II, was a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in this period. But the contemporeinty of Vajjaradēva or Vajjaladēva, mentioned as a subordinate of Krishṇa III, seems to be much doubtful. The chief Vajjaradēva is mentioned as a Governor in the records of Śaka 886, 887.[5] He could not have assumed an independent status during the reign of Krishṇa III who had under his control the entire Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and bordering areas of the Cōḷa country. After the death of Krishṇa III the

1. E.C. XVII Mb. 293-4.
2. MAR 1925, p. 86; E. I. IV, p. 889.
3. E.C. XII si 28.
4. E.I. XXI. 261-2.
5. ARE 176, 178, 180, 182, 219, 236 of 1931-2; 580 of 1906.

Rāshṭrakūṭa power weakened due to the lack of proper successors and the interference of the western Chāḷukya king, Taila II. It was probably at this stage that Vajjaladēva took advantage of the political confusion and declared his independence. But later on he was quelled by the forces of Mārasimha, under the orders of Indra IV, probably after 974 A.D.[1]

Iṟiva Noḷamba II, a contemporary of Mārasimha, II, was killed by the latter who thereby assumed the title of *Noḷambāntaka* during this period. This indicates that Pulināḍu was a much disputed area throughout the rule of the Noḷambas.

Iṟiva Noḷamba II has been identified with Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja of the Ālūr inscription dated in 933 falling in the reign of Vikramāditya V.[2] Iṟivibeḍaṅge Noḷamba Ghaṭēyaṅkakara married the daughter of Satyāśraya II and served as a vassal under him. It is stated in the Magandlapalle record that this Iṟiva Noḷamba II encamped at Veṇ(nvu)ṟuponṉe (or Veṇḍuraponṉe) in Paruvināḍu and conferred the title of *Pallavāditya Noḷamba Gāvuṇḍa* on a certain Baśavayya of Pulināḍu together with royal insignias like a horse, umbrella, whisks, addanige, throne etc. and also granted him the village Nāgakuṇṭe in Pulināḍu as a Koḍaṅge, a gift. Similarly in the Nelapalli inscription the king honours a Baligara merchant as *Pallavāditya Noḷamba seṭṭi* with royal honours and gifts Koḷathūra village in Pulināḍu as a Vaiśya-datti. This act of dubbing a chief and a merchant to a high status, like his grand-father Mahēndra, clearly suggests his royal powers in the 10th century. In view of these meritorious acts his subordinate status under the Western-Chāḷukya does not seem to be acceptable. Absence of inscriptions beyond 974 A.D. and the assumption of the title of *Noḷambakulāntaka* by Mārasimha II support the view that his rule ended before this date. According to the Kalugōd inscription dated in 975 A.D. the Gaṅgas had overrun the Noḷambas before 974 A.D.[3]

In an inscription of Karkka II of śaka 896 from Guṇḍūr (Dharwar), his feudatory, Mārasimha II of the W. Gaṅga dynasty, is mentioned as having annihilated Noḷambakula.[4] But it was Indra IV and not Karkka

1. Śravaṇa Belgōḷa Epitaph of Mārasimha II, E.C. II sb. 281; EI. V. 18.
2. E.I. XVI. p. 28.
3. ARE 1924, para 4.
4. B.N. Reu-History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. (Jodhpūr, 1933) pp. 89-90.

who assumed several titles and defeated 18 enemies and it was he who might have ordered Mārasimha II on such a commitment.

Iṟiva Noḷamba II, also called *Dilipayya*,[1] is stated to have fought a battle against *Gajāṅkusa Cōḷa* Rājāditya at Ipili. From the evidence of Rājāditya's death in the battle of Takkōlam,[2] the battle of Ipili should have taken place before 949 A.D. K. A. N. Sastri holds that Noḷamba Poḷalchōra II[3] and his son, Vīramahēndra, took part in Krishṇā's invasion. Since Poḷalchōra and his son are known before the reign of Krishṇa, only a later Noḷamba could have assisted in the subjugation of the Cōḷa kingdom. The Noḷamba king who assisted in this campaign was none other than Iṟiva Noḷamba II.

Decline of Noḷamba Power

Noḷamba power declined with the rise of the Cōḷa kings Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I.[4] The inscriptions of Rājarāja I mentions the annexation of the Noḷamba territory. Evidently the Noḷambas changed their subordination from the Gaṅgas to the imperial Cōḷas. The Śeriṅgapaṭam inscription of 1012 A.D. refers to the conquest of Noḷambavāḍi by Rājarāja I.[5] Subsequently a dispute over the overlordship of Noḷambavāḍi was raised in the time of Rājadhirāja I. Western-Chāḷukya inscriptions claim the Noḷambas as their subordinates ruling from the provinces of Bellary as local governors.

1. E.C. XVII Mb. 306.
2. E.I. XIX p. 83; E.I. XV p. 51; ASSI IV. p. 201, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri—Cōḷas. p 134.
3. Cōḷas p. 134
4. Cōḷas p. 177
5. R. Sewell and S.K. Aiyangar—HISI (1932) p. 59.

R. SENGUPTA

On the Identity of the "Mlechchas"

Who were the *mlechchas*? According to Monier Williams, the word means non-Aryan foreigners, whose language was unintelligible and whose complexion was copper-coloured.

The word, *mlecha* appears to be mentioned for the first time in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2.1.24) as on speaking an unintelligible tongue. In the *Sabha Parva* of the *Mahabharata* *mlechas* are said to have been born in regions on the sea-shore, in woodlands or in countries on the other side of the ocean. The mighty sovereign of the *mlechachas* at the head of a large number of *Yavanas*, waited at the gate of the palace of the Pandavas with presentations. They were encountered by the Pandava brothers in lands on the sea-shore and were defeated. The same chapter of the epic mentions Bhima conquering *Vaṅga*, *Suhma* and all the *mlechcha* tribes living on the sea-shore. Sahadeva defeated *Surparaka*, *Tālakaka*, Dandakas and numberless *mlechcha* kings living on the sea-coast. Nakula worsted *mlechcha* tribes and the mighty *Grāmaṇiyas* on the shores of the sea. But the *mlechcha* tribes defeated by Yudhisthra were living near Kashmir, where exactly we are not told. The place might have been on the banks of the Indus where then lived 'a folk of every mingled race' (*Atharva-veda* VII.45.1.)

From the above references it may be gathered that the *mlechcha* were a people different than the Yavanas, though sometimes the meaning was interchanged. They were living on the sea coasts. That was why their fair complexion was tanned and copper coloured. They were skilled builders.

The word, *mlecha* appears to have been derived from the word Moloch or Molech—*Mlecha-Mlechcha*. Molech or Melek or Melqart was the god of the sea-faring Phoenicians. According to a text of *Niddesa*[1], people

1. D.R. Bhandarkar-Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems (Strassburg, 1913) p. 13.

were named after the deity they worshipped. Thus worshippers of Molech came to be known as *mlechcha* Molech was a fierce, self-satisfied, masculine god. His temple was out in the open, far from city or village with their polished ways of living. In effect Molech was the contrary god. He was contrary to all the refinements that human society had developed in its march civilization. He was contrary to human nature in love and sex [1]—his worshippers were sodomites. In Molech man revolted against his better self and he turned his face on his own humanity, the first child was offered to Molech to be burnt alive. 'Thousands of earthen vases were stacked twenty to thirty feet below the surface near the old commercial port, in the district today called Salammbo. They all contain the ashes of burned babies.' [2] According to a German Scholar, O. Essefeldt, the sacrifice is called *molk* mentioned in epigraphical records. No doubt such people were called the *Mlechchas* and the word in course of time became synonymous with barbarians.

The Phoenicians were a mixed people of the aboriginal Cannanites and Aegeans. From the 9th century B.C. onwards they started sending their galleys to different directions in quest of trade. In doing so, they came into contact with various nations and while carrying merchandise they also carried with them myths, tales, lores etc. and helped in cultural ideas to migrate from one people to other. The writer has shown in another article how certain Egyptian cultural traits including the Osirian myth could be discernible in certain texts as well as in Indian Art and architecture. The Ceylonese practice of cremation of dead of common people, as described by Robert Knox,[3] is very interesting. It appears that the dead body was disembowelled and embalmed with pepper and put inside a dug-out tree-trunk and buried under the house-floor. This is an interesting mixture of customs for, disembowelling, embalming and putting the dead in the tree are Egyptian customs whereas burying the dead under the house-floor is a Phoenician one. In Egypt 'A pine-tree having been cut down, the centre was hollowed out, and with the wood thus excavated an image of Osiris was made, which was then buried like a corpse in the hollow of the tree.' [4] The image of Osiris was later burnt as was done with

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1. B.Z. Goldberge, The Sacred Fire (New York, 1958), p. 151.
2. Gilbert Picard, Carthage (London, 1964), p. 36.
3. F. Max Muller. The Sacred Book of the East (Oxford, 1881) Buddhist Suttas, Vol. XI p. XI.
4. Sir James George Frazer, op. cit., p. 380.

the image of Attis attached to the Pine-tree. In Phoenicia in both the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic periods the dead were buried under the floor which practice obviously was carried by them to the lands they visited. In India recent excavations, carried out in the Karnataka and Maharashtra have revealed such instances of burials under house floors. In the Andamans[1] too this custom was practised by the Onge pygmies.

Archaeological investigation prove that foreign burial customs and rituals were brought by people migrating from the Medeterranean countries to India, This is particularly true in respect of Iron-age burials. Of them mention may be made of the cist graves, with and with out port-holes found in the Levant and on the coast of such Arabia ; pottery sacrophagi occurring in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf region; legged urns and rock-cut shaft-graves from the Yemen and Agean coast etc. all received in India during the first millenium B.C. by the ways of maritime connexions.

The Panis of the *Rig-veda* have been sought to be associated with Phoenicia by Das.[2] He held that Panis being driven out of the land of Sapta-sindhus migrated to Gujarat and Malabar, they came into contact with the Cholas and Pandyas, they further moved to western Syria to settle down there and named the land as Phoenicia. There is no proof available in support of such a movement. On the other hand recent archaeological researches show that people from the Indus-Valley were in contact with the people of the Tigris-Euphratis valley in the Chalcolithic period and likewise there were immigrants from the Mediterranean area or the Fertile Crescent, probably Phoenician, who brought with them various cultural vestiges. The South Indian royal dynasties like the Pandyas and Cholas subsequently were influenced by them in their maritime activities.

The Phoenicians are known to have established contacts with India in the beginning of the first millenimum B.C. They probably were associated with the trade of copper and iron, refined at Ezion-geber, with India during the time of the Hebrew King Solomon[3] (*C* 963-*C* 923 B.C.). Cotton plant was

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1. Capriani, Illustrated London News, Feb. 3, 1962
2. Abinas Chandra Das, Rgvedic India (Calcutta, 1927) pp. 204-205
3. Philip K. Hitti. History of Syria (London, 1957), p. 190.

imported from India by the Assyrian King Sennacherib[1] (705-681 B.C.), but the Phoenicians introduced the material in the Hallenistic period into the Greek World. The famous *Baveru-jataka* needs no reiteration in support of the point at issue. As history tells us, from about 1150 B.C. to 853 B.C. the Phoenicians were very prosperous through trade and commerce and the period may well be said to be the Golden Age of Phoenicia. Then came the time of turmoil, Assyrian attacks followed one after another, starting with that of Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.) The Assyrian rule 'being anything but benign, led a large contingent of Tyrians and Sidonians to leave their homeland.' During the time of Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) Tyre was under seige for more than twenty-one years. Sidon revolted against Assyria and Eserhadden came down on them with a heavy hand. The city was utterly destroyed and the citizens were put to sword. The king Abdmilkat sought refuge in flight by sea but he was apprehended 'and caught like a fish from the sea' and decapitated. New inhabitants from the Persian Gulf were brought by Eserhadden to people Sidon. After the destruction of the Assyrian Empire Babylonia took the reigns and Phoenicia remained in state of vassalage to Babylonia until Cyrus, the king of Persia-captured Babylon in 538 B.C, whereupon Phoenicia again changed masters. So, for about four hundred years the Phoenicians were going through attacks, seiges and a state of turmoil affecting their pursuits. No mercantile community can like or flourish in such an atmosphere. In fact there were occasions when there were mass exoduses. Carthage in the coast of North Africa came up in 814 B.C. with the immigrants from Tyre, as a result of a mass exodus, after the first Assyrian attack. We do not know, at least available historical records do not tell us, if a group of people likewise migrated to India, But we have only two information, one concerning the epicentre and the other a terminus the former suggesting exodus and the other settlement of *mlechchas* along the sea-coasts of India. In times of distress, in the choice of a new settlements, the Phoenicians like any other people, preferred a comparatively better known regions to once unknown. With their knowledge of the country they might have chosen India and migrated sometime in the first half of the first millenium B.C.

The Phoenicians were skilled ivory workers, ivories with their carvings earned them fame in the ancient world. 'The earliest ivories go back to the fourteenth century B.C., those of Megiddo were found in an early twelfth[2]

1. Ibid, p. 91.

2. Davitri Baramki, Phoenicia and Phoenicians (Beirut, 1968), p. 61.

century palace.' Certain Phoenician ivories are of such exquisite workmanship and beauty as to render them among the most prized relics of ancient art of the Mediterranean countries. Because of their skill and mastery of the art, king Soloman had employed Phoenicians to do the job of inlay work, with ivory on wood, in his famous palace probably with Indian ivories that he is reported to have imported.[1] As recorded in their epigraphical records of the 6th century B.C. Iranians[2] also used to import Indian ivories. In India though ivory was available and exported out, working on the materials was limited to only Kohl sticks, hair pins, combs, games and other smaller objects as revealed by archaeological excavations. In ancient texts too mention of ivory carving is supposed to occur for the first time only in the *Aitareya Brahmaṇa* (VI. 27) as *hastiśilpa* instead of *dantaśilpa* as used later. The *Jatakas* also mention ivory carvers (*dantakāra*) which would suggest that reference to ivory working is not available prior to about 6th century B.C. But by about 3rd—2nd century B.C., Indian ivory carvers appear to have attained some proficiency. The Buddhist Sanskrit *Vinaya*[3] narrates a story of how an Indian master ivory carver (*dantakalacharya*) confounded the wife of a *yavana* master artist with ivory rice (*dantataṇḍula*); the rice which she wanted to cook and eat could not be boiled! The pendants found at Taxila[4] and Rupar datable to 600–200 B.C. appear to be eye-goddesses of the Euphrates valley,[5] perhaps worn in the same manner as conical stones for Astarte were hung from the neck.[6] The carved stopper found with the pendant at Rupar datable 609–200 B.C. appears to be of Western Asiatic workmanship.[7] Otherwise, the ivory pieces obtained from the historical sites in general indicate that carving of the material in India was taken up probably after the migration of the Phoenicians. This is supported by the *Prañāpana Sutra* (I. 70), which informs us that the ivory trade in the hands of the Tankana Mlechchas. Kautilya, however, mentions in the *Arthaśāstra*[8] that the *yavanas* were great

1. Philip K. Hitti, Op. Cit, p. 91
2. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. II, 1926, p. 40
3. Moti Chandra, ' Ancient Indian Ivories (in the Prince of wales Museum Bulletin No. 6, 1957-1959, p. 12
4. A. Ghosh, Ed. Ancient India. No. 9, p.
5. Stuart Piggot, Ed. The Dawn of Civilization, p. 71, fig. 18
6. Sir James George Frazer, Op. cit, p. 348
7. Sir John Marshall, Texila (Cambridge, 1951) Vol. II, p. 651
8. R. Shamasastry, Tr. Kautilya's Arthasastra (Mysore, 1923) p. 53

artists in ivory. The Satavahanas, being overlords of the western coastal regions, were acquainted with the craftsmanship of the *mlechcha* and *yavana* ivory carvers. So it was natural for them to rely on the ivory carvers of Vidisa[1] rather than the stone carvers, who had no such experience, when it came to carving of minute details of scenes from Buddha's life. On the *toraṇa* we find them paying their homage to a *stūpa* (fig. 1).

In respect of early ivory figurines Moti Chandra says, 'Another point which requires clarification is the voluptuous beauty and rather erotic concept of the ivory figures. This trait they share with the Yakshini figures from Mathura.....A very pertinent problem in this connection is the iconographic source for such lascivious figures.'[2] The remarks are equally applicable to the *śālabhanjhikā* (fig. 2) and other female figures on the *toraṇas* of Sanchi. Further he says, 'To our mind the courtesans employed in royal service and noted for their knowledge of *ars amoris* served as models to the artists engaged in carving the figures of the Mother Goddess.' The writer, however, feels that the trait may be associated with the Phoenician worship of Aśtarte, their mother goddess. Astarte was a goddess of love, lust and joy and is the same as Aphrodite or Venus. In Babylonia, Cyprus and at Heliopolis her worship included compulsory harlotry[3] by all women before marriage irrespective of age or social status, once a year. In her temple in the name of religion were practised rites which verged on lecherousness. The institution of Devadasis predominantly in South Indian temples, also probably owed its origin to her worship. The South Indian names of *devadāsī* as given in the inscription of the 9th—10th centuries A.D. are *devaraḍiyāl* and *paḍiyilār*. 'In the temples of Astarte in Cyprus there lived a number of female attendants who were at the disposal of visitors. This has been regarded as a typical characteristic of the Tyrian colonies.'[4]

In Kerala, in particular, beside the rock-cut shaft-graves[5] the Phoenicians also brought with them the practice of worshipping their goddess Astarte

1. I. Buhler, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, 1892, p. 92.
2. Moti Chandra, Op. cit, pp. 30.31
3. Sir James George Frazer, Op. cit, pp. 330-31
4. Gilbert and Collette Charles Picard, Daily life in Carthage (London), p. 73.
5. K.S. Ramachandran 'Megalithic rock-cut caves and their parallels outside India in Memoirs of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology (Varanasi) No 3, p. 65.

in the shape of conical stone, so that Bhagavatī and the Saptamātṛikās are still worshipped there in the form of cylindrical or conical stones. In the wake of introduction of the rock-cut shaft-graves it was most probably they who introduced the apsidal temples in the western coast which was unknown in India before the 2nd century B.C. In Phoenicia 'the plan of a chalcolithic house is generally semicircular or apsidal, very much like a modern horse-shoe. It was built of rectangular bricks made in moulds and it was roofed with animal skins placed over wooden rafters which rested at one end on a pole set up in the middle of the room. They were great builders. We have already noted their being employed by King Solomon in building his palace as his father David did. In the *Mahabharata* again we meet Purochana, a *mlechcha* architect, who was given the special assignment of constructing the *Jatugṛiha*. Evidently Aśoka and thereafter the Śuṅgas found them handy when they embarked on large-scale constructions. The aquatic creatures and motifs foreign to the Indian context found in the carvings of early period, would be due to the employment of such people. That is how in a fragment of a frieze from Amaravati (fig. 3a) of 1st century B.C. we fiind the astral figures of Sun, Moon and Venus represented by seven stars in the Assyrian style (fig. 3b), The *stupa* in the centre has its surface covered by a network of interlocking spirals, a typical Cretan motif found from the 16th century B.C. (fig. 4b). The motif also appears at Pipraowah (fig. 4b) on terracotta disc and on the relic casket from Sopara. There are other points to be considered. For example, the Phoenician word '*taggara*' meaning 'merchant.' might be the same as the name of the ancient site Tagara or the modern Ter in Osmanabad district Maharashtra known to have foreign contacts in the early centuries of Christian era which has yielded ivories. Then the weapon the Phoenician god *Baal-Ṛeshef* has is a thunderbolt ending in a spear (fig. 5 ab). This particular weapon is found in the hand of Kushana image from Mathura of Devi (fig. 5c) as *Simhavāhinī* and *Mahiṣamardinī* figures of the Western Chalukayas. No doubt it came along with the concept of the Mediterranean mother goodess Isthar-Nanā who has a lion for vehicle. So the people of Phoenician were called the *Mlechchas*. Inspite of their abominable religious customs and habits they contributed not a little towards Indian Cultural heritage. In fact, Phoenicia with her cultural contacts, her skilled artisans and numerous products, along with those of her neighbours in the Fertile Crescent and Egypt acted as the 'middle nation' between those countries and India.

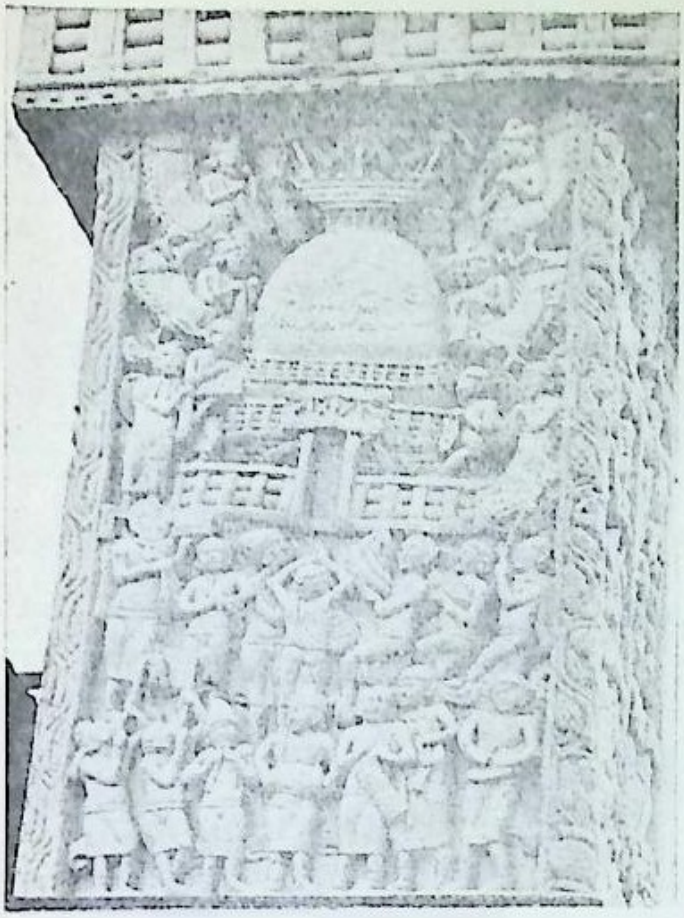

Fig. 1. Foreigners paying homage to a stupa—Sanchi.

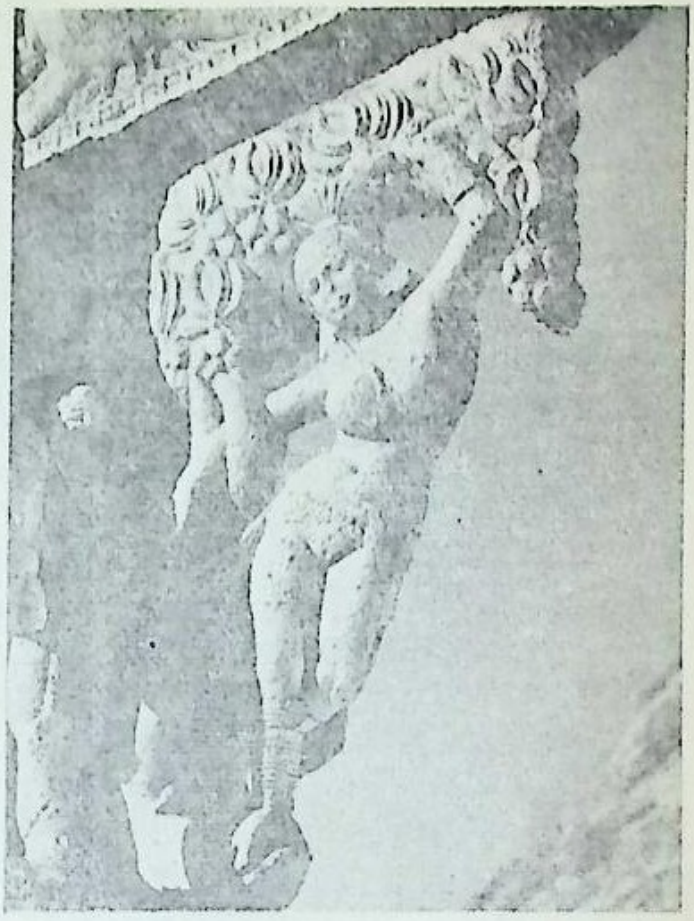

Fig. 2. Salabhanjika—Sanchi

Fig. 3 (a) A frieze showing Sun, Moon and Venus—Amaravati.

Fig. 3 (b) Impression from Assyrian cylinder seal showing Sun, Moon and Venus

Fig. 4 (a) Gold cup—crete.

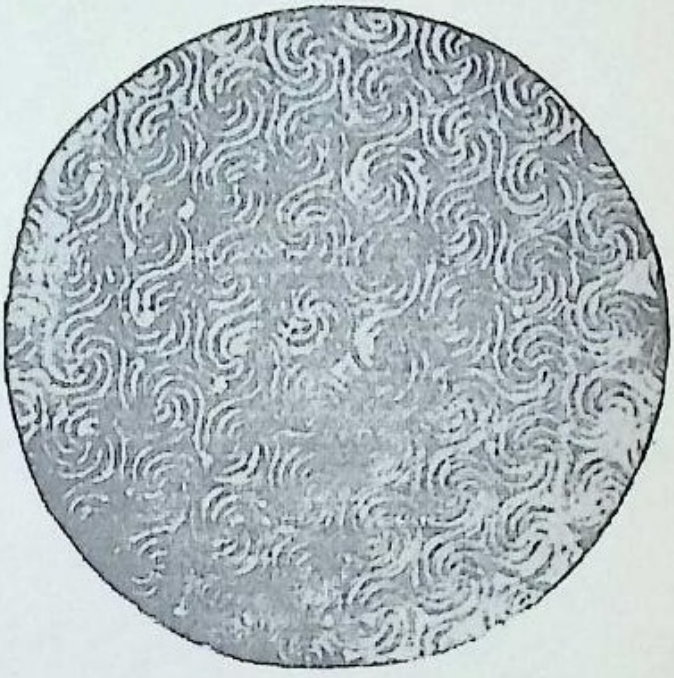

Fig. 4 (b) Terracotta disc—Pipraowaah.

Fig. 5 (a) (b) (c)

(a) Teshub holding a thunderbolt—Tell-al-Ahmar.
(b) Ball-Reshef ,, ,,
(c) Devi ,, ,, —Mathura.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

V. P. Dwivedi

A portrait of Tirumalai Nayak on two brass door-jambs

Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka* mentions *Devakula* where Bharata sees the portraits of his ancestors. He is startled by seeing, his father Daśaratha's portrait placed amongst them and thus learns of his death.

The reference makes it evident that these family portraits were commissioned only after a king was dead.[1] The use of the word *Ālekhyaśesa* by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvaṃśa* affirms the prevalence of this practice.[2] The discoveries of the royal portraits in stone of Kaniṣka and other Kuśāṇa princes at Mathurā[3] lend weight to the possibilities of a *Devakula* of the Kuṣāṇa family at that place. Such portrait galleries must have been in existence in the case of other ruling houses as well, though not much remains extant now.

Another type of royal portraits are those found on coins. Several Indian emperors, like the Sātavāhanas, the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas, took pride in their vast conquests and have left a permanent imprint of their royal personality on the various types of coins struck during their reigns. Perhaps these portraits were meant to familiarise their subjects with the likenesses of their rulers.

Yet another category of royal portraits, which concerns us here, is found on temples built by different rulers. In this type the 'lord of the earth' is portrayed in eternal obeisance to the 'lord of the universe'. One of the best examples of this category of portraits are the bronze figures of Krishnadevaraya and his queens at Tirupati.[4] Several other rulers such as Narasimhavarman of the Eastern Ganga dynasty[5] and Thirumalai of the Nayaka dynasty[6] delighted in getting themselves portrayed in eternal service of God.

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1. Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries *Chhatris* at Gwalior and other Rajasthani, principalities show the continuation of this practice.
2. Kalidasa, *Raghuvaṁśa*. XIV, I5.
3. Rosefield, J.M,, *The dynastic arts of the Kushanas*, Los Angeles, 1967, p. 174.
4. Sivaramamurti, C., *Some aspects of Indian Culture*, New Delhi, 1970, fig. 98.
5. *Ibid.*, fig. 107.
6. *Ibid.* fig. 92.

At Madurai,[1] Thirumalai Nayaka is portrayed with his queens and attendants, their hands clasped in obeisance to the Almighty. Besides Madurai, his statues are known from three other places, i.e. Srivilliputtur, Tirupparankundram and Alagarkoyil.[2] The resemblance of these royal figure sculptures is so striking that it would seem as if replicas of the statue at Madurai had been made and set up at other places. At the Madura temple the first ten Nayaka rulers are portrayed in the true fashion of a *Devakula*. King Thirumalai stands last in the gallery, embodying all the good qualities of his ancestors. His broad jaws, powerful shoulders, heavy hips, strong gigantic legs and protuberant abdomen bulging all over the belt are some of the features seen in almost all the preceeding statues of his ancestors and are carried to an extreme of development in the case of Thirumalai Nayaka's statue.[3]

The National Museum, New Delhi, has recently acquired two lower parts of two brass door-jambs, on which are figured king Thirumalai Nayaka and his queen. Like the other portraits of the king, he is standing with hands folded and eyes closed in adoration (fig. 1).[4] He has a youthful appearance and is clad in a manner befitting to the occasion. His head is covered with a typical Nayaka cap, decorated with pearl-string tassels, ear-rings of floral pattern, a necklace of two strands of pearls, armlets, bracelets and an anklet on his left foot. His left hand is likewise adorned with an additional bracelet. The fancy sash is loosely fastened over the *dhotī* which is embellished with stylised floral creepers all over with a border of inset pearls. The upper half of the body and the feet are bare.

The queen behind is shown standing with hands joined in the manner of her lord and is almost a replica of her portraits elsewhere. She wears a typical head-dress of the period, a half sleeved blouse and *dhoti* reaching the ankles. She is decked in profuse jewellery which consists of *Kundalas*, necklaces, bracelets and a girdle. The blouse has a narrow check-design and the *dhoti* is marked by wavy drapery folds. She is also shown bare-footed in the tradition of worship in the temples. Though executed in a rather crude manner, the example is very expressive in its serene and contemplative attitude and adequately reflects the burning devotion and humility of the royal couple at the altar of their favourite deity.

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1. *Ibid.*
2. Aravamuthan, T.G., *South Indian portraits in stone and metal*, London, 1930, p. 20.
3. Arvamuthan, T.G., *South Indian portraits in stone and metal*, London, 1930, p. 10-15.
4. Acc. No. 67. 144; ht. 70. 5 cms. and wdt. 36.5 cms

The lower part shows an elephant in the tradition of Ellora. It has eleven lamps which must have been attached to light the faces of the donar king and queen in an otherwise dimly lit *Garbhagriha*, whose left door-jamb the piece must have once adorned. Small holes at places indicate that it must have been nailed to the wooden doorway.

Normally, one would have thought that the other piece must have adorned the right side of the door jamb (fig. 3),[1] but that is not the case. It is almost an exact replica of the door-jamb described earlier except that it is higher by 12.5 cms. and has sixteen lamps attached to it. It would thus, appear that the two pieces adorned two different doorways, either of the same temple or of different temples. However, the size of the royal figures is the same, i.e. king 29 cms. and queen 22 cms; and it seems that they were produced seperately and then attached to the two pieces. But here again, the figures portrayed in the first illustration are better finished than those on the later one.

A noteworthy feature of our brass door-jambs is the youthful appearance of the king and queen. When compared with their portraits at Madurai, the royal couple looks much younger. Moreover, the king's body is better proportioned on the door-jambs than that at Madurai, where his legs have been unduly lengthened. This indicates that the two brass door-jambs were made at the beginning of his reign when he was still young and can be dated to the second quarter of the 17th cent. A.D.

1. Acc. No. 67. 145; ht. 83 and wdt. 40cms.

Kovilpoor Digital Library

Fig. 1.

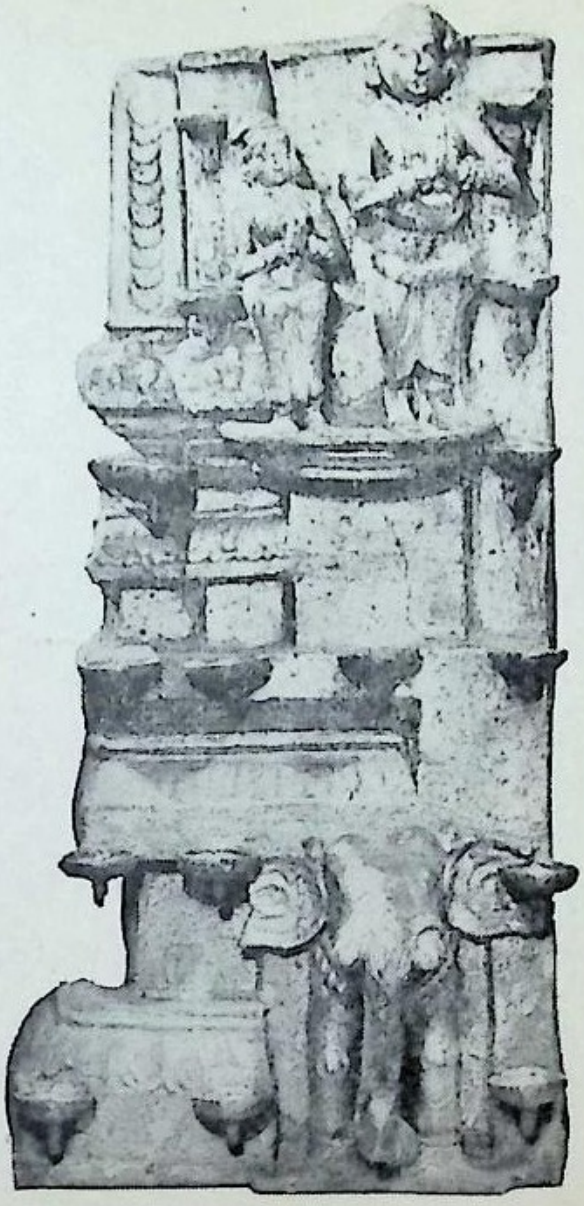
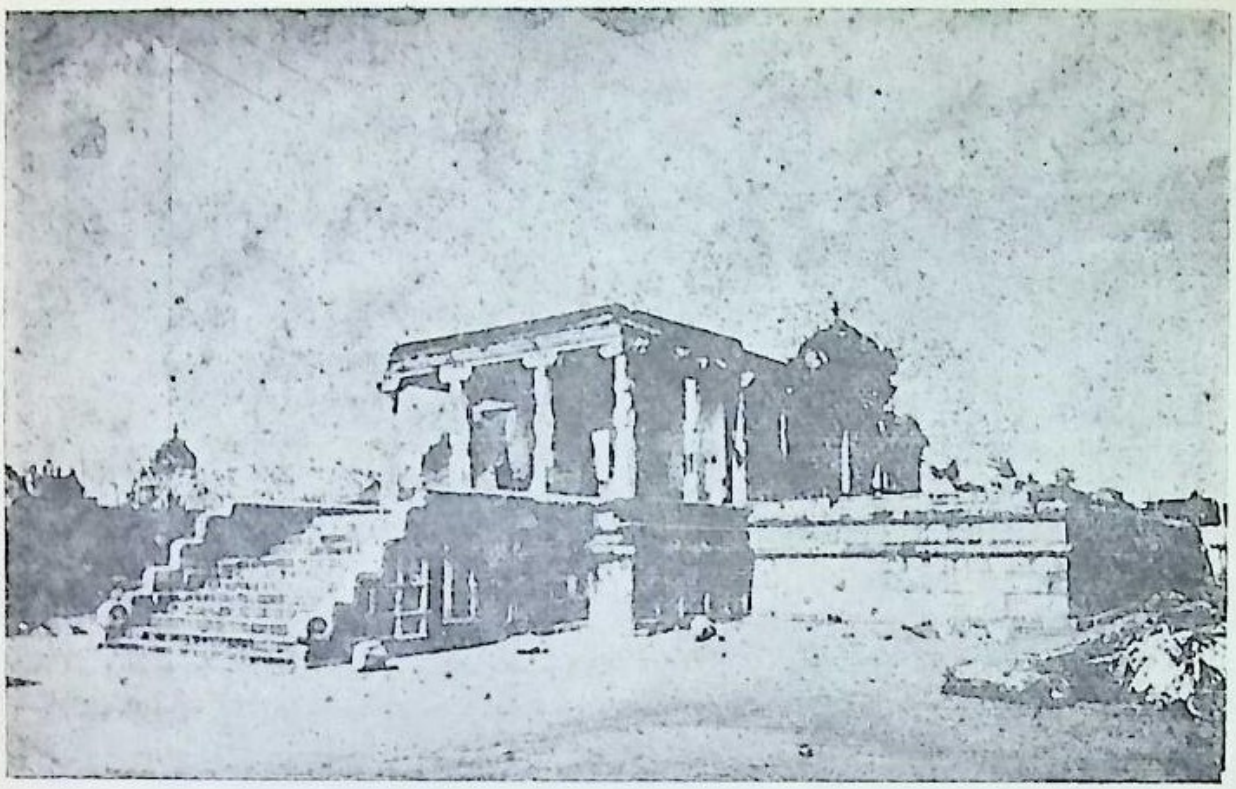


Fig. 2.

Thirumalai Nayak and Queen.



Fjg. 1. Sabhā Maṇḍapa—Uttaramērūr.

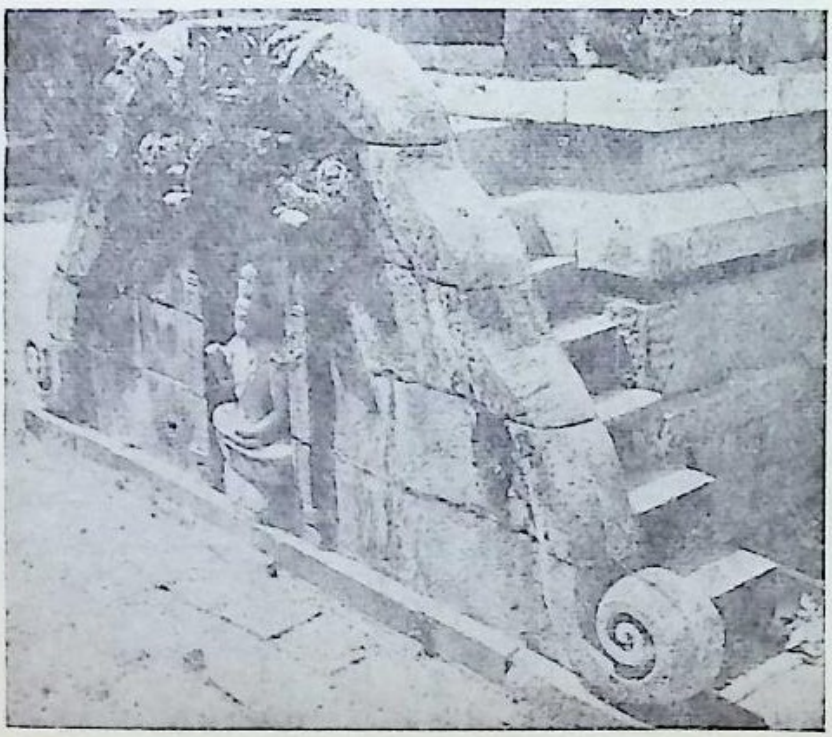


Fig. 2. Sōpānabhitti (North)—Uttaramērūr.
(courtesy : French Institute of Indology)

FRANCOISE GROS

Uttaramerur Revisited

Uttaramērūr, or Uttaramallūr, is a name familiar to all scholars acquainted to the history of South India, and all the more to Prof. K. A. N. Sastri's readers. One may even be under the impression that there is nothing more to say about this interesting village and its two famous inscriptions on the village-assembly, the *sabhā*, its constitution, functions and electoral rules. Everywhere the text of the two Parāntaka's inscriptions is quoted or refered to, and there is no study of South indian institutions which is not based on these records. As a matter of fact, it is not on this point that we can expect to throw a new light from a fresh visit to Uttaramērūr. We should rather invite the historians to go anywhere else for the sake of a better comparative appraisement. However a recent study of the village and its monuments, inscriptional or legendary records, has disclosed a few interesting details, which have been briefly exposed already in a short monograph.[1] It is not yet as comprehensive as we can dream of, regarding this fascinating village and we shall therefore invite our readers to revisit Uttaramērūr again, being satisfied if our attempt has been one more landmark towards a deeper study of local indology.

It is thanks to epigraphy that U. became suddenly famous again at the end of the last century: the publication of two Parāntaka's inscriptions in 1904 by V. Venkayya, after a first announcement in 1898, has been the first of a long list of studies on village administration and political life centred on these documents. It was echoed as soon as 1908 by S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar[2] who went on exploiting the lithic records of U. throughout his life and teaching, up till his *Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India* (Madras, 1931) where he republished Venkayya's article. He was quoted himself by another epigraphist, H. Krishna Shastri who in a paper on *The fiscal Administration under*

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1. *Uttaramērūr, Legends, History, Monuments*, by Francois Gros and R. Nagaswamy: with the Pañcavaradakṣetra māhātmya, edited by K. Srinivasacharya. Publications de l'Institut Francais d'Indologie no. 39, Pondichery 1970.

2. *Journal of South Indian Association*, Presidential address, 1908; reprinted in *Ancien India and South Indian History and Culture*, Vol. I Poona, 1941, pp. 592-704.

the Early Colas[1] dealt also with village assemblies and, although aware of their diversity (*sabhā, ūrār, nagarattar, nattar* are quoted), spoke almost exclusively about the *Sabhā*. This would soon create a confusion which was doomed to be the uttermost misleading in the subsequent literature. No sooner than in 1920-22, R. C. Majumdar incorporates to the second edition of his *Corporate Life in Ancient India* some additional data from South Indian inscriptions and enlarges the portion dealing with village institutions of Southern India. Amongst others, U. inscriptions are quoted in order to "most strikingly illustrate the ultra—democratic character of these village corporations", as the method of electing members "may be fairly compared with all that we know about the republican states of ancient and modern world".[2] The book has become a classic, and classical also the connotation of U. with the theories of village communities and assemblies. It is not our purpose to trace back the development of the myth of ancient village republics and corporate life in ancient India, but only to point out that once integrated to the general theories about local administration, the *sabhā* of U. was bound to loose its specific contours by becoming a common place in a sequence which starts with the vedic *sabhā*, continues with Buddhist *saṁgha* and so on...[3] Last, but not least, A.S.Altekar has somehow extended the rules of U. *sabhā* to a general pattern for "orthodox" village councils of the "Dravidian south" in "striking contrast" with the village communities in Western India.[4]

Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, when inaugurating his professorship of Indian History and Archaeology at Madras University protested against such generalizations reminding us that U. *sabhā* was only one of the several local bodies, and, further, characteristic only of a *caturvedimaṅgalam*, and that even in *brahmadeya* villages another body, the *ūrōm*, appears to act with the *sabhā*.[5]

He was, in fact, going to revisit U. and to give us a more detailed and relevant account of its epigraphic records. While S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

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1. In *Commemorative Essays presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Poona dated 1917 pp.223-236
2. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, second ed., Calcutta 1922 (preface dated 1920) p.176-177 ; the later of Parāntaka's inscription is quoted pp. 170-176.
3. V.g. the works of K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, Calcutta 1924) Altekar (see below) etc. See also U. N. Ghoshal *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, 2d rev. ed. Orient Longmans, 1965 (ch. VIII).
4. *A History of Village communities in Western India*, O.U.P. 1927 pp. 22-25 and 123.
5. *Journal of the Madras University* Vol. III n°1, dec. 1930 p. 35 n.1. He added a warning which keeps all its present interest : "We hear now-a-days a great deal too much of things Dravidian and things Aryan; it is to be wished that persons who talk with such assurance on these difficult matters make clear to themselves as well as to others by what methods and with what criteria they effect this distinction' (*ibid.* p. 35-36).

attempted to improve the reading of Venkayya in publishing once more the two inscriptions of Parāntaka,[1] Prof. Sastri, wiser, improved the interpretation given so far, whittily denouncing the somehow melodramatic presentation of Venkayya. What is more important, he scrutinized the inter-relations of the various political forces in the village through its inscriptions, and endeavoured to picture the relations of the *sabhā* with other local bodies, ūr, nāḍu, various temple trustees, religious or secular boards.[2] At the same time he sponsored another similar attempt on a wider basis, the enquiry of A. Appadorai on *Economic conditions in Southern India* (1000–1500 A.D.), where we find a clear statement of the different types of local organisation, and a precise description of the *caturvedimaṅgalam* which underlines once more that the system of local committees evidenced by U. was prevalent only in this type of village, and not over the whole of South India.[3] The impact of these statements on other scholars can be illustrated by the fact that Altekar who had kept his previous views in his *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*[4] introduced some more balanced considerations in his later publications, namely by mentioning the *ūr* together with the *Sabhā*.[5] A similar attitude is shown from the corrections introduced by R. C. Majumdar in the third edition of his *Corporate Life in Ancient India*.[6] And if it is still commonly accepted that certain types of village assemblies are better evidenced through South Indian inscriptions than their North Indian counterpart.[7] U. is no more considered to represent all of them and its specifiic individuality has been restored.

But it does not mean that all the problems are solved, and, in fact, in U. the crucial question of the links between *ūr* and *Sabhā* is not so clear. In U. inscriptions it is almost impossible to make any distinction between the two as the members of the *sabhā* call themselves, in the same recorded decision, and

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1. *Journal of Indian History* vol. XI part II, August 1932, appendix I, pp. 1-28.
2. K. A. N. Sastri, *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, Univ. of Madras, 1932.
3. A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India* (1000-1500 AD) 2 vols. Madras University Historical series, 1936. See Vol. I p, 138-155.
4. A. S. Altekar, *The Rashṭrakūṭas and their times*, Poona, 1934, p. 198.
5. V.g. *State and Government in Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Banaras, 1949, p. 176-177.
6. o.c. 3rd ed. F. K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1969, p. 157.158.
7. V.g. Lallanji Gopal, *Origin of village panchayat in Northern India* in *Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists*, vol. III part II pp. 609-620. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1970.

almost indifferently. "we of the *sabhā*" (mahā sabhaiyōm) or "we of the ūr" (ūrōm). It is more by analogy with other places where the differences are more marked, that we can guess that the *ūr* may not be absolutely coeval and coextensive with the *Sabhā*. We agree generally with the fundamental intuition of Prof. K. A. N. Sastri that the *ūr* might have been the earlier, to which the *Sabhā* is superimposed in case of a brahmanical settlement, although this thesis has been challenged by K. V. S. Aiyer. But to identify the *ūr* with *grāma* "the constituted assembly of the village" and *sabhā* with *jāti* "the assembly of the Brahmins"[1] does not solve the question of their interrelations, neither explains why they are so confused and mingled at U., unless we consider that U. population is purely brahmanical, or that the *sabhā* has no brahmanical exclusivism, which K. V.S. Aiyer strongly denies. He has, in fact, presented with such emphasis the conformity of this *sabhā* decisions with the injunctions of the *Dharmśāstra*, and the brahmanical purity of the *Sabhā* in all *caturvedimaṅgalam*, that we can agree with him that in U. the *sabhā* was supreme enough, at least during the early period of the settlement, to speak sometimes as for the village in its entirety. However, there is also a leaning among scholars to consider that sooner or late, the *sabhā* has lost its brahmanical exclusivism. Prof. Sastri felt that it so happened in U. itself by the end of the Xth century,[2] and V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar has even tried to conclude from an examination of the various standing committees of the *sabhā* that it was in fact "a cosmopolitan body".[3] But his arguments are not quite convincing and we will leave opened this vexed question. Perhaps it could be settled through further comparative studies, as already suggested, but we must confess that, for example, in Karnataka, the very same problem exists between *ūru* and *mahājana*, which is also a rather confused issue;[4] the latest research work on *History of South Kanara*[5] brings unfortunately no new light on that point.

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1. K. V. S. Aiyer. *Three Lectures*, Kannada Research Office, Dharwar, 1941, p. 24. See also his *Historical sketches of Ancient Dekkan, vol. II and III*, Coimbatore 1967 and 1969

2. *Epigraphia Indica* XXII N° 32, 1935, pp. 206-207.

3. *A note on the composition of Sabhā at Uttaramērūr*, in *D. R. Bhandarkar volume*, Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 59-61.

4. V.g. G. S. Dikshit, *Local Self-Government in Mediaeval Karnātaka*, Dharwar, 1964 pp. 68 and ch. V.

5. By K. V. Ramesh, Dharwar, 1970 ; v.ch. VII.

If U. epigraphs the brahmanical aspect is conspicuously predominant, is it still possible to sketch out the other elements of the population? Apart from occasional references to merchants, shepherds, weavers, oil-mongers or to the army, we seldom hear of the *Veḷḷaḷa* or agriculturists. They are mentioned in a few inscriptions of Pārthivēndravarman or Rājarāja I, or indirectly attested by some proper names like Kiḷāṉ. Although we may assume that they formed the largest non-brahmanical community, we gather very scanty evidences of their presence. But a bold social anthropologist should take the hint from a visit to the Siva temple of Tiruppulivaṇam, the north-eastern hamlet of U. Its huge monumental structures, spread over an area of no less than four acres, tell, even more than epigraphs, how, from Kulōttuṅga onwards, this temple flourished while the *sabhā* of U. became less important.[1] While no record is engraved on the walls of the previous abode of the *sabhā*, the so-called Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple, after 1215 A.D., we follow the history of U. under the feudatories of the last Cōḷa and under Vijayanagar dynasties mainly through the records of Tiruppulivaṇam, where the leadership of the village has slowly but clearly shifted. Is it mere guess work to say that the Veḷḷāḷa of U. might have played a part in this evolution? Before discarding this hypothesis, the reader should remember, first, that it is Tiruppulivaṇam and not U. which is included in the list of the 79 nāḍu of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam among which the Veḷḷāḷa are distributed atleast from the time of Kulōttuṅga[2] and, second, that a short chronicle, by a recent and anonymous local "historian" of U. stresses a latent antagonism between the *agrahāram* and the Veḷḷāḷa as a main feature of U. history, another one being the progressive decay of the brahmanical settlement.[3] There may be some meaning in these views even if the *sabhā* survived up to 1434 A.D., and if the temple of Tiruppulivaṇam remained under the supervision of śivabrāhmaṇa. So, apart from the official records of the *sabhā*, we have some evidence of other political or social forces which were also shaping the history of U.

Among the various religious trends of the village, for example, it is important to emphasize that inscriptions reveal a fairly good equilibrium

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1. Now onwards we refer to our monograph quoted in foot note no. 1, where the reader will find further details and references. See Francois Gros and R. Nagaswamy, o.c. p. 28s and 56.

2. v.g. *Varuṇa cintāmaṇi* by Kanakacapai Piḷḷai, Madras, 1901 (in tamil) pp. 343s.

3. F. Gros and R. Nagaswamy o.c. p. 15s.

between the various creeds, than when the village is prosperous, all the temples seem to benefit from various donors, under Pārthivēndravarman and Rājendra I. But it is also interesting to notice the striking contrast between the two puranic records which we have collected on the origin of U. According to the sanskrit *Pañcavaradakṣetramāhatmya*, it is a vaiṣṇava kṣetra founded by the Pāndava coming from North, but according to another tamil version, the site was shown to eleven Tamils coming from South by Murugaṇ, or Subrahmaṇya. This shorter account enumerates the twelve original lots (*kaṭṭaḷai*) of which four are found in inscriptions....Unfortunately it is difficult to go further in this confrontation because no version is dated, or we know to which community they owe their origin.[1]

Let us now come back to a safer ground when trying to locate the place where the U. assembly used to meet. Any open space or any hall, attached or not to a temple, may serve the purpose. But our contention is that in U. there was a specific *sabhā-maṇḍapa* which stood where the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple is now erected. This statement is supported by epigraphical and archaeological evidences.

We read several inscriptions that the *mahāsabhā* met "in the big hall" (*periya maṇḍakattile*, S.I.I. VI 345) "in the big hall of our city" (*nammūr periya maṇḍpattey*, ib. VI 297), "on a platform in front of the big hall of our city" (*emmūr pērambalattu mumpil terriyile*, ib. VI 362) or "in the inner hall of the assembly" (*mahāsabhaiyile uḷmaṇḍakattiley*, ib. VI 283). Clearly, this is not any common hall, but the one specifically designed for the *sabhā*. In U. there is only one edifice which satisfies this requirement, the so-called Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple. Two of its earliest inscriptions give it the very designation of "*maṇḍapa*." The first which has been engraved on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ bears the signature of the engraver who introduces himself as "the ācārya of *this* maṇḍapa" (*im-maṇḍapattinukkācarīyaṇ*, ib. VI 356). Some years later, it is decided that the sales of lands belonging to those who do not pay their taxes "will be engraved on the stone of the maṇḍapa" (*maṇḍakattu kallile eḻuttu*..., ib. VI 344) and such records are engraved only on the base of the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ. K. V. S. Aiyer has unfortunately missed the most important point when dealing with the same inscription. He translates "...have the transactions

1. o.c.p. ch. II. 1 and 2

engraved on stone in the *maṇḍapa of the temple*"[1] introducing here a "temple" which does not exist, neither in the text, nor as a monument. There was originally no temple at all, but only a *sabhā-maṇḍapa*. Nowhere, in early inscriptions, this edifice is referred to as a "temple" (*kōyil, graha* or *viṇṇagar*), but we do get a donation for the regular cult of a Viṣṇu image in this *maṇḍapa*, as early as the 4th year of Pārthivēndravarman (*emmūr periyamaṇḍakattu perumāṇaṭikaḷai arccikkum*, S I.I. III 170); beyond any donbt, the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ was originally only a *sabhā-maṇḍapa* in which an image of Viṣṇu had been installed, probably a stucco figure. In the inscriptions, it is only in the 21st year of Kulōttuṅga I that, suddenly, we find, for the same place, the name *emmūr naḍuvir rājanārāyaṇa viṇṇagar*" (ib. VI 349). It is clear that it refers to the present structure of the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ, rebuilt on the basement of the previous *maṇḍapa*, under Kulōttuṅga I, and called *naḍuvir kōyil* (central temple) from its location in the centre of the village, or *rājanārāyaṇa viṇṇagar*, from a title of Kulōttuṅga I. There is no wonder if instead of a new *maṇḍapa* only a not so impressive temple was erected: the *sabhā* is no more the centre of the village political life, and, already, Tiruppulivaṇam becomes prominent. So far almost all the decisons of the *sabhā* were engraved on the base of its *maṇḍapa*, nearly 70 records mostly dealing with the *sabhā* activities; from Kulōttuṅga I, hardly half a dozen inscriptions will be engraved, after the erection of the new structure which is no more designed for an important political use.

If we now look at the architecture of the existing monument, the conclusions drawn from epigraphy are confirmed. Obviously the platform and the temple are not contemporaneous, neither constructed to fit together. The platform is huge but severe, and rectilinear; does not correspond to the base of a temple, but rather to the base of a *maṇḍapa*. From its dimensions we can infer the height of this *maṇḍapa*, and see that its designation as "the big hall" (*periya maṇḍapa*) was quite justified. But probably the superstructure was a mixture of brick and mortar which ought to be renovated sometimes. The present temple, much smaller and less impressive than the platfrom is only a later construction, and enshrines an image of Viṣṇu seated with his consorts, which can be assigned to the XIIth century,

1. *Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, Vol. II., Coimbatore, 1967, p. 243. Italics ours.

i.e. the period of construction of the temple and which is probably responsible for the present denomination.

Further, it seems that some theoretical consideration also corroborate our identification. *Śilpaśāstra* like *Mayamata* assign the *brahmasthāna*, i.e. the centre of the village for the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, and this expression is often used in inscriptions for the place where the assemblies meet. These texts allot the same place to a Viṣṇu temple. But it does not mean, as the tamil edition of the *Mayamata* understood it, that the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is erected within the temple. The very next words can even be interpreted to exclude such a confusion; among the $3 \times 3 = 9$ boxes of the *brahmasthāna* the outer north-eastern are suitable for the *sabhā*, and the outer north-western and south-western for the Viṣṇu temple, any construction on the central five remaining places being most inauspicious.[1] However, there is no objection to enshrine a Viṣṇu image in a *maṇḍapa*, and, in U itself, we have other examples of a regular cult to an image enshrined in a *maṇḍapa*. No wonder also if it is preferably Viṣṇu who is associated with the exercise of the *Dharma* by the assembly. As we can find in many other villages either a "central temple" (*naḍuvir-kōyil*) either, also in the centre of the village, a construction dedicated to Viṣṇu Govardhana, it is suggested that a further enquiry should be conducted in such cases to see whether any similar connection may exist between a central shrine and the assembly hall. But it remains doubtful whether, on the ground of such occurrence, we can suggest that the Mahāviṣṇu of Govardhana who receives donations in U. under Pārthivēndravarman (S.I.I. III 157) or Kampavarman (ib. VI 288) may be identified with the Perumāṇaṭikaḷ enshrined in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* rather than, perhaps, with one of the *mūrti* of the temple of Sundaravaradaperumāḷ (like in A.R.E. 176 of 1923), unless it was the name of some other temple...

One last point must be cleared. When we speak about the temple and the *maṇḍapa* in the centre of U., we deal with the functions of these edifices, and not with a problem of evolution of architecture. The question of the *maṇḍapa-type* of temples which might have evolved from a certain type of cave-temples is altogether a different one. It has been noticed often that the structure of some temples in Aihole, like the Lad-Khan, the gauḍar-guḍi or the Kontiguḍi, seems to be evolved from a *maṇḍapa*-like structure which reminds us

1. *Le Mayamata, traité sanskrit d'architecture* ed. by Bruno Dagens, Publications de l'Institut Francais d'Indologie, 1970 p. 130, v. 73b-75a of ch. IX.

of the arrangement of the cave 3 in Badami. But many people felt that this pattern was originally a secular one, for civic use, and that the religious edifice is evolved from the village meeting hall.[1] A reference to Aihole in our study of the *sabhā maṇḍapa* of U. can therefore be easily misleading: in U. we can claim that it is now fairly established on historical ground that a religious edifice has succeeded a secular one which was a *maṇḍapa* enshrining an image of a god for which no architectural *cella* distinct from the *maṇḍapa* can be evidenced (but this is an argument *a silentio*!). It does not mean that the same process had occured before in Aihole. We agree with what Mrs. O. Divakaram has written to us as a friendly rejoinder: the religious character of the Lad Khan is clearly indicated from the beginning by the frame of the door which follows a rather well known pattern, or by the nāgarāja on the central ceiling inside, etc... and it seems quite possible that we find here the survival of a local tradition of maṇḍapa-temples without separate *garbhagṛha*, neither superstructure and supported by pillars rather than by walls. We unhesitatingly grant to her that porches and benches, which are found very often, may be due perhaps to some educational function of the temples, and that, in any case, the 500 *Mahājana* of Aihole needed a much larger hall to shelter their meetings! This is evidenced by U. itself, where the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* must have been rather impressive; even then, under exceptional circumstances, the meeting of the *sabhā* took place somewhere else, probably for the benefit of a winder and perhaps more cosmopolitan audience for some matters of special interest.[2] In a word, what happened in the case of the *sabhā maṇḍapa* of U. cannot be considered as a solution for the evolution of the temple architecture in Aihole!

We have seen that the location of the *sabhā maṇḍapa* and/or of a Viṣṇu temple in the centre of the village was in conformity with the prescriptions of the *vāstuśāstra*. But this can be extended much further. In U. all the main tepmles are located in the directions assigned by the *vāstuśāstra*: the Śiva temple is in the north-east of the village and an inscription says even better "in the direction of Iśa" (*Iśana tiśai* S.I.I. VI 356); in west we

1. As an illustration of this common place see Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Budhist and Hindu periods)* Bombay, 5th ed., 1965, 52 ss.

2. Cf. S.I.I. VI 362 on collection of fines under Kannaradēva, and *Epigraphia Indica* vol. XXII no. 32, 1935 p. 206-207. The second reference has been quoted by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri to support the idea of the breach of the brahmanical exclusivism of the *sabhā*; we can point out here that this was also an exceptional meeting, out of the *bhamaṇḍapa*.

find, side by side, a Viṣṇu temple and a Subrahmaṇya temple; the shrine of Durgā is in north, and in the north-east we find also the one of the Sapta mātā. The two temples of Jyeṣṭhā and Śāstā have now disappeared but we know from the inscriptions (S.I.I. III 167 and 169) that both were located in south. All these directions follow the agamic precepts. Many topographic details given in the epigraphs are also technical terms of the *vāstuśāstra* : the village had two peripheric roads called *maṅgala vīthi*, and three main roads called *nāṟacam* which run east-west, as precsribed by the *Kamikāgama* (XXI 2). It has even been possible, by putting together the theoretical indication of the *vāstuśāstra* and the measures given for the plots of land donated in inscriptions, to draw an ideal diagram of the ancient village, in order to illustrate graphically the extremely rational planning of the original *caturvedimaṅgalam*. It is indeed impressive to see how easily the inscriptions still give the hint of that ancient geometry where nothing seems to have been at random. The twelve *cēri* bear the twelve names of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa; the roads (*vadi*) are named according to the titles of a Pallava king, in all probability the founder of the village, Nandivarman Pallavamalla; the chanels (*vaykkal*) received names of Gods... Each of these features can be found in quite a number of other *brahmadeya* villages, and their toponymy is often similar, but nowhere, perhaps, it were possible to collect enough epigraphic material to get such a complete picture, to the extent of making possible a temptative reconstruction. In this respect, U. is, as called by K. V. S. Aiyer, "an ancient ideal village", and its lay out is an almost unique illustration of deliberate town-planning[1].

This is, of course, a conjectural restitution thanks to epigraphy. But the temple of Sundaravarada perumāḷ stands even to-day as another exemplary testimony of the accuracy with which U. behaviour complies with textual prescriptions. Ganapati Sthapati had already shown how "the U. Vimana is an Ashtanga Vimana created for the Navamoorthi worship of the Vaikanasa cult"[2] and how the architect of the temple has been guided by the *Marici Saṃhitā*, a Vaikhānasāgama. He has confined his demonstration to the architectural structure and ornamentation, but we found that it could be

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1. F. Gros and R. Nagaswamy, o.c. ch. V with a diagram drawn by R. Nagaswamy. K. V. S. Aiyer had already noticed how some inscriptions could give us a glimpse of the lay out of the village, and how it was regularly planned (*Sketches* . vol. II p. 241 and 261).

2. *An interesting inscription from Uttaramērūr*, in *Seminar on Inscriptions*, 1966 ed by R. Nagaswamy, Madras; 1968 p. 187.

extended to the iconography of the temple. All the wooden sculptures, and all the wall paintings in each shrine of each of the storeys of the temple, and even the stone sculptures of the *sopāna bhitti* of the first *tala*, can be identified and described through the text of the *Marīci saṃhitā* which they follow strictly, with only a few accidental discrepancies.[1]

A temple built and adorned according to a *Vaikhānasāgama* a village laid out according to the *vāstuśāstra*, around a *sabhā maṇḍapa*, a social and administrative life ruled according to the *dharmaśāstra*, and its own history inscribed on its walls in nearly two hundred epigraphs from the eighths to the fifteenth century, this is how U. welcome its visitors to say nothing of its modern aspects, which are also quite attractive. But the fate of U., from the discovery of the rules of its *sabhā* to our last visit, seem to be an amazing facility to be turned into an ideal entity, a general pattern ready to enter as an exemplary demonstration in the common-places of history. That is why it remains necessary, in order to keep alive and up to date its true picture, to visit U. again and again.

Our study of U. is the latest, it will not be the last. Already we know that it can be technically improved on some points: more accurate descriptions of the monuments, more attempts to date or decipher some lithic records, more delicate analysis of inscriptions to improve our reconstruction of the layout of the village, and, perhaps, make it more real. We know that it can be completed through more archaeological investigations, through enquiries into the recent records and through an anthropological study of the modern village. But we know also that it should be necessary to extend the same type of research to some other villages. Not so many places will offer the same rich and varied data, and there is a risk of repetitions which may fast sound dull and perhaps as moronic as several monographs of modern villages. However, almost always such a study will be rewarded by some original discovery, a monument, a family of chieftains, a religious institution, a social conflict, etc... Let us hope that more and more learned guides will help us for a thorough visit of South Indian villages.

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1. F. Gros and R. Nagaswamy, o.c. pp. 70–80 and Sanskrit appendix where the relevant chapter of the *Marīci saṃhitā* is critically edited.

B. K. Gururaja Rao

Megalithic Culture in Tiruchirapalli District

The archaeology of the Tiruchirapalli district was *terra incognita* till early 1960s, when the Ancient History and Archaeology Department of the University of Madras started its explorations and excavations in the region. As a result of this survey over a period of some years, more than a dozen important habitational and megalithic burial sites were discovered, and some of them were subjected to limited digging as well. As a result of these investigations, certain important aspects bearing on the beginnings of history of this region have been revealed which may be of interest to the students of South Indian history.

Of the group of four megalithic sites, within an area of some six miles, on Madras–Tiruchi Trunk Road, the most important is the one at Perumalpalaiyam, about 36 miles from Tiruchi. It is an extensive site, with a large number of megalithic burials of various types and dimensions, such as stone circles with single or double rings, cairn circles, and dolmenoid cists, mostly of undressed boulder variety. In number, size and variety of burials, this site rivals the well-known megalithic sites of Sanur and similar sites in Chingleput district.

Other three sites close by are: Padalur, about four miles from Perumalpalaiyam, Naranmangalam and Senganam, the last site differs from the other three sites in having only large cairn circles, with fillings rising to a height of four or five feet. Large cairns of similar type have been noticed at Manmangalam, in Karur Taluk, on the Karur–Pugalur Road. Here cairn fillings, within single or double circles rise to a height of two to three feet. Stone circles, without much fillings and slab-cists with port-holes surrounded by stone circles have also been noticed.

Several urn-burial sites were also located. Thus Alagarai, in Musiri taluk, where the University conducted excavations in the habitation area, yielded to the north of this ancient and present habitation, a vast barren and disintegrated laterite area. Small pits are dug over an extesive area into this gravelly surface into which big pyriform urns containing human skeletal remains and other grave

furniture have been lowered. Just on the south of this urn field are seen a couple of megalithic circles without cairn filling, one of these circles enclosing what appear to be a dolmenoid cist, now considerably disturbed. These circles, are situated in cultivated fields unlike the urn field, which is a rocky area not fit for cultivation. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the place continued to be occupied right from the proto-historic to the modern times as indicated by the cultural debris, yielding the russet-coated painted, Black-and-red and other associated wares, followed by the pottery of the early mediaeval period. There are also temples with Chola, Pandya, Hoysala and Vijayanagar inscriptions here.

Other sites yielding urn burials are Kottuputtur, Chinnamettukkali, Tirukkampuliyur, Kettampatti and Mallaikkovilur. At Chinnamettukkali, an extensive megalithic site, near Kattuputtur, there are more than fifty stone circles concentrated in a field. Adjoining this site, on the south, is an urn field without any megalithic appendage. It is proposed here to deal with the two important sites—Tirukkampuliyur and Malaikkovilur at some length.

Triukkampuliyur, subjected to excavations by the University Archaeology Department for two seasons, revealed that the earliest period here, the beginnings of which may be assigned to the 4th, 5th centuries B, C., contained a rich habitational debris characterised by the painted and plain Black-and-red pottery along with the russet-coated ware, associated with iron, all being characteristics of the megalithic culture. One of the urn burials here to the south of the ancient habitation, had a dressed granite slab as its capstone, and at the level of this capstone was also seen a rudimentary stone circle made of small stones, 6 to 10 inches in diameter. The pyriform urn itself was lowered in a slanting position into a pit, slightly bigger than the urn. The urn was filled with earth and in this earth-filling were found a few vessels—one a black ware 'oil pot', another a pointed bowl with flaring sides and featureless rim in Black-and-red, and a third, again in black ware, a ring stand. Notable among the potsherds were the pieces of globular bowls, flat dishes etc. The earth-filling also contained completely disintegrated and pulverised bones, besides a few long bones and teeth, retaining their shapes. The pit into which the urn had been lowered was dug into the natural red gravel soil.

Another important megalithic site, which revealed urn burials also is Malaikkovilur, about 12 miles from Karur, on the Dindigul Road. To the north of an early mediaeval temple with Chola inscription and to the south-west of the

habitation mound is an extensive area studded with a large number of megalithic burials, upwards of thirty in number, of various sizes. Stone circles, cairn circles, dolmenoid cists with port-holes, with single, double or trible circles are common here. While the smallest of these circles measured 10 ft. in diameter surrounded by single circle, the larger ones with a diameter up to 50 ft. have double or triple circles. The medium-sized circles ranging from 25 to 35 ft. are surrounded by double circles, and they are in majority.

Two of these double circles were dug by the local people. Both of them contained burial-urns with human skeletal remains, and pottery belonging to the Black-and-red and associated wares. At least one of them contained a large flat celt. While the skeletal remains were inside the urns, the pottery was both inside as well as outside. The urns were kept in pits slightly larger than the urns leaving sufficient space for the deposition of the grave goods.

The second burial contained a pyriform urn intact and was covered with a lid, domical in shape kept in an inverted position, reaching to the shoulders of the urn. The urn and the lid were made of coarse clay mixed with pieces of straw as binding material and were ill-fired. The urn measured three feet six inches in height, two feet six inches at the belly and one feet six inches at the mouth in diameter. It was decorated with a ridged band at the shoulder impressed with finger tip designs, the ends of the band instead of joining turned backwards in loop design hanging downwards.

This urn was filled to the brim with hard clay, the upper portion of which was devoid of any antiquities. The earth filling below was loose due to admixture of disintegrated bone. In fact considerable quantities of human bones in various stages of disintegration were seen. Among them were found a skull without the lower jaw, a few long bones of legs and arms, rib bones, and a few loose teeth much worn out. The shape of the bones, their association with an flat iron axe, absence of beads or other ornaments, may suggest that the occupant of the grave was an adult male, buried in a fragmentary condition. The grave goods consisted of a conical bowl carinated at the shoulder, with a pointed bottom and the flat axe.

Now let us consider the significance of these megalithic burials and the light they throw on the beginnings of civilisation in this part of the country. The prolonged investigations in this region have not so far revealed any full-fledged neolithic settlements. The excavations at Paiyampalli in North Arcot district

reveals only the end-phase of the neolithic culture, and further south, only sporadic finds of these polished stone tools have been reported. The excavations in the early historic sites in this region, at Kunnatur, Kanchipuram, Arikamedu Sengamedu and Kaveripattinam by the Archaeoligical Survey of India, at Kanchipuram, Tirukkampuliyur, Alagarai and Uraiyur by Madras University have all indicated that the beginnings of the settlement in all these sites are characterised by a dominant use of the Black-and-red, other associated wares and iron, besides various other objects. These remains, particularly the Black-and-red ware and iron are characteristic traits of the megaliths in South India. Thus the megalithic folk can be identified with the first civilised inhabitants of this region.

Secondly, these megalithic people were responsible not only for the introduction of the most popular ware of the early historic South India, namely the Black-and red ware, and the iron, but also for the use of irrigated agriculture, the use of the domesticated horse, and community-living in large and collective societies. Many of the large megalithic sites are in the vicinity of natural water reservoirs or large artificial water storages. It is to be observed that only slopes of hills, rocky grounds or waste lands were used for their cemeteries which were generally situated on the south or south-west of their habitation.

Again, the occurrence of iron bridle-bits and stirrups from a number of megaliths all over South India would clearly prove that the domesticated horse was employed for different purposes by these folk. The construction of elaborate stone-tombs, sometimes incorporating boulders and slabs weighing several tons, occasionally imported varieties of stones, particularly the granite slabs which do not occur in many places locally, and also the construction of irrigation tanks on the slopes of hills or catchment areas would all indicate that they had a communal and cooperative life, as individual efforts were not sufficient in such activities however big might be the family unit. These factors would further indicate that they lived in communities having well-organised social and political organisations. Thus the evidence from these sites would indicate that the first agricultural and settled life was introduced into the region by these megalithic folk.

V. N. Hari Rao

Wall Decorations in Cola Temples

After a period of crowded and ornate disposition of figure-work adorning the walls of temples in the heyday of Pallava architecture, e.g., the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram, a more sedate approach is recognizable in the late Pallava style, typified by the Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruttaṇi built in the reign of Aparājita (885-903). One explanation of this might be that the resources of the kingdom were shrinking. The austere disposition of deity-niches in walls of this temple set the model, as it were, for the early Cōḷa temples. Here each wall has only one niche between pilasters and the rest of the wall is plain. There are neither sculptures nor screen-windows, the variety of the last mentioned item is a highly pleasing feature of the temples of the Cāḷukyas of Badami.

The walls of the *garbhagṛiha* of the Tiruttaṇi temple have Viṣṇu in the western niche and Brahmā and Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the northern and southern niches respectively. The niches in the northern and southern walls of the *antarāla* have Durgā and Gaṇēśa respectively. Each figure is about three feet in height and in deep relief. The niches in the walls of the *garbhagṛiha* are adorned by *makara-tōraṇas* while those in the walls of the *antarāla* are adorned by *citra* and *patratōraṇas*. In the *makara tōraṇas* the foliated tail portions do not flow down the sides of the niche, but proceed only a little beyond the architrave assuming more or less a semi-circular form, which is a feature of the Cōḷa style. The *citra-tōraṇa* above the Durgā niche shows two pea-hens pecking at a cocoanut placed on a lotus-like vessel at the centre of the architrave.

The same disposition of deity-niches is found on the walls of the Koraṅganātha temple at Śrinivāsanallūr (Tiruccirāpaḷḷi district) belonging to the period of Parāntaka I. Here each wall has a central deity-niche in a projection and two more niches in recesses on either side having portrait sculptures of men and women, representing perhaps the donors. The niches in the walls of the *antarāla* are now empty. It is quite possible that they contained originally the images of Durgā and Gaṇapati.

The Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbakōṇam, also an early Cōḷa temple, has similar deity and portrait-sculptures in its central and adjoining niches of each wall except for one difference. The central niche of the western wall here has Ardhanāri Śiva instead of Viṣṇu. Here are more portrait sculptures of donors, both men and women in very graceful attitudes. The two shrines of Kiḻaiyūr, which face west, introduce Subrahmaṇya in the back wall and have Brahmā in the north, and Siva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the south. In these and other early Cōḷa temples the wall surfaces, except for the niches and pilasters, are severely plain. Only the deity niches are topped by semi-circular *makara-tōraṇas*, *i.e.*, scrolls emanating from the mouths of the *makaras* and forming an arch-like canopy over the deity. Within the arch is some seated deity or some scroll design. In a majority of cases, the deity-figure alone is found, while a few, like the southern niches of the Koraṅganātha temple, have subsidiary figures arranged on two sides to make the story complete.

The wall of the Bṛihadīśvara temple rises to a height of nearly 40 feet and the wall is divided into two equal horizontal parts uniformly decorated with niches and pilasters, recalling the *tala jaṅghā* and *upara jaṅghā* of the northern temples, *e.g.*, the Liṅgarāj temple at Bubhanesvar (c. 1000), older only by a decade. This was done by means of a massive *kapōta* running right across the middle of the wall and decorated with *kūḍus* of scroll designs, crowned by *siṁhamukhas* and enclosing miniature deity-reliefs. This double-storeyed elevation curiously resembles that of Koraṅganātha temple in which the top storey is the *vimāna* and not *upara-jaṅghā*. Each wall of the *garbhagṛiha* has five bays, the central one being not only wider but more projected. As the shrine is *caturmukha*, each central bay contains a *dvāra*, flanked by *dvārapālakas*, only the eastern *dvāra* being functional from the outset, which is obvious from the absence of any provision to reach from other entrances. The deep niche, in each bay, is enclosed by a split-pilaster on either side and within it appears the deity standing, in most cases, on a lotus pedestal. Terminating the two sides of the projecting bay are two full pilasters and in the interspaces between the full and half pilasters, *i.e.*, on either side of the deity, are a few associate figures, in miniature carved on the wall. The latter do not appear in all cases. The walls reveal, on the whole, much plain space and this feature, coupled with their sweeping expanse, gives to the great temples of the imperial Cōḷas a new and refreshing appearance.

The niche top is decorated with a new type of *makara-tōraṇa*. The two *makaras* throw out from their mouths scrolls, which join at the crown

decorated with what looks like a fiery head of a lion. On either side of this design are just indicated two *makara*-heads in miniature facing the *makaras* below and sending out scrolls in their turn to meet the scrolls below. Beneath the arch formed by these scrolls are circles containing some floral designs or miniature deity-sculptures. The foliated tails of the lower *makaras* flow to some length beyond the architrave, placed on two beam-heads at the two ends, and rest on the projecting abaci of the half-pilasters on the two sides. This type of ornament in decorating the niche-top received further development in the following periods.

In each of the recesses between the projecting bays is a design, which is actually the beginning of a florid type of pilaster, familiarly known as the *kumbha-pañjara*, introduced for the first time. Its shaft rests on a pot-base, more quadrangular than round, with bands suggesting foliage flowing from the lower part of the shaft on either side, and not from the mouth of the pot. The shaft has a complex type of capital with brackets on either side of a pair of scroll designs, the whole surmounted by a *tōraṇa* somewhat similar to the *makara tōraṇa* atop the niches and crowned similarly by a fiery head. The wall space on either side of the shaft shows two pairs, one below the other, of exultant *gandharvas*. The pot-base became a true *pūrṇakumbha* with overflowing foliage and the top canopy became a true *pañjara* (a shrine miniature) only later, i.e., in the Vijayanagar period.

The wall decorations of the Bṛihadīśvara temple, of Rājēndra I, at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram correspond with those of the Tanjore temple, but is not a *caturmukha* shrine. The Airāvatēśvara temple at Dārāsuram has on its wall only one row of niches and its decorations are somewhat simpler. As in the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram temple the central bay is wider, but has only one niche. On either side are two bays, the niches occurring only in the extreme bays of each wall while the intervening bays are faced with two pilasters at the two ends, the wall space between them being plain. Above the niche in the wide bay is the oblong *śālā* top and the semi-circular *makara-tōraṇa* motifs. The intervening plain bay, in each case, has only the capitals and corbels of the two pilasters to decorate its top. The recesses between all the bays contain *kumbha-pañjaras*. The deity niches show, as in the other temples of the period, subsidiary figures on the two sides, which do not at all obscure the purely architectural scheme.

One point is of great interest here. Above the cornice the wall is continued as a parapet of the series of *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *śalā*, *pañjara* and *kūṭa* from end to end, the *kūṭas* appearing over the corner bays in the walls, whose two sides clearly simulate a square shrine-motif in the corner (*karṇa-kūṭa*), the *pañjaras* appearing over the plain bays and the *śalas* over the wide central bays, so that vertically the corner block from the *adhiṣṭhāṇa* to the *kūṭa* in the parapet through the two wall-niches at right angles to one another simulates a square shrine, while the central bay similarly viewed from base to top represents a rectangular shrine and the intervening bay, by virtue of its *gajapṛiṣṭa śikhara* of the *pañjara*, though not fully shown, stands for an apsidal shrine. Against these *kūṭas*, *śalas* and *pañjaras* of the parapet above the cornice are deity-sculptures so that here, too, there are two rows of deity-sculptures as in the two earlier temples of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I. The only difference is that the upper row here appears in the miniature shrines above the cornice and not in the wall itself. This kind of parapet over the cornice appears in both the earlier temples and is as old as the *rathas* of Mahābalipuram. What is significant in the Dārāsuram temple is that there is a closer and more immediate association between the shrines of the parapet and the niches of the wall than in the other two temples. The same applies to the Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribhuvanam.

J. C. HARLE

Two Yavana Dvarapalas at Aihole

In spite of the extremely worn condition of the stone, the pair of *dvārapālas* (Figs. 1 and 2) carved on either side of the entrance to the Brahminical cave (No. 69) at Aihole, are unquestionably recognizable, by their costume, as Yavanas. They are, to my knowledge, the only Yavana *dvārapālas* found in any Early Western Cāḷukya monument and it is unexpected, to say the least, to find such figures here in north-west Mysore at such a late date; the latest known example elsewhere, and the only other one south of the Godāvarī, is from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the third-fourth centuries A.D.[1] The exact date of the Brahmanical cave is not known, but it is invariably assumed to be later than Cave III at Bādāmi (578 A.D.).

Of the figures' dress only the main elements can be discerned. A tunic or coat ends well above the knees and is tightly belted at the waist. The legs are either bare or clad in very tight fitting trousers. The *dvārapāla* on the proper left of the cave entrance (Fig. 2) almost certainly wears a pointed cap. The one on the right (Fig. 1) appears to have been bare-headed, with a beard. The position of the arms of both figures and the fact that they wear belts makes it almost certain that they were armed with relatively short swords or daggers with scabbards fastened to the belt. All these features leave no doubt that these are Yavana *dvārapālas*.

Yavana *dvārapālas* figure in early cave sculpture, most notably at Pitalkhora.[2] Figures in Greek or partially Greek dress also figure in early

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1. A. H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagārjunakoṇḍa*, MASI No. 54 (1938) p. 11 and pl. XC. Of course, Sūrya and his attendants continue to be depicted with certain "Yavana" items of costume until late mediaeval times.

2. M. N. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan", *Ancient India* No. 15 (1959), Pl. LI and p. 75. Although their headdress and jewellry are Indian and both figures wear *dhotis*, there seems little doubt, from their close-fitting tunics over a short kilt-like garment, and the fact that they are armed with javelins and shields, that these are Yavanas.

Kovilbor Digital Library

Fig. 1. Dvārapāla, Right of entrance,

Fig. 2. Dvārapāla, left of entrance.

Ravalagudi Cave Temple—Aihole.

sculpture as warriors,[1] or somewhat later in Bacchic or Dionysiac scenes.[2] There is literary or epigraphic evidence of their presence at courts or as soldiers and persons describing themselves as Yavanas are amongst the donors who contributed to the carving of the great *chaitya* hall at Karli.[3]

Along with the already mentioned Yavana *dvarapala* from Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa, there is another, somewhat earlier, from a cave at Udayagiri in Orissa, also on or near the east coast.[4]

The earliest sculpture of a figure in Yavana dress is the famous *stambha*-figure from Bharhut.[5] There are recognizable Greek elements in his dress, notably the short curly hair and the fillet around his head. But he wears a sleeved jacket fastened in the front and boots as well. The same hair-style and the fillet are seen on the rider of a winged lion, with stag's antlers, on one of the Sāñcī *tōraṇas*.[6] Also on a Sāñcī gateway are depicted a group of obviously foreign musicians, some with the head depicted in the same way, wearing Greco-Roman sandals, but whose dress has elements of another foreign origin and including others wearing pointed caps, of a type which will soon become very familiar.[7] It is unlikely that the Yavana donors of Karli were Greek in origin, language, dress or customs. The term, which originally meant Ionian Greeks, soon came to refer to all foreigners from the west, or north-west, Śakas, Pārthians or Kusāṇas and in mediaeval times came to be applied to Muslims as well. The term Yavana has been applied to the Aihole *dvārapālas*, although there is nothing Greek apparent in their dress because it is the name most likely to have been given to them by their sculptors.

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1. Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher. *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, Pl. XCI (88*b*) and Pl. XCVII (Front of *Stūpa* III *Tōraṇa*).
2. For a recent review of this subject, Marth L. Carter, "Dionysiac aspects of Kushān Art," *Ars Orientals*, Vol. 7 (1968), p. 121-146.
3. J. Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions*, ASWI IV, 1883 pp. 90 and 91.
4. J. Fergusson, and J. Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, 1880, Fig. 22.
5. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, p. 62, Pl. XVII, fig. 43.
6. Back of *Stūpa* I Eastern *Tōraṇa*—Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVII.
7. Front of *Stūpa* I Southern *Tōraṇa*—Marshall and Foucher, op. cit., Pl. XI

It is in the first two or three centuries, in the areas under Kusāṇa dominion, particularly at Mathurā, that these non-Greek Yavanas, whose costume betrays their origins as nomadic horsemen, begin to appear in sculpture in such great numbers that it is possible to derive a fairly clear impression of their costume, arms and accoutrements. Rosenfield has illustrated an impressive number of sculptures and reliefs of these figures, including the Kusāṇa royal effigies, as well as related figures from as far away as Anatolia and Mesopotamia and going back in time to the Achaemenids.[1] In his words, the common characteristics of the Indo-Scythian costume, as he chooses to call it in its Indian manifestation, are:—

> "A tunic of varying length may be either coatlike or sheathlike. Pantaloons are full and bloused or tight-fitting with jodhpurs. The shoes or boots, in which the pantaloons are tucked, are sturdy and at times padded (the native Indians were always shown barefoot or in sandals). Finally, a wide waist belt is worn outside the tunic. The Kushans had their own mode of headdress, but on a few occasions they were shown wearing turbans".[2]

The conical headdress worn by so many of these figures seems to be referred to simply as "the Parthian helmet" of which an actual example is illustrated by Rosenfield.[3] The matter would appear to be a little more complicated. Many of the these "helmets" are distinguished by a characteristic falling forwards of the pointed summit indicating a soft material, cloth or leather, not metal, at least as a covering, and almost certainly related to the so-called "Phrygian cap" depicted in Roman and early Christian art, later the "liberty cap" of the French Revolution.

The Yavana *dvārapāla* from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, which incidentally is bearded, is the nearest as far as distance is concerned to the pair at Aihole and, as we have seen, there is some evidence of Yavanas near the east coast in earlier times. In Aihole, we seem to be dealing with a purely artistic tradition. It is nonetheless perfectly plausible when one considers the presence, in the fifth century A.D., of figures in almost identical costume representing the Wise Men (or Kings) from the east in a mosaic in San Vitale at Ravenna.

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1. John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynasic Art of the Kushans*, 1967.
2. *Ibid*, p. 177.
3. *Ibid*, p. 189 and fig. 135.

As regards the dating of the Aihole *dvārapālas*, a monograph on the Brahmanical cave is long overdue. Besides containing (inside) perhaps the first Early Western Cāḷukya sculpture, it presents many intriguing aspects which unfortunately do not help with the problem of dating and neither t nor its sculpture bears a particularly close relation to other monuments in the region, with the exception of the Jain cave nearby. There are no grounds for linking the sculpture to Pallava art.[1] The outer limits for the cave are nonetheless 550 A.D.—700 A.D., and a date around 600 A.D. seems to be the most likely. The Yavana *dvārapālas* then, would, thus, appear, and by considerable margin, to represent the latest appearance of such figures.

1. J. C. Harle, " Le Temple de Nāganātha a Nagral," *Arts Asiatiques*, XIX (1969), p. 70 fig. 2.

M. C. Joshi

An Early Inscriptional Reference to Persian Wheel

Dated in the Malava Era (Vikrama Samvat) 589, the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman is considered significant for its contents pertaining to the political history of the period besides its literary merit. There is, however, another aspect of this record relating to the construction of a well, which has not been analysed in detail.

Although the purpose of this epigraph is to record the construction of a memorial well,[1] there are only the few following references in the text of the inscription describing the well:

> *Phaṇi-maṇi-guru-bhāra [ā-kkrā] nti-dūravanamraṁ sthagayati ruchi-mindormmaṇḍalaṁ yasya mūrdhanāṁ [I] sa śirasi vinibadhnan-raṇdhriṇimasthimālaṁ sṛijatu bhavasṛijo vaḥ kleśa-bhaṅgaṁ bhujaṅgaḥ II [3] shashṭyā sahasraiḥ sagaratmajanāṁ khāta[ḥ] kha-tulyāṁ ruchimādadhaṇaḥ [I] asyodapanādhipateśchiraya yaśaṁsi-payat-payasāṁ vidhātaḥ II [4]*

The first stanza (verse-3) praises the serpent crowning the head of the lord Śiva, the *ishṭa-devatā* of the builder; perhaps for the reason that the *nāgas* are regarded in the Indian tradition as the presiding deities of waters and the nether world.[2] In the second stanza (verse-4) the Lord of the waters

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1. Fleet, J. P., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III (Calcutta, 1888) pp. 150 ff.

2. The nether world (*pātāla*) and watery regions are often mentioned as the abodes of the serpents in the Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature of ancient India, Nāga-shrines are generally located in or near the wells, tanks, etc, in India. The Maniyār-Maṭh at Rajgir, which is believed to be a temple of Maṇināga built during the Gupta period, is a circular hollow tower simulating a well. Agam-Kuwān at Patna is still considered as one of the most sacred Nāga shrines. In the Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh, it was a common practice to instal an image of Anantasayi Vishnu in the covered-springs or the *nauls*, as they are locally called, till about the fifteenth century A.D. on account of the association of Vishnu's serpent Ananta-nāga with water.

(Varuṇa or the ocean-god) has been invoked for the preservation of the glories of the well in question ; the reference to the sixty thousand sons of Sagara is, however, not clear.

The expression *mahadidamudapanam khānayamāsa* in verse 22 indicates that the well (built by Daksha) was of a large size. However, the most significant reference to it is found in the following stanza :

Yavattuṅgairudanvankiraṇa-samudayam
saṅga-kantam taraṅgai-
rāliṅgannindu-bibam gurubhiriva
bhujaiḥ samvidhatte subṛittam [1]
Bibhratsaudhānta-lekhā valaya parigatim
muṇḍamālāmivayam
Satkupastāvadastāmamṛita-sama
rasa svachchha-vishanditāmbuḥ [II]—(verse-27)

Fleet[1] has translated it as under :

'As long as the ocean, embracing with (its) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (*and is more*) lovely (*than ever*) from contact (*with the waters*), maintains friendship (*with it*),—so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a surrounding enclosure of lines at the edge of the masonry-work, as if it were a garland worn round a shaven head (*and*) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is equal to nectar.'

It would be seen from the above translation that Fleet has failed to catch the real spirit of the original expression. The term *saudhānta* cannot stand for the edge of masonry-work, for *saudha*, which is derived from *sudhā* (lime-plaster), always meant palace in the classical Sanskrit literature.[2] Similarly *lekhā-valaya-parigati* should not have been rendered as surrounding enclosure of lines for, it does not clarify the structural context relating to a well. A masonry-work around a well cannot be described as a surrounding enclosure

1. Fleet, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 158.

2. Cf. *saudho-stri rājasadanam* 10, Puravarga, Kāṇḍa II *Amarakoṣa* (with Ramāsrami-Ṭikā) (varanasi 1970) p. 153.

of lines (Fleet has left it undefined). Further the translator has taken *muṇḍamālā* as a garland on a shaven head, which as incongrous, for, the *muṇḍamālā* in Sanskrit has invariably been used in the sense of a garland of skulls in the same way as a *pushpamālā* denotes a garland of flowers and *ratnamālā*, a string of gems. It is interesting to note that in the same inscription Fleet has rightly translated the term *asthimālā*[1] as 'chaplet of bones.'

The following translation is, therefore, proposed:

> 'As long as the ocean, with its long arm of tidal waves, embraces the full moon, glowing with its rays (and) growing lovelier from the association (with the sea), keeps friendship (with the moon), so long this fine well, having the elevational grace (charm of sky line) of a mansion, with a rotary motion (moving-ring) resembling a garland of skulls, would survive discharging nectar like pure water.'

What is more important in the above cited verse is the third line containing a reference to a moving ring like a *muṇḍamālā* (garland of skulls) which could be nothing else but a Persian wheel in the context of a well, for, only a chain or belt with pots (in this case most likely earthen jars for raising water from some depth could be compared with a *muṇḍamālā*. The poet has rightly shown a parallelism between the superstructure of the well and elevation of a palace, for the former comprising a frame, probably of wood consisting of two posts topped by a cross-bar with centrally suspended chain of pots akin to a *muṇḍamālā* stood an appropriate comparison with a mansion wherein the facade, during ancient times in India, was often decked with garlands of flowers or other decorative material.[2]

Thus it furnishes the earliest, though somewhat indirect, evidence of the use of Persian wheel (*sāqiya*) in ancient India. It is not unlikely that by Malava era 589 (A. D. 532), when the inscription was composed, the employment of the Persian wheel in wells was not a very popular means for drawing water either due

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1. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 155.

2. Cf. the following description in *Chaturbhani* (Ed. Dr. Moti Chandra) *Pādataḍitakam* (Bombay, 1959) pp. 175-176: '*Parādhyamuktā-pravala-kiṅkiṇi jālāvishkṛita-paripushkaraṇi* (18) *Uchchhritsaubhāgya vaijayanti patākāni utpatantīva gaganatalamavanitalād bhavanavarā vaṅśakani varamukhyānām*'....., and J. Marshall and Alfred Foucher *The Monuments of Sañchī* II, plate XXXIV A, showing a palace decorated with garlands,

to its recent introduction in Malawa region or on account of its being quite expensive. Had the case been otherwise, there would not have been any reference to the elevational aspect of the well and the rotary motion. Further, this reference also refutes the views of scholars like Irfan Habib[1] who could not trace the antiquity of the Persian wheel in India prior to the period of Turkish conquests and the centuries immediately following (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries). The Persian wheel (*sāqia*) in some form was known to Greeks and Egyptians by about the third/second century B.C. and it was possibly introduced in India after first/second century A.D. as a result of the contact with the Roman world where it was used widely.[2]

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1. Irfan Habib, *Technological Changes And Society 13th and 14th centuries* (Presidential address, Mediaeval India Section, 31st session of the Indian History Congress) p. 17.

2. Following Nidham, Irfan Habib points out of the difference between *noria* (wheel carrying pots and buckets on its rim) and *sāqia* (pulley with a chain of jars suspended from a bar over a well. The *noria* can operate on an open (surface river or reservoir) whereas the Persian wheel can also raise water from deep wells. He also says : In India, indeed, the distinction [*between the above mentioned devices of raising water*] seems never to have been made, But in the definition of *arhāt* (the term now in common use for the Persian wheel) that Wilson's *Glossary* provides, the *noria* is clearly intended (Habib *op. cit.* pp. 12-15). It may be mentioned in this connexion that in the Sanskrit literature we come across two terms pertaining to the water raising device; these are *arahaṭṭa* or *arghaṭṭa* and *ghaṭīyantra*. The former, undoubtedly, refers to *noria* but the latter perhaps indicates a more complicated technique (as it is called *ghaṭīyantra*) and hence may stand for a type of Persian wheel. This becomes further clear in the light of the following references from *Amarakoṣa*, the famous Sanskrit lexicon of the Gupta period, defining a *ghaṭīyantra* : *Udghāṭanaṁ ghaṭīyantraṁ salilodvāhanaṁ prahe* II (*27 Śūdravarga*, II *Kāṇḍa*, *Amarakoṣa*). Therefore, it is definite that a *gaṭīyantra* was a device which was used for drawing water from a well (*prahi*) only.

S. NAGARAJU

Middle and Late Stone Age Industries of the Amarja Valley. Gulbarga District, Mysore State

The Amarja is a small river, which rises near Alur, in Akkalkot taluk, Maharashtra. It enters Gulbarga district, near Nirgundi, in the Aland taluk, and taking a southerly course gets into the Afzalpur taluk and joins the river Bhima, near Ganagapur. The total length of this river in Gulbarga district is about 90 kilometres. In a survey, conducted by the author[1] in the summer of 1966 in the above river valley, five sites yielding Middle and Late Stone Ages tools were discovered and they have been described below. These sites are: (i) Gangapur (17° 10′ N; 76° 31′ E) in Afzalpur taluk; (ii) Jawali (17° 25′ N; 76° 32′ E); (iii) Shakapur and (iv) Ikkalki (17° 33′ N; 76° 31′ E) in Aland taluk; and (v) Ibrahimpur (17° 26′ N; 76° 19′ E) in Akkalkot taluk. Maharashtra.

A. GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE AREA

The entire area falls within the Deccan Plataeu, and its elevation ranges from 1400 to 1800 feet from the Mean Sea-level. The slope of the country is from north to south. The area in Aland taluk is very undulating, studded everywhere with a number of flat-topped hillocks. The alluvial valleys here do not extend to more than 500 to 600 metres in width anywhere, but as the river enters the Afzalpur taluk the area becomes almost flat, commanding wider alluvial plains.

The whole area drained by the river Amarja is covered by Deccan trap, which overlies shales and limestones of the Upper and Middle Bhima series. In most of the places the surface of the Deccan trap is disintegrated and covered by Black-Cotton soil. Nodules of crypto-crystalline silica in the form of agate, chalcedony, opal and jasper, occurring in the cavities in the Deccan trap, are seen

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1. I am thankful to my teacher Dr. M. Seshadri for encouraging me to take up this work, and the University Grant Commission and the Mysore University for providing financial assistance.

2. No Early Stone Age or Neolithic sites are seen in this area. But in the vicinity of many of the above sites antiquities of the early historical period occur.

strewn over extensively in the area, and this material has been exploited by Stone Age man for tool-making. But, no where in this region, terraces or tool-bearing strata assignable definitely to the Pleistocene were found.

B. The Industries

All the Middle Stone Age tools described below come from the site at Jawali. The industry is characterised by the use of point, awl and a variety of scrapers—side, end, convex and side-and-end. The majority of tools have been made on flakes, but two specimens are on core (Nos. 5 and 11) and one is on a natural tabular piece (No. 7). The cores (Nos. 12 to 14) indicate the removal of thin flat flakes from unprepared platforms, thus showing a technique different from both the regular Clactonian and Levallois. One specimen however is a very good Clactonian flake (No. 10). Retouch is seen confined to only two varieties, steep and nibbling. However, it is difficult to say that these are the only specific features of the Middle Stone Age industries of the area, as the number of tools collected is very small. Chert, jasper and chalcedony are the materials employed for tool-making.

The Late Stone Age industry is represented by points, varieties of scrapers, hollow, side and hollow-cum-side, a few blades and fluted cores. The assemblage is conspicous by the absence of the microliths of the geometric series. All the regular tools like points and scrapers are made on blades, but fall within the non-geometric complex. All the points can be described as of the symmetrical variety, if the breaks, which are probably of a later time, are not taken into account. One of the noticeable features of these points is the way of making the point-end, which is achieved by taking flakes on different directions from the point-end itself. Further, the point-ends have been retouched by nibbling. The scrapers are of the usual types. The blades are thin and short, varying from 1 to 3 centimetres and do not show any retouch. Two specimens have use-marks (Nos. 27-28). The cores are of the usual variety, all being of the fluted type. All of them show prepared platforms as can be expected in the cores of this class. Except one specimen (No. 39), showing parallel as well as cross flaking, the others are pointed cores with parallel flaking only. The materials employed for tool-making include varieties of chalcedony, opal and chert. Tools of the Late Stone Age come from four sites, Ibrahimpur in Akkalkot taluk, Sholapur District, Maharashtra, and Shakapur and Ikkalki in Aland taluk, and Gangapur in Afzalpur taluk, in Gulbarga District, Mysore State.

C. Inventory of artifacts

(i) *Middle Stone Age*

(All the tools are from Jawali)

Point :

1. A thick rectangular blade-flake, unifacially worked steeply on two adjacent sides to form a point ; the blade-flake not showing any preparation of platform ; a little of nibbling retouch near the point to make it sharper. In yellowish brown chert (fig. I, 1).

Awl :

2. An irregular flake taken out by Clactonian technique ; a number of steep flakes taken out bifacially to provide the required form ; steep retouch seen to bring out the awl end ; a little of the cortex is retained at the thicker end. In yellowish chalcedony (fig. I, 2).

Side Scrapers :

3. Made on a thick blade-flake with the main flake-surface left untouched to form the flat bottom ; steep long flakes taken all round from the periphery inwards on the dorsal side, due to which the negative flake-scars meet at a central peak, giving a triangular outline and a keel shape to the tool ; the working-edge achieved by steep retouch on one of the sides. In deep brown jasper (fig. I, 3).

4. A thick roughly rectangular piece of a blade-flake ; shallow negative flake-scars on the whole of the surface still remaining because of the earlier removal of blades when the present one formed part of the core ; the working edge achieved on a side by steep-retouch. In brown jasper (fig. II, 4).

5. A fine piece of core, with negative flake-scars, of parallel flakes, with one of the sides showing nibbling retouch. In opal (fig. II, 5).

6. A thin blade-flake with unifacial steep-retouch. In brown jasper (fig. II, 6).

7. A tabular piece of natural stone converted to a side scarper by unifacial steep-retouch. In white chalcedony (fig. II, 7).

End Scraper :

8. A thick irregular flake with flat flakes removed from the sides ; one of the longitudinal ends retouched by nibbling. In brown jasper (fig. II, 8).

Convex Scraper :

9. A small blade flake worked unifacially by taking out flat flakes inwards from a side to provide a convex edge ; further retouched by nibbling. In smoky chalcedony (fig. II, 9).

10. A large Clactonian flake revealing thick bulb of percussion and unprepared platform, with the convex side retouched steeply. In brown chert (fig. II. 10).

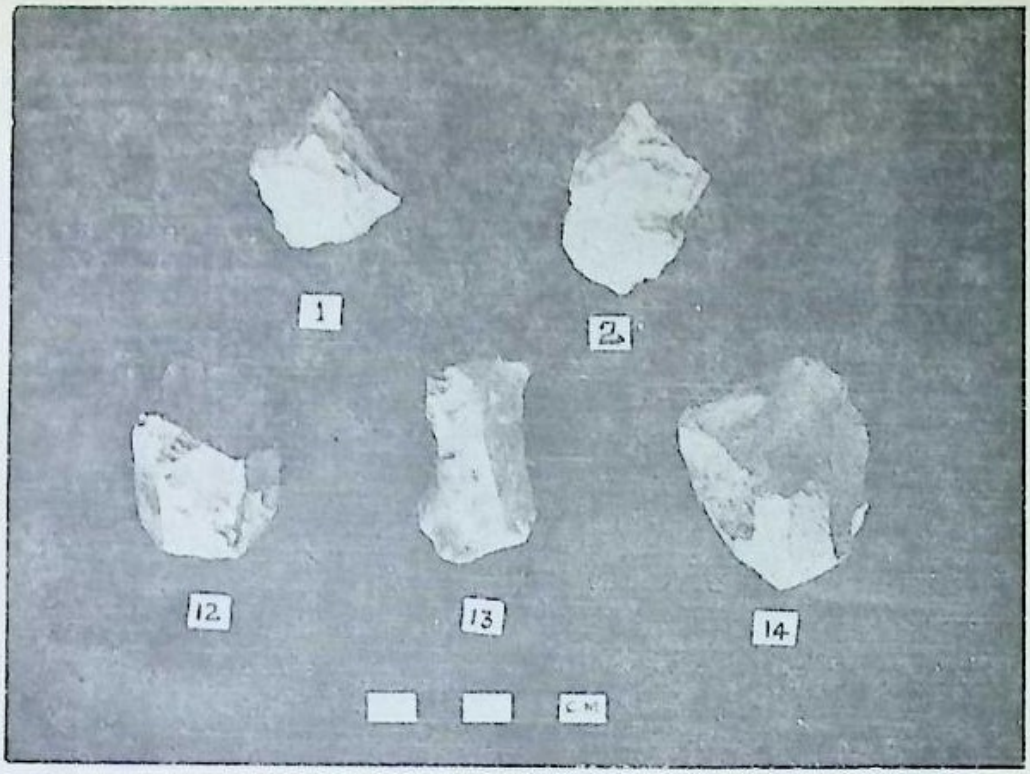

Fig. 1. Middle Stone Age. Points (1, 2) and cores (12-14)

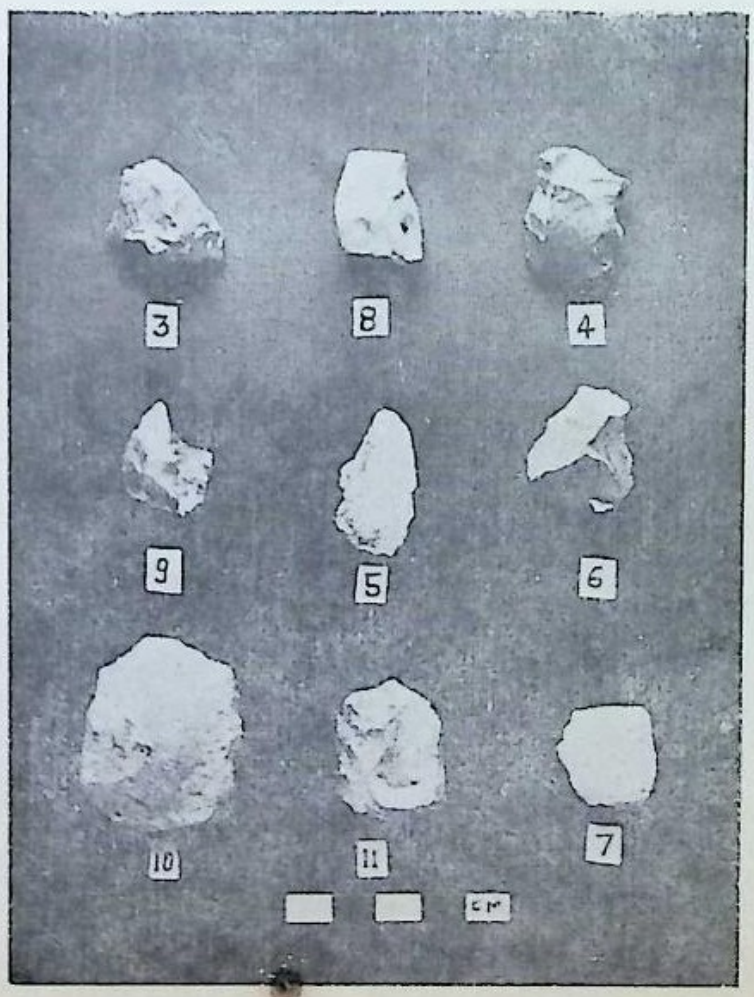

Fig. 2. Middle Stone Age: Scrapers-

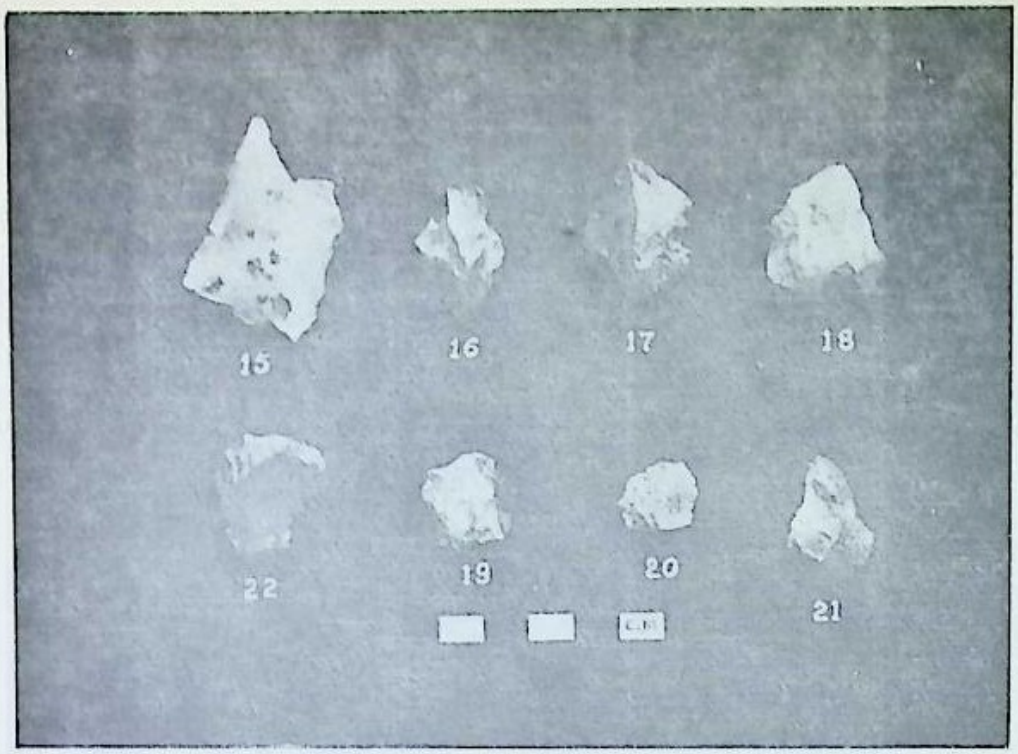

Fig. 3. Late Stone Age: Points (15-18) and Scrapers (19-22).

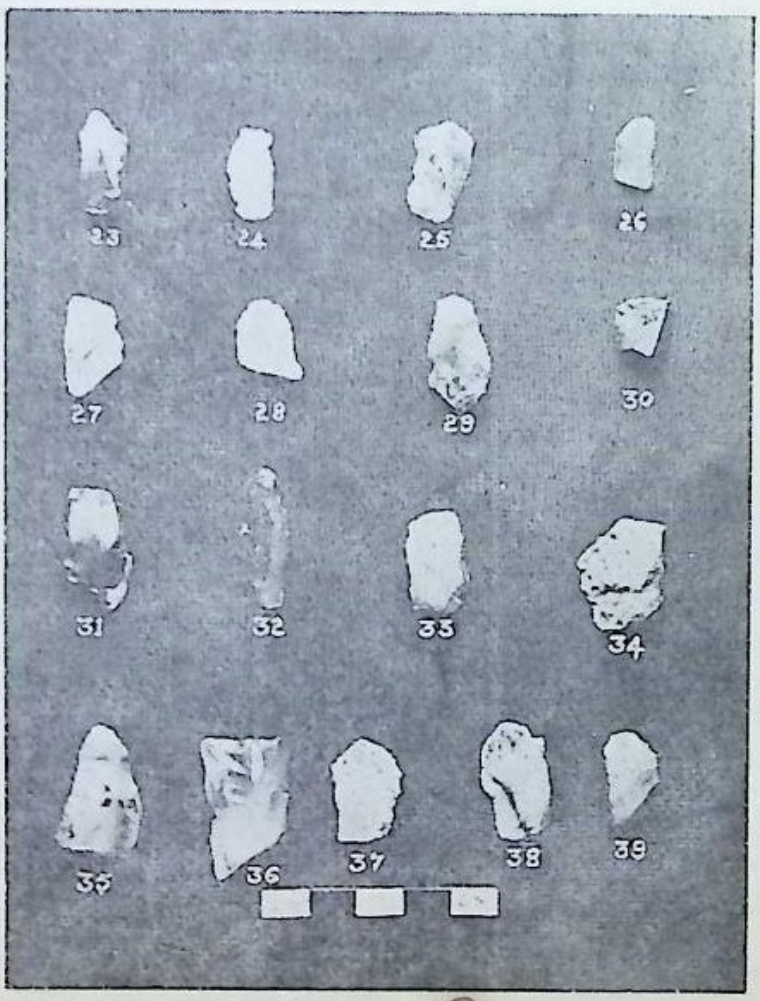

Fig. 4. Late Stone Age: Blades (23-34) and Fluted cores (35-39)

END-CUM-SIDE SCRAPER :

11. An irregular thick core with a number of thin flakes taken around ; a side and an end have been prepared by unifacial nibbling retouch to provide the working edge. In yellowish chalcedony (fig. II, 11).

CORES :

12. A thick irregular core with a number of shallow negative flake-scars around showing haphazard flaking from different directions; the flake-scars, though shallow, not showing any indication of prepared platform. In reddish jasper (Pl. I, 12.)

13. A thin core showing the removal of four flat parallel flakes (blade-flakes) lengthwise from an unprepared platform. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. I, 13).

14. A thick irregular core with flat flakes taken all around haphazardly; negative flake-scars indicate removal of broad flakes as well as longish blade-like flakes. In brown jasper (Pl. I, 14).

(ii) *Late Stone Age*

(Nos. 15, 18, 19, 21 and 22, from Ikkalki; Nos. 16, 20, 24, 30, 33, 35-37 and 39 from Ibrahimpur; Nos. 17, 23, 25-26, 28-29, 31-32, and 38 from Gangapur; and 34, from Shakapur.)

15. A flat natural piece showing a large area of natural cortex brought to form by removal of flat flakes; the point achieved by taking out small, thin and elongated blade-flakes from the point-end towards the core, by which a series of steps by hinge fracture appear on the dorsal face; nibbling-retouch seen near the tip. In opal (Pl. III, 15).

16. A roughly keel-shaped thick flake, on which thin blades taken out from the point-end; point actually achieved by meeting of four negative flake-scars, one on the ventral and three on the dorsal face, of the tool; the tip broken. In honey-coloured chalcedony (Pl. III, 16).

17. A thin flake with somewhat thick butt-end retaining the natural cortex; butt-end shows removal of a short thick flake with hinge-fracture on one side and a natural depression on the other, the whole forming an incipient tang to the tool; point achieved by the removal of three flakes, one large on the ventral side and two longish ones adjacently on the dorsal face; all these removed from the point-end inwards; negative flake-scar at the ventral forms the flat bottom and the two above give a mid-ridge; one of the sides retouched by removal of thin steep flakes to provide the intended shape. In brownish chalcedony (Pl. III. 17).

18. A thick roughly triangular flake with pointed-end and thick butt; a large flake-scar forms the flat bottom; point achieved by the removal of four thin parallel blades from the point-end giving fluted effect to the dorsal face; one of the sides having steep retouch to provide a slightly curved shape. In brown chalcedony (fig. III, 18).

SIDE SCRAPER :

19. Piece of a blade with flat bottom-end and double ridge above; one of the sides having steep retouch forming the working edge; the other side thick, though not showing regular back. In brown jasper (Pl. III, 19).

CONVEX SCRAPER :

20. Piece of a blade with flat bottom and single mid-ridge above; a convex side worked out with nibbling retouch to provide the working edge. In brown chert (Pl. III, 20).

21. A thin flake, the dorsal side being a flake scar having fine bulb of percussion and concentric rings and unprepared platform; dorsal face having a curved mid-ridge as a result of the meeting of the original cortex surface and a flake scar caused due to a flake removed from the same unprepared platform; a number of steep flakes taken out here, and the concave working edge obtained by nibbling retouch. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. III, 21).

CONVEX - CUM - HOLLOW SCRAPER :

22. A thin blade-flake with flat flake surfaces on both sides; on ventral face, thin flat flakes taken out to give a convex outline; dorsal face shown nibbling retouch both on the convex and the concave sides. In red chert (Pl. III, 22).

BLADES :

23. A small blade with curved underside and double ridge on the dorsal surface; no retouch. In white chalcedony (Pl. IV, 23).

24. A thin blade with roughly triangular cross-section, with convex underside; no retouch. In milky white opal (Pl. IV, 24).

25. A thin blade with triangular cross-section; no retouch. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. IV, 25).

26. A thin blade with triangular cross-section; dorsal surface showing one longitudinal flake and remnants of three parallel flakes crosswise, meeting the other at the ridge; no retouch. In brownish chalcedony (Pl. IV, 26).

27. A blade with flat base and two irregular ridges above; no retouch. In opal (Pl. IV, 27).

28. An end piece of a blade with flat base and three parallel flake scars above, giving fluted effect; no retouch, but the edges show use-marks. In opal (Pl. IV, 28).

29. An irregular blade, with roughly parallelogramic cross-section; no retouch, but one of the sides shows use-marks. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. IV, 29).

30. Piece of a blade with two flake-scars on the ventral side and three parallel ones above; no retouch. In brownish chert (Pl. IV, 30).

31. A rough blade with flat bottom and double parallel ridges on dorsal surface no retouch. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. IV, 31).

32. A thin blade with flat bottom, the dorsal surface has a mid-ridge due to the meeting of natural cortex-surface and a long flake scar; no retouch. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. IV, 32).

33. Blade with curved under side; dorsal surface shows four parallel flake scars; no retouch. In brownish chalcedony (Pl. IV, 33).

34. An irregular blades with flat bottom; the dorsal surface retains much natural cortex, except for a single flake scar; no retouch. In brownish chert (Pl. IV, 34).

FLUTED CORES :

35. A pointed core, with a portion of the natural surface remaining at the bottom. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. IV, 35).

36. A piece of a truncated core. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. IV, 36).

37. A pointed core with some portion of the cortex left as such. In opal (Pl. IV, 37).

38. A pointed core with parallel blades removed all around. In brownish chalcedony (Pl. IV, 38).

39. A pointed core with parallel and cross flaking. In smoky chalcedony (Pl. IV, 39).

JEAN NAUDOU

An example of Engineering in Mediaeval India

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has rightly insisted upon the importance of irrigation works carried out in South India, particularly near Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, in the reign of Rājendra I. They give proof of the economic interests of the Cōḷa sovereigns, who tried to improve the standard of living of their subjects following the *pūrtadharma*, and altogether show the high technical level of Mediaeval India [1].

Far away, in Kaśmīr, the irrigation works carried out during the reign of Avantivarman (855-883) are among the most impressive works of public interest in the whole of mediaeval India. It seems that M. A. Stein, the eminent translator of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, underestimated the greatness of the undertaking that underlies the economic consequences mentioned by Kalhaṇa [2]. The detailed account supplied by Kalhaṇa merits careful examination because of the information about Indian techniques it contains.

Heavy flooding had reduced the country to a state of famine. The king, not knowing how to cope with this alarming situation, entrusted the management of the works to a certain Suyya, who set himself not only to drain off the water, but also to avoid the recurrence of similar disasters. Suyya was a man of humble origin, but he had acquired, Kalhaṇa tells us, a good education. He knew, anyway, the rudiments of the techniques of irrigation and drainage, which formed part, in ancient times, of the traditions of the peasants of Kaśmīr. His genius consisted in applying to the scale of the Kaśmīr valley the methods that the most humble farmer applies to his fields.

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1. *A History of South India*, P. 316.
   The *Cōḷas*, vol. II, pp. 404-406 and pp. 288-289.
   On the technical aspect of those works, see the inscription of Tiruvāḍutuṟai, quoted by Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 404.

2. *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, translated, with an introduction, commentry, and appendices by M. A. Stein, 2 vol., Westminster, re-edition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1961.

Kalhaṇa tells, first of all, how Suyya got the villagers of Yakṣadara, about five kilometres downstream of Varāhamūla, to agree to clear the bed of the river the rocks that blocked it. He would have thrown coins into the water and to find these coins the peasants, deprived of everything, would have moved the rocks: it was only necessary to push the obstacles that hindered the river a little way downstream so that the current, having become more rapid, would sweep them away. Yakṣadara is, in fact situated at the point where the Vitastā ceases to be navigable and where the river course, hemmed in between the mountains, becomes once again torrent like: if the river was flooding the valley, it was because the outlet was blocked, and an examination of the map shows that the blockage was probably created precisely at Yakṣadara, since a mountain spur running from the north-west to the south-east cuts across the valley at this point.

Whether the stratagem described by Kalhaṇa is historical or legendary, this preliminary clearing away imposed itself as a priority. But this task, in the mind of Suyya, was only the beginning of far greater projects. This is how Kalhaṇa describes the subsequent work:

"After he had in this manner artfully drained off that water for two or three days, he had the Vitastā dammed up in one place by workmen.

"The whole river, which Nīla produced, was blocked up by Suyya for seven days by the construction of a stone dam, a wonderful work.

"After having the river bed cleared at the bottom [1], and stone walls constructed to protect (it) against rocks which might roll down, he removed the dam.

"Then the (stream), flowing to the ocean, set out on its course in haste, as eagerly longing for the sea after its detention.

"When the water left it the land was covered with mud and with wriggling fishes, and thus resembled the (night) sky, which, when free from clouds, displays black darkness and the stars".[2]

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1. This translation seems lightly mistaken: *adhas* means *downstream*: he cleared the river-bed below the dam.

2. *evaṃ dinaṇi dvitraṇi payo yuktyā vikṛṣya tat*
vitastām ekataḥ sthānāt karmakṛdbhir abandhayat
piṣaṇasetubandhena suyyenadbhutakarmaṇa
saptāham abhavad baddhā nikhila nīlajā sarit

To summarize, during this second phase, wanting to accomplish a complete cleaning of the riverbed, Suyya held back the river by means of a dam, had the riverbed cleared where it dried up downstream of the dam, and strengthened it by constructing stone faces. Then he was able to destroy the dam and give back to the Vitastā its freedom.

The operation next described by Kalhaṇa, could very well have been accomplished some years later. It is independent of the preceeding one. It concerns the making of new riverbeds, according to a plan, judged to be favourable since, during the time of the floods, the excess water followed these courses. The result of this operation was a displacing of the confluence of the Sindhu and the Vitastā.

Here is the translation proposed by M. A. Stein :

"Wherever he knew inundation—breaches (to occur) during disastrous floods, there he constructed new beds for the Vitastā.

"The river, with its numerous great channels branching off from the original channel, appeared like a black female serpent, which has numerous hoods resting on one body.

"The two great rivers, the Sindhu and Vitastā, which formerly met near the (temple of Viṣṇu) Vainyasvāmin, flowing to the left and right of Trigrāmī (respectively), have to this day in the vicinity of the city (S'rīnagara) their confluence which Suyya first planned, and which will last to the end of the world.

"On the two banks of the original (?) confluence there stood the (temples of) Viṣṇusvāmin and Vainyasvāmin, situated in Phalapura and Parihāsapura (respectively); whereas on the bank of the present (confluence), which has got to the vicinity of Sundarībhavana, (there stands the temple of) Hṛṣīkeśa Yogaśāyin ('Viṣṇu merged in mental abstraction'), the object of Suyya's worship.

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adhaḥ pravāhaṃ saṃśodhya luṭhadaśma pratikriyāṃ
kṛtvā baddhaiḥ śilābandhaiḥ setubandham apāṭayat
cirakālanirodhena sotkaṇṭhevāmbudhiṃ prati
tataḥ prāvartata javād gantuṃ sāgaragāminī
jambālaṅka sphuramāṇa bhūr babhau salilojjhitā
vyaktakārṣṇyā sanakṣatrā nirmegheva nabhaḥ sthā
(*R. T.* V, 90-94, translation M. A. Stein, p. 198).

"To this day even there are seen, growing on the banks of the former river beds, old trees which bear the marks of the boat ropes fastened (to them) by the *niṣādas*.

"He made the different streams, with their waves which are (like) the quivering tongues (of snakes), move about according to his will, just as a conjurer (does with) the snakes.

"After constructing stone embankments for seven *yojanas* along the Vitastā, he dammed in the waters of the Mahāpadma lake.

"Trained by him, the Vitastā starts rapidly on her way from the basin of the Mahāpadma lake, like an arrow from the bow"[1].

M. A. Stein's commentary is concerned essentially with the *ślokas* 97-100, where Kalhaṇa names several sites. He strove, conforming to his usual method, to locate these sites in a very long note presented in the appendix I. Although *śloka* 99 is completely corrupted and M. A. Stein has only been able to identify

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1. *yatra yatra vivedaughavedhaṃ salilaviplave*
tatra tatra vitastayāḥ pravāhām nūtanān vyadhat

mūlasroto gryaniṣṭhyūta bhūrisrotā babhau sarit
ekabhogāśrayānekaphaṇevāsita pannagī

vāmena sindhus trigrāmya vitastā dakṣiṇena tu
yāntyau ye samagaṃsātāṃ prāgvainyasvāmino 'ntike

vartate 'dya mahaupyoḥ kalpāpāye 'pyanatyayaḥ
saṃgamo nagaropānte sa suyyopakramas toyoḥ

adyāpyāstā phalapuraparihāsapurasthitau
viṣṇusvāmī saṃgamasya vainyasvāmī ca tirayoḥ

sundaribhavanābhyarṇa prāptasyādyatanasya tu
yogaśāyī hṛṣikeśaḥ suyyasyābhyārcitas taṭe

dṛśyante 'dyāpi saritām pūrvasrotas taṭodbhavāḥ
niṣādākṛṣṭanaurajjurekhāṅkā jīrṇapādapāḥ

sphurattaraṅgajihvāḥ sa nadīr mārgam ajigrahat
tās tāḥ svecchānusāreṇa māntrikaḥ pannagīriva

baddhvā śailamayān setūn vitastām saptayojanīṃ
mahāpadmasarovāri sa cakāra niyantritam

mahāpadmasaraḥkuṇḍād vitastā yena yojitā
javān niryāti kodaṇḍayantrād iṣur ivadhvanā
(*R.T.* V, 95-106, translation M.A. Stein pp. 198-199).

three temples or villages of the five named by Kalhaṇa, and even then without much certainity, it seems that one can admit his conclusions.

Here they are resumed concisely : the old confluence would have been found near Parihasapura at 2,700 km to the south-west of the actual confluence. The Vitastā would have skirted in the north the hill on which is built the town founded by Lalitāditya. M. A. Stein made no precise suggestion as to what might well have been the old course, downstream of this confluence.

Now it seems that the alteration imposed on the topography by Suyya was of a far more considerable importance, and Kalhaṇa no doubt tells us so. It is the translation of *śloka* 104 that it is important to look over. This translation given by the British scholar seems unsatisfactory for several reasons, and, considering a slightly different reading one can substitute the following one : "Now from the basin of Mahāpadma lake, to which it has been joined, the Vitastā rushes rapidly like an arrow from the cross-bow".

Here is *śloka* 104 showing the reading chosen by M. A. Stein :

mahāpadmasaraḥ kuṇḍād vitastā yena yojitā
javān niryāti kodaṇḍayantrād iṣur ivādhvanā

One wonders, first of all, whether the translation given by M. A. Stein of the expression *yena yojitā* "trained by him", is the correct one. The relative *yena* referring back to the demonstrative *sa* of *ślokas* 102-103, would more closely relate *śloka* 104 to the latter. " He imposed on every river its course, he held back Mahāpadma lake, he who, having controlled the Vitastā.....". This close liaison would imply almost a relation of cause and effect. It seems easier to make *mahāpadmasaraḥ kuṇḍād* the antecedent of *yena* : from the basin of lake Mahāpadma to which it is united....." But why mention this well known topographical detail at all ? One begins to wonder if the Vitastā passed through the lake before the works of Suyya. Now, *yojitā* is a causative and although the difference in meaning implied by the causative may often be neglected, one can be justified in translating it in this actual case : "from the basin of Mahāpadma lake, to which it had been united, the Vitastā.....".

The word that M. A. Stein translates incidentally by "on her way" is curiously placed in a strong position at the end of a *śloka*. Now the word as read by M. A. Stein is *adhvanā*. It differs only from the word *adhunā* ("now") by one letter and the groups of letters *dhva* et *dhu* are in *śāradā* script easily

confused. The placing of the word *adhunā* in a strong position could be explained perfectly well : it is the essential word, opposing the new state to the old one. The critical edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* presented by M. A. Stein mentions no variant, but the Calcutta edition of 1835, consulted on this disputable point, reads *adhunā*.

If one accepts the site proposed by M.A. Stein for the old confluence of the Sindhu and the Vitastā, one ascertains that the old course of the Vitastā used to run in the direction of the riverbed now called *kook ragoo*. This river, although its course is seen to be quite well marked as running roughly from south-east to north-west, rapidly reaches the low land situated to the south of Suyyapura, drained by several rivulets. All this region is very flat and the old map I could consult is fairly confusing ; but it seems very probable that the old course of the Vitastā could have passed through it, covering it in an almost continuous manner with its waters. On the contrary, the Vitastā, to unite with Mahāpadma lake from the ancient confluence, would have had to cut across the actual course of the canal known as Nor, which runs from the present confluence as far as a point near Suyyapura, and whose main purpose is for the boatsmen to avoid the often treacherous crossing of the lake. Without being absolutely impossible, it is nevertheless highly unlikely.

The importance of the works of Suyya is, thus, more clearly explained ; he would have, as Kalhaṇa explains in *śloka* 95, arranged a diversion where he noticed, during the flood period, a secondary channel (*yatra vivedaughavedham*), to oblige the Vitastā to cross Mahāpadma lake. This lake served as a natural basin of regularization and, after the consolidation works on the south bank described in *śloka* 103, the excess water could accumulate there. The whole of the region to the south of the lake, conveniently drained, was thus ready for cultivation.

If was also necessary to populate the land thus delivered of water. Suyya created villages surrounded by a slightly raised embankment, to which was given the name *kuṇḍala* translated by M. A. Stein as "bowl". The Sanskrit word means also "ring", the image implying the embankment may metonymically represent the whole village. The geographical distribution of villages of which the names end in *kuṇḍal* has little significance. Beside the villages mentioned by Stein, near the place where the Vitastā flows into Mahāpadma lake, there is for example a Pathakuṇḍal about one kilometre from the river on the right bank, upstream from the confluence with the Sindhu.

Suyya then established a system of irrigation of which we have very few details, but that he arranged in such a way that everyone was supplied with a fair share of water. Kalhaṇa describes to this purpose a curious test : Suyya took a sample of mud from each village and measured the duration of drying of these various samples in order to irrigate for a longer time the earth which retained water the least. This experiment by its empiricism should be placed in the file of the experimental and practical sense of the Indian mind : this fits perfectly to close an important chapter on history of techniques in India.

B. M. PANDE

A Note on the Harappan Ring-Kernoi

Objects of exotic origin or inspiration have been found from the various Harappan sites. These attest not merely to the foreign connexions of the Harappans, but also indicate transmission of ideas.

Among these, a particular class of objects, the kernos, is significant, an example of which was found from the latest excavations at Mohenjo-daro by Dales.[1] According to Dales this 'fragment of a pottery kernos - circular tube with small vases set at intervals - associated with the mud brick embankment, 'had' not hitherto been reported from Harappan sites.'[2]

Dales is partially correct for, though a similar object was found by Vats at Harappa, it was only illustrated but not described in his report.[3] While collecting data about the kernos found by Vats from Harappa, the author was able to locate two more examples, one from Marshall's excavations at Mohenjo-daro[4] and the other from Wheeler's excavations at Harappa.[5] Unfortunately neither Marshall nor Wheeler mentioned in their reports about the kernoi found by them in the excavations.[6] Thus the total number of kernoi found so far is four.

The details of the latter three specimens are as follows :

1. Fragment of a pottery ring-kernos from Harappa. The ring or tube has outer and inner diameters of 15 and 11 cm. respectively. Only

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1. Dales, George F. 1965. 'New Investigation at Mohenjo-daro, '*Archaeology*, 18(2) 145-50.
2. *Ibid.*, 149.
3. Vats, Madho Sarup. 1940. *Excavations at Harappa* (Calcutta), II, pl. LXXXI, 76.
4. Marshall, J. H. 1931. *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization (Calcutta)*.
5. Wheeler, R.E.M. 1947. 'Harappa 1946: the defences and Cemetery R 37. '*Ancient India*, 3, 58-130.
6. All the three specimens, one from Mohenjo-daro and two from Harappa, are in the,

one cup is intact having a diameter of 32 mm. and is attached to a flat-based tube by applique technique. The total height of the object is 4.4 cm. Red ware, medium to fine fabric. Harappa, No. 2348, Find-spot 17/15, GG Area F, Depth 5'4".[1] (fig. 1).

2. Fragment of a pottery ring-kernos from Mohenjo-daro. The tube has outer and inner diameters of 9.6 and 6 cm. respectively. Only two cups, which are identical in shape, are surviving out of the seven (?) and are attached to the tube by applique method. The tube, which has a flat base, is not circular in section but slightly elongated. The total height of the object is 5.6 cm. out of which the cup is 2.8 cm. Red ware, cream-slipped, medium to fine fabric 9 (fig. II). Mohenjo-daro 49.251/2961, Hr. 267.

3. Fragment of a pottery ring-kernos from Harappa. None of the cups or vases attached to the tube - which has outer and inner diameters of 16 and 11 cm. respectively - is surviving and the tube is intact only one-half. The remaining tube has three holes for the cups and from the diameter or the tube it is likely that the object had eight cups in all when complete. An interesting feature of the specimen is that the perforation on the upper portion of the tube continues down to the lower portion of the tube, the latter being smaller. Red ware, self-slipped, well-fired and of medium to fine fabric (Fig. 3). HP XXIX-30, LXVIII-LXXIII. depth 5'2", 2A.[2]

The above three examples and the latest one from Dales' excavations at Mohenjo-daro, can be clearly placed in the class of objects known as kernos, found in large numbers in the contemporary and later cultures of Greece, Crete, Cyprus, Palestine, Egypt, Iraq etc. The Harappan examples, however, are of the simple variety and have only vases affixed on a tube in contrast to the elaborate types of kernoi with a variety of adjuncts such as vases, handles, heads of bull, goat or gazelle and figures of doves, pomegranates etc. affixed on the tube. The typolo-

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(*contd.*)— Central Antiquities Collection of the Archaeological Survey of India at Safdarjung, New Delhi. The author is greatful to his colleague Shri Sital Banerjee for his help in locating the object in the collection and also for providing with the details from the Site Note Books and Field Registers.

1. The details about the locus etc. are from the Site Note Books and Field Registers.
2. Wheeler has totally omitted the reference to HP XXIX-30 in his report.

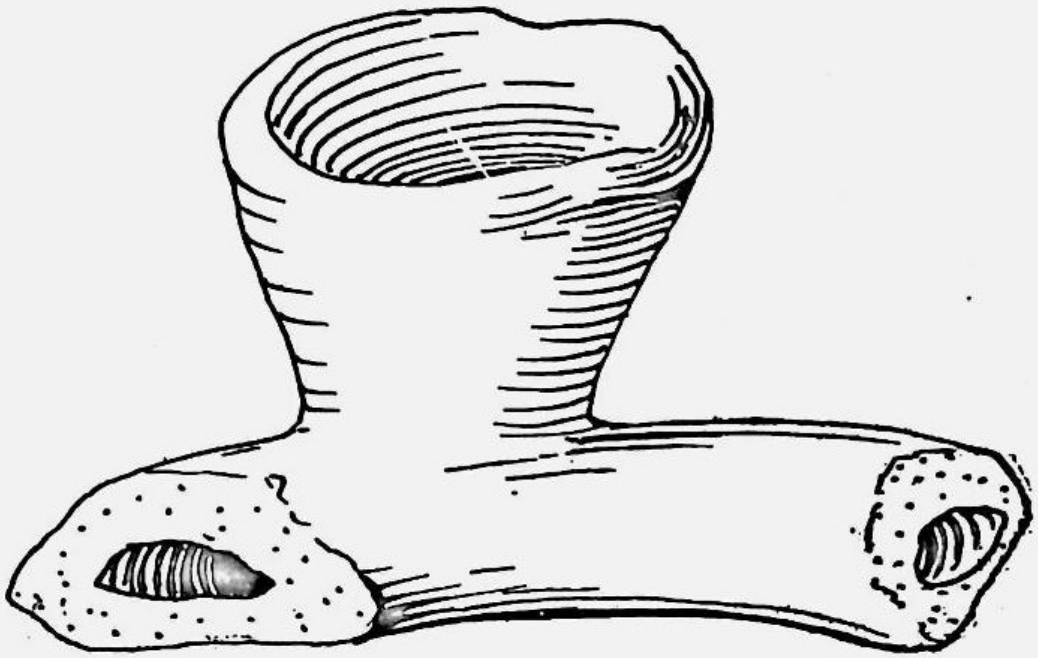

Fig. 1. Fragment of a pottery ring - Kernos—Harappa.

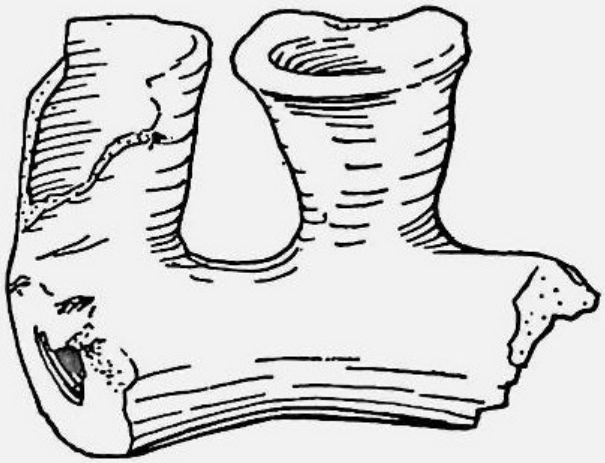

Fig. 2. Fragment of a pottery ring - Kernos—Mohenjo-daro

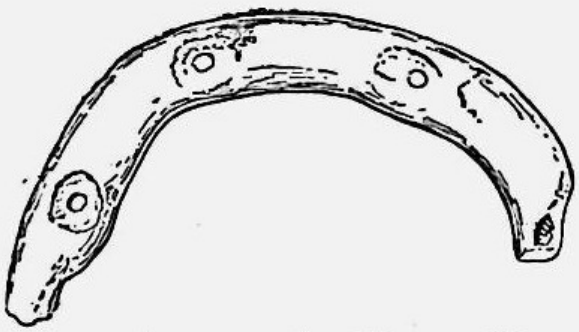

Fig. 3. Fragment of a pottery ring - Kernos—Harappa.

typological variation of the kernoi, wherever found, have been described in various reports and their probable function have been discussed by various scholars.[1] It may, however, be stated that while the kernoi had ritualistic function connected with harvest festivals or fertility cult in ancient Greece and Crete or as cult-objects in the Megiddo-cult, in Cyprus, more often than not, these are found as part of the grave-furniture.

Due to the limited number of kernoi found so far from the Harappan sites, it would be difficult to say about their function and use. It may, however, be stated that while the specimen found by Vats from Harappa (No. 1, above) was found from the Great Granary Area,[2] the one from Wheeler's excavations at the same site was found near Cemetery R 37, Burial 5.[3]

In the light of the above, it would be worth-while to speculate whether it was an exotic material brought by some casual foreign visitors. Their very limited number may argue against the second alternative, that of its being a cult object of the Harappans, especially when the two other major Harappan sites, Kalibangan and Lothal, have not yielded a single such specimen.[4]

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1. Nearly half a century ago the subject was discussed in a paper by S. Xanthoudides 1905-1906, 'Cretan Kernoi,' *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, XIII, 9-23. While it is difficult to list the references to individual or stray finds of the kernoi, attention is drawn to the following: Nilson, Martin P. 1927, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (Lund), 113-18, 387-90; Harrison, June. 1961, *Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion* (reprinted, London), 158-60, 548; Bosanquet, R.C. 1896-97, 'Notes from the Cyclades,' *Ann, Brit. Sch. Athens*, III, 54, 57-58; May, Herbert Gorden 1935, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult*, The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago), XXVI, 17-18, pl. XVI; Gierstad, Einar. 1926 *Studies on Pre-historic Cyprus* (Uppsala), 115, 120; Tobler, Alan J. 1950, *Excavation at Tepe Gawra* (Philadelphia), II. 159, pl. LXXX b; Delougaz, Pinhas, 1952, *Pottery from the Diyala Region* (Chicago) 103, pl. 106, l. Delougaz refers to the Harappa example (Vats, op. cit.) as a comparable type.

2. Mention may be made here of 'a polychrome pottery vase, 2¾ in. in height (No. 7788), shaped like a pomegranate. Its ground is painted white, but the scheme of decoration in red and green is worn past recognition.' This object too was found at Harappa, Mound F, Great Granary Area, Stratum III; see Vats, *op. cit.*, I, 28, II, pl. LXXI, 21. The kernos was also found in Mound F, Great Granary Area.

3. From the Site Note Books and information from Shri Sital Banerjee.

4. A detailed paper by the author on the Harappan and later examples of the Kernoi, is under print in the *East and West*, Rome.

PENTTI AALTO

Marginal Notes on the Meluhha Problem

Babylonian sources mention various goods imported from Meluhha either directly or via Tilmun. The latter place has been identified with the present island of Bahrein. The records of the Sargonid period (2370–2284 B.C.) refer explicitly to Meluhha as the point of departure for ships arriving at Agade. G. Bibby, A. L. Oppenheim and W. F. Leemans regard Meluhha as the country of the Indus Valley civilization (see Leemans p. 159 ff. and Leemans pp. 215-226 with further literature as well as Wheeler p. 64 f.). Since the results of recent archaeological excavations show that this civilization extended at least from Sutkāgen-dor, about 300 miles west of Karachi, to the estuaries of the Narbadā and the Kim on the Gulf of Cambay, more than 425 miles east of Karachi (Wheeler pp. 62 ff. and 84 ff. as well as Rao and Dales), it is rather difficult to say what part of this area should be identified as Meluhha. The main seaport of the Indus civilization was—at least as far as we know today—Lothal (cf. Rao and Leemans). Leemans has pointed out that radio carbon determinations have shown that the Lothal dockyard had fallen into disuse by circa 1800 B.C. This date agrees with the end of the South Mesopotamian Meluhha trade (o. c. p. 6).

There have been attempts by scholars to connect this name with *mleccha*, the known Sanskrit word for "non-Aryans". On the other hand, we find in Pāli a word *milakkha ~ milakkhu*, "non-Aryan". Besides this same word the Ardha-Māgadhī sources of the Jainas also use *meccha* in this sense, which seems to go back to *mleccha*, while this word and *milakkha ~ milakkhu* cannot be etymologically connected, as Geiger (§ 34) and Scheftelowitz (ZII 6, 1928, p. 100 f.) noted.[1]

Mayrhofer (II. p. 699 s.v. *mlecchaḥ*) states that the parallelism of these two synonymous words must obviously be explained by a foreign origin of *milakkha*, which was probably the name of a non-Aryan tribe.

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1. The lists of the barbarian people occurring in the Jaina texts and quoted by Weber in his *Indische Studien* XVI p. 332 are late, since e.g., the Romans and the Huns are mentioned among the *milakkhas*.

Dales[3] has shown that the end of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappan civilization was due to natural disasters and not to any massive invasion. According to him, the archaelogical evidence proves that the major population shift was to the southeast. Wheeler states (*Enc. Brit.* 12, 1967, p. 190) that this civilization was succeeded in the Indus valley by "poverty stricken cultures, deriving a little from a sub-Indus heritage, but also drawing elements from the direction of Iran and the Caucasus—from the general direction, in fact, of the Aryan invasion." In the south, however, in Kathiāvāḍ (the site of Lothal and others) and beyond, a sub-Indus culture continued in the chalcolithic cultures that characterized Central and Western India between 1500 and 500 B.C. (Wheeler p. 87) and which were thus a material bridge between the end of the Indus civilization proper and the Iron age civilizations that reached Central India about 500 B.C. (Wheeler, *Enc. Brit.* l.c.).

On the basis of his own excavations at Navdatoli on the central reaches of the Narbadā and of radio carbon datings of various other sites too, Sankalia is inclined to date the intrusion of the western influences (viz. the Aryan invasion) to about 1700–1500 B.C. (p. 330, cf. further Wheeler p. 90 ff.). In the opinion of Heine-Geldern (p. 189), the Dravidians came to the south as late as around 700-500 B.C. bringing with them the use of iron and the megalithic burial customs which they had possibly adopted in Baluchistan. Heine-Geldern suggests further (p. 195) that the number of the invading Aryans might have amounted to 100,000 —an estimation that is too high rather than too low. We do not feel it proper to suppose that the aboriginal population of the Indus cities and of the surrounding country was totally exterminated nor even all made slaves (*śūdras*): it must to a large extent have been incorporated into the new society and even into its upper ranks (cf. Heine-Geldern p. 200): e.g. Manu (X 20 ff. and 43 f.) reckons the Dravidas among the original *kṣatriyas.*[1]

Burrow has shown (p. 373 ff.) that Dravidian has had a remarkable influence on Sanskrit between the late Vedic period and the formation of the classical language, and that there are words of Dravidian origin even in the

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1. This seems to be proved e.g. by the traditions regarding the development of the different Indian dynasties described by Pusalker in the Appendix I of his *Traditinal History from the Earliest Time to the Accession of Parīkṣit.* R. Sh. Sharma has further shown (in his *Śūdras in Ancient India,* Delhi 1958) that the Vedic sources make a clear distinction e.g. between the Dāsas and the Dasyus. "It seems fairly clear that in the early Vedic period there was no considerable *Śūdra* or slave population, and that the *Śūdras* did not suffer from those disabilities which gradually fell on them from the late Vedic period onwards" (p. 41).

Ṛgveda. Since such an intensive influence cannot have been exerted by the present southern Dravidian languages, it seems to imply that there were Dravidians in North-West India and in the central Gangetic plain. It is possible that some of these northern Dravidians withdrew to the south, but the majority must have stayed and merged with the Aryans. Not only certain features in Sanskrit (e.g. the use of the absolutives), but especially the development of the language of the Vedic Aryans into Middle Indo-Aryan and further to New-Aryan seems to be explained only by the presence of a strong Dravidian substratum[1].

As a point of departure of the Indian trade with Mesopotamia, of course only a city on the coast or on the lower course of the Indus is possible. Without entering into any detailed discussion as to the geographical surroundings of Pāli, we note that e.g. according to Lamotte (p. 625) the Girṇār edict of Aśoka is the most nearly related to Pāli. The cradle of this language—as far as it really was based on a living dialect—is, therefore, to be looked for in the west in the Avanti-Kathiāvāḍ region. If we thus suppose that *milakkha* was originally the name of a non-Aryan tribe living in the neighbourhood of the population speaking the basic dialect of Pāli, it may very well refer to a coastal tribe of the Indus culture people. Since there seems to be—as shown above—evidence that the language of the Indus civilization may have been related to Dravidian,[2] it might be permissible to look for an eventual Dravidian etymon of the above name Meluhha as well as Pāli *milakkha-milakkhu*.

A tempting possibility seems to be *DED* 4173 Tamil *mē* or *mēl* "excellence", e.g. *mēlukku* "on the other side, extremity", *mēlai* "upper", represented also in other Dravidian languages, e.g. Toda *melu* "upper part of anything" etc., *me·lpa·w* "upstream", Kannada *mēlu ∽ m-ēla ∽ mēle* "the top, upper part" etc. As to the latter part of *Meluhha* or *milakkha* Dravidian *akam* was proposed in *Further Progress* (p. 38). There might, however, be other possibilities too. It seems to be of further interest that it is precisely in the Indus Valley that we later meet place-names with a meaning possibly corresponding to this Dravidian word family. Thus Barnett translates the name of a *janapada* on the

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1. Cf. also Emeneau p. 258, as well as Jules Bloch, *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times*, Paris 1965, p. 325 etc., and *La formation de la langue marathe*, Paris 1920, p. 33 etc.

2. Shafer regard (p. 64) the Sindhu-Pulindakas mentioned in Mahābhārata as Dravidian living on the Indus and explains (p. 140) the Pulindakas as Gondis.

Indus *Agrodaka* or *Agroda* "place of foremost waters" ("whatever that may signify"), and identifies it with modern "Agroha", which name again may derive from a Prākrit *Aggarohaya* "foremost bank or stream". On coins the *janapada* in question is called *Agāca*, which Barnett derives from Sanskrit *agrā-tya*. Prazyluski identifies (p. 10) with the above *Agrodaka* the names *Aggala-pura* and *Aṅguttarāpa* occurring in Buddhist sources. A word *aggaḷa* "greatness, eminence" exists in Kannada and Telugu (*DED* 28), and Barnett quotes from modern Indo-Aryan languages instances like Hindi *āgal* "before, in front," Panjabi, Hindi *aglā* "first, foremost, chief, best," Sindhi *agāro* "first," Marathi *aglā* "superior; excellent," Gujarati, *āgaḷ* "before."[1] Barnett suggests (p. 280 that *aggaḷa* had originally been used as the title of a tribe or people and compares it with such names as Kosala, Kerala etc. *Aggaḷa* would thus be synonymous with *Agāca-janapada* and the other names mentioned above. It seems possible that in these Indo-Aryan words a proto-Indian word has been contaminated with Sanskrit *agram* "top, etc." Perhaps these place names all try to render a proto-Dravidian **mēl-akam* or something like that. If that were so, it was not the invading Aryans who exterminated the proto-Dravidian population in question but Alexander the Great. Barnett remarks (p. 282) that the name of the *Agalassians* mentioned by Diodorus Siculus as annihilated by Alexander can be explained as a Vedic Nom. Plur. **Aggaḷāsas*. Diodorus writes (XVII 96): "finding that the people called Agalassions had mustered an army of 40,000 foot and 3000 horse, he gave them battle and proving victorious put the greater number of them to the sword. The rest who had fled for safety to the adjacent towns, which were soon captured, he condemned to slavery. The remainder of the inhabitants had been collected into one place, and he seized 20,000 of them, who had taken refuge in a large city, which he stormed. The Indians, however, having barricaded the narrow streets, fought with great vigour from the houses, so that Alexander in pressing the attack lost not a few Macedonians. This enraged him, and he set fire to the city, burning with it most of its defenders. He gave quarter, however, to 3000 of the survivors, who had fled for refuge to the citadel and sued for mercy" (Majumdar p. 175).

A positive solution of the problem would indeed be possible if the words of unknown origin, used in Babylonian sources when telling of the imports from Meluhha could be explained with the help of the Dravidian. We have thus e.g. in Accadian *pīlu* or *pīru* "elephant" (Aramean *pīlā*, Hebrew *pīl*, Arabic *fīl* etc,

1. Already Hemacandra has IV 341 *aggalaü* "superior".

cf. Zimmern p. 60, Mayrhofer II p. 296) which might be compared with Dravidian *DED* 3288 Kannada *palla* "elephant" probably "having large teeth" from common Dravidian *pal* "tooth"; on the other hand, even a connection of *pilu* with Tamil Malayalam *vēṟam* "elephant" *DED* 4560 is perhaps not excluded). Latin *pavo* corresponds to Accadian *pa'u* "peacock", but so do Greek *taos*, Mongol etc., *taγus*, all reflecting perhaps an ancestor common with Dravidian *tokai* "tail of peacock" *DED* 2916 (cf. Zimmern p. 52, Hornell p. 208). Greek *kēpos* "ape" seems to go back to Sanskrit *kapi*, which again might be connected with such Dravidian words as Parji *kovva*, Gondi *kowwe*, Gadba *kove* "red-faced monkey" *DED* 1781, which seem to have an original in common with Accadian *uqupu*, Hebrew *qōph* etc. (cf. Oppenheim p. 12 Fn. 21). The evidence supplied by the Dravidian words looks in any case possible, though not conclusive.

PIERRE-SYLVAIN FILLIOZAT

Two Images of Narasimha in Tirukkostiyur

The temple of Saumyānārayaṇa in Tirukkōṣṭiyūr has a multi-storeyed *vimāna*. Four *garbhagṛhas* are superimposed. They are the dwelling places of Gopālakṛṣṇa on the ground floor, of reclining Viṣṇu (*urakamellaṇaiyāṉ*) on the first floor, of standing Viṣṇu (*niṉṟāṉ*) on the second floor, of sitting Viṣṇu (*iruntāṉ*) on the third floor. This is the structure seen in our days.

Another remarkable feature of this temple is the presence of two huge, beautifully carved sculptures representing two aspects of the fight between Narasiṃha and Hiraṇyakaśipu. In one image Narasiṃha is seen standing, facing Hiraṇyakaśipu, and ready to take hold of him (*Hiraṇyayuddha*). In the other image Narasiṃha is seen sitting, holding the body of the demon on his legs, and tearing it (*Hiraṇyavadha*).

These two stone sculptures are nowadays placed on the outer face of the northern *gopuram*, on each side at the entrance. The stones in which the images have been carved are not part of the structure of the *gopuram*. They have obviously been transported there and simply deposited in front of the outer wall of the *gopuram*.

Gopurams are usually decorated with statues or bas-reliefs which are parts of the construction. It is not usual that separate stones are deposited in front. These two statues of Narasiṃha belong to type of the sculptured stones which are installed in sanctuaries, not in *gopurams* or *maṇḍapams*. We may, therefore, suspect that they are not in their original place, in the place for which they had been initially intended.

To examine this problem a search has to be done in the history of the temple. Inscriptions[1], though numerous, give us very little information about this question. For the deities residing in this temple they mention the names,

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1. *M.E.R.*, Stone-inscriptions copied in 1923, no 283-309.

Aḻakiya Maṇavalāḷvār (291), Cokkanārāyaṇa Perumāḷ (292, 308), Aḻakiya Nāyakkar (292), Cokka Nārāyaṇa (301, 305, 322). This Tamil name corresponds clearly to the Sanskrit Saumya Nārāyaṇa which is in particular the name of the *utsavamūrti* placed in front of the image of the recumbent Viṣṇu on the first floor. The temple itself is generally designated nowadays, as Saumyanārāyaṇa temple. It seems that this figure of Saumyanārāyaṇa had a particular appeal to the devotees. And we may mention here a short eulogy of this temple, composed by Paṛāśarabhaṭṭa,[1] and where Saumyanārāyaṇa is the central and main figure.

Another name of a deity, namely Terkkāḷvār, is mentioned in one inscription of Jaṭāvarman alias Tribhuvana Cakravartin vīra Pāṇḍyadēva.[2] This name is also found in some accounts of the life of Rāmānuja. It is well-known that the great Vaisnavite *ācārya* had among his *gurus* Tirukkōṣṭiyūr Nampi (or Goṣṭhīpūrṇa). And the village of Tirukkōṣṭiyūr has become famous as the place where Rāmānuja revealed to a crowd assembled there the meaning of the syllable *Om*, which had just been taught to him. The Muvāyirappaṭi of Tṛtīya Brahmatantrasvatantra Svāmī and the Āṟāyirappaṭi of Piṇpaḻakiya-perumāḷcīyar of *Guruparamparaprapāvam* when they relate this incident, state precisely that it took place when Brahmins were assembled in the *maṇḍapam* of Terkkāḷvāṉ.[3]

The identity of this Terkkāḷvāṉ can be determined from the *sthalapurāṇam* of Tirukkōṣṭiyūr.[4] Two versions are available, longer and shorter, said to be extracts from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* and *Brahmakaivartapurāṇa* respectively. They give an account of Goṣṭhīpura, the origin of the Saumyanārāyaṇa temple and of one *agrahāra*. Their main theme is to connect the famous myth of Narasiṃha with the particular *kṣetra* of Tirukkōṣṭiyūr.

Hiraṇyakaśipu had extended his tyranny over the whole world, except the territory of the *āśrama* of the sage Kadamba. Desirous of seeing the end of this tyranny, the gods approached Viṣṇu lying on the serpent on the ocean. Viṣṇu

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1. *Goṣṭhitava* published in *Tirukkōṭṭiyūr kṣettira mahattuvam*, Maturai, 1954, p. 23 sqq.; in *Tirukkōṭṭyūr Kōvil mahasaṃprokṣaṇamalar*, Sivakaṅkai Tevastana, p. 7 sqq.

2. No 288.

3. *Mūvayirappaṭi*, p. 67, (1913 ed) and Ārāyirappaṭi, p. 125 (1927 ed).

4. *Goṣṭhipuramahatmyam* pp. 23, place and date of publication not given; in *Tirukkoṭṭiyūr kṣettira mahattuvam*, Maturai 1954, with Tamil translation, p. 29.

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Fig. 1. Hiraṇya, Narasiṃha Yuddha—Tirukkoshṭiyūr.

Fig. 2. Hiraṇya Vadha—Tirukkoshṭiyūr.

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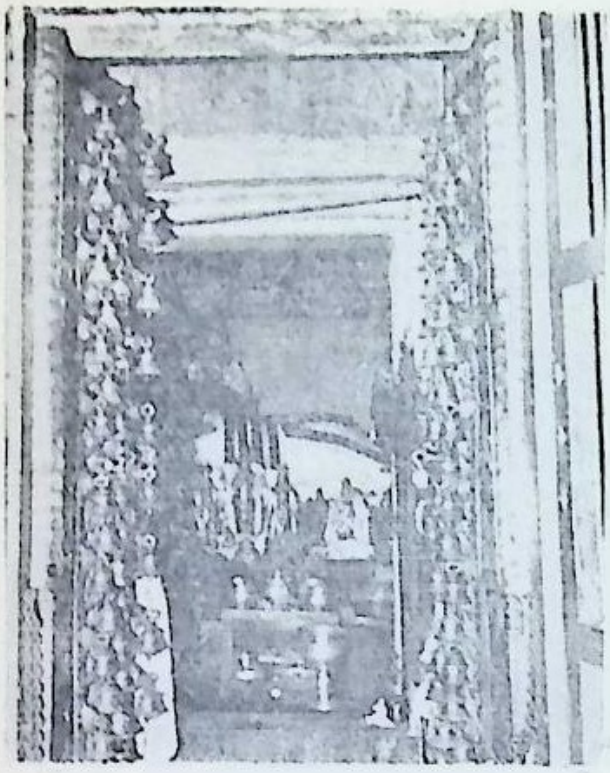

Fig. 3. Vishnu on the Serpent—Tirukkoshṭiyūr.

Fig 5. Seated Vishnu—Tirukkoshṭiyūr.

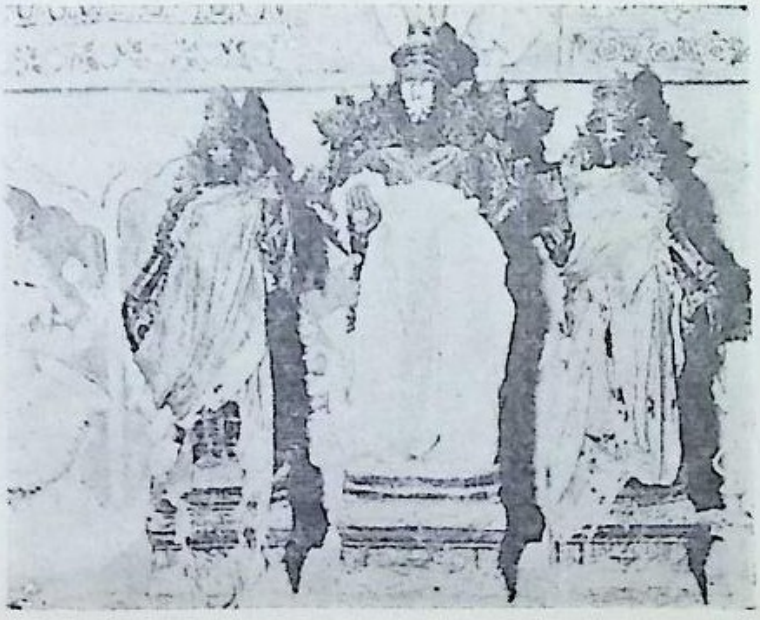

Fig. 4. Standing Vishnu—Tirukkoshṭiyūr.
(copyright—French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry)

decided to hold an assembly in order to deliberate on what was to be done. He chose the *aśrama* of the sage Kadamba as the seat for the assembly, because it was the only place safe and pure on the earth. We have, thus, an explanation given for the name Tirukkōṣṭiyūr (Goṣṭhīpura).

Then the usual account of the *avatāra* of Narasiṃha is given. When the demon is killed and order restored in the world, Brahmā, desirous of giving a reward to the *ṛṣi* Kadamba, gives him a boon. The sage asks for the construction of a *vimāna* with a definite structure :

namas te bhagavan brahman varaṃ me dātum icchasi
kṣīrābdhināthaṃ śayinaṃ devānām ugratejasam
madhye mantrāya tiṣṭhantaṃ bhagavantaṃ prabhuṃ harim
grahaṇe hanane caiva hiraṇyasya durātmanaḥ
narasiṃhavapur brahman pratyakṣīkaraya sphuṭam

It is clear that the intention is to commemorate the event which is said to have occurred in the *kṣetra* : the assembly presided over by Viṣṇu standing. The two connected actions of the god are also commemorated in the same time : the taking resort to Viṣṇu on the serpent, and the taking hold and killing of the demon.

Brahmā gives to Māya and Viśvakarma the order to build the *vimāna* :

.....kurutaṃ yuvām
vimānam uttamaṃ divyaṃ tritalaṃ bhūmibhūṣaṇam
ramyam atyunnataṃ cāpi sāvadhānau vicakṣaṇau

Then follows the description and praise of the *vimāna* constructed by the two mythic architects :

mūlamantra ivābhati padatrayasamanvitaḥ
praṇavaścaiva sūtaram akṣaratritayātmajaḥ
tritalopetam etat tu vimānaṃ bhāty anuttamam
etasya dakṣiṇe pārśve hiraṇyagrahaṇonmukham
rūpaṃ viṣṇor nṛsiṃhasya sthāpayitvā tathāparam
punaḥ kṣīrābdhināthasya rūpaṃ pannagaśāyinaḥ
sthāpayitvā tale madhye tritale ca punaḥ punaḥ
āgatya ca mahāviṣṇor rahasyārtham divaukasaṃ

rūpaṃ ca sarvadevānāṃ rūpaiseakam anuttamam
sthāpayitvā tu tau teṣāṃ yathārthaṃ nama cakratuḥ
madhye sthitatvād devanāṃ sthitaṃ narāyaṇāhvayam
bhujaṅgamṛdusāyitvād bhujaṅgamṛdutalpagaḥ
dakṣiṇāṃ diśam uddiśya sthitatvād dakṣiṇeśvaraḥ
uttarāṃ diśam uddiśya sthitatvād uttareśvaraḥ

Then Indra inaugurates the *rathotsava* and for this purpose gives an image of Viṣṇu standing between his consorts, an image worshipped by himself and called Saumyanārāyaṇa.

The last event described in the *māhatmya* is the foundation of an *agrahāra* by the mythical king Purūravas.

Another text, the afore-mentioned Goṣṭhīstava of Parāśarabhaṭṭa, describing the beauty and freshness of Tirukkōṣṭiyur, eulogises mainly Saumyanārāyaṇa. It mentions also Viṣṇu lying on the serpent, *"pannagarājakomalavapuśśayyām alaṃkurvataś śaureḥ....."*, and Narahari taking hold of Hiraṇyakaśipu in the southern direction, *"daityam gṛhṇam diśī naraharir dṛśyate dakṣiṇasyām"*, tearing the chest of the demon with his sharp nails in the northern direction, *"śatair vakṣaḥ karajaśikharais tasya bhindann udīcyām."*

We have in these texts a clear reference to the two images of Narasiṃha seen nowadays outside of the northern *gopuram* of the temple. The names, Dakṣiṇeśvara and Uttareśvara, correspond to their location according to the *māhātmya*. Originally the image of Narasiṃha fighting with the demon was facing south, the other one was facing north. The *sthalapurāṇa* describes the different sanctuaries of the *vimāna*. We can reasonably think that in the time of its redaction these two statues were placed in two sanctuaries of the ground-floor of the *vimāna* itself, one in the south, the other in the north. The *maṇḍapam* of Tērkkālvār mentioned by the Mūvāyirappaṭi, etc. as the place where Rāmānuja revealed the teachings of his *guru* Goṣṭhipūrṇa was certainly a *maṇḍapa* adjoining the *vimāna* on the southern side, in front of the sanctuary of this Narasiṃha image. At a date posterior to the *sthalapurāṇam* and to the time of Rāmānuja, the Narasiṃha images were removed. Another small sanctuary was installed on the eastern side for an image of Gopālakṛṣṇa.

It is important to notice also the fact that the *Sthalapurāṇam* mention only three levels for the *vimāna* : two Narasiṃha sanctuaries on the first level, a

sanctuary for reclining Viṣṇu on the middle level, a sanctuary of standing Viṣṇu on the last level. It does not mention the sitting Viṣṇu which is seen nowadays in the sanctuary of the fourth level.

Thus, we can think that after the time of redaction of the *māhatmyam*, there occurred an important change in the structure of the *vimāna*. One storey with one sanctuary was added. About the date of such a change, we have no clue at all to determine it. The actual *vimāna*, which seems to bear no inscriptions on its own walls, shows a complete uniformity of style in the decoration of its outer walls. So the change has not been the adjunction of an additional storey to an old construction, but seems to have been a remodelling of the whole.

K. S. Ramachandran

Megalithic Zones in India

Megaliths have a wide distribution in India. They are to be found in the whole of the peninsular India, in the north-eastern India, among the tribals of Assam and Central India, in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Jammu and Kashmir and in the Himalayan foothills. Thus excepting in the State of Gujarat megalithic monuments are noticed throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Though the burial monuments exhibit typological similarities yet they differ in many other respects. In this paper it would be the endeavour of the author to bring out these aspects of the monuments of different regions in order to arrive at a plausible grouping of these hetrogenous conglomeration with a view to establishing certain trends of their diffusion in India.

1. Megaliths of Different Regions

A. *Tribal Megaliths of Assam and Central India*:—Several megaliths, viz., menhirs, dolmens, etc., have been noticed in the tribal regions of Assam and middle India. These are still being erected with religious fervour and feast by the Nagas, Gadabas, Bondos, Munda, Gonds, etc. The megaliths of this region fit in general pattern with the megalithic civilization of South-East Asia[1]. The people speaking the Austronesian languages are connected with this. This living culture does not, however, concern us very much ; it would suffice to treat them as a separate group receiving the dominant impulse from South-East Asia.

B. *Jammu and Kashmir*:—Menhirs have been found at a few places in the Districts of Srinagar[2] and Anantnag[3]. Excavation of a menhir at Burzahom

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1. Haimendorf, F. von C., 'Megalithic ritual among the Gadabas of Orissa', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, IX (1943), pp. 149-157; see also 'The Problem of megalithic cultures of Middle India', *Man in India*, XXV (1945), pp. 73-86.

2-3. Rybot, N.V.L., 'Groups of menhir in Kashmir', *Man*, XXXI (1931), Art. no. 115 and also *Indian Archaeology-1962-63, A Review*, p. 9.

in District Srinagar, revealed that it is not a burial monument. However, a skeleton found beneath it remains stratigraphically separated from the menhir above.

C. *Himalayan Foot-hills*:—Cairns are found in the foot-hills of the Himalayas on either side. They are connected with some sort of shrines for village deities and are perhaps ritualistic. Their burial character is not clearly established.

D. *Megaliths in Uttar Pradesh*:—Recent explorations in Uttar Pradesh by the Banaras Hindu University and Allahabad University have brought to light several megalithic burial sites in Districts Allahabad [1], Banda [2], Mirzapur [3] and Varanasi [4]. Types met with in the course of surface exploration are: (i) stone-circles with cairn, (ii) stone-circles with an upright stone (menhir) in the middle, (iii) cairn-circles, (iv) cairns with single or multiple capstones, (v) cists, (vi) cists enclosed by a cairn but without capstone or port-hole, (vii) tumulus concealing rectangular or occasionally semi-circular chamber constructed with dressed stones with single or multiple capstones and the whole enclosed by a heap of stone rubbles mixed with mortar, the cairn sometimes covering the capstone, (viii) and dolmenoid-cists. According to Sharma [5] cairn-circles are preponderant in District Varanasi while cists are numerically greater in District Allahabad. Near about the megalithic monuments corresponding habitation sites were also noticed.

As a sequel to the explorations a few selected burials at Kotai, Kakoria, Hathinia Pahar and Banimilia Bahera were excavated. The results are as follows.

(a) *Kotia, District Allahabad*:—Of the five burials excavated here [6] three were cists, one a cist enclosed by a cairn and one a cairn-circle. To erect a cist, a rectangular pit of about 60 cm. deep was dug and the sides were lined with two or three courses of small stones piled up one above the other. The cists had neither capstone nor a floor-slab. The longer axis of the cist chamber was East-West. A peculiar feature noticed in the monument was that it was divided into

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1 to 4. *Indian Archaeology*-1962-63, *A Review*, pp. 31-32 and *Indian Archaeology* 1963-64 *A Review*, p. 39.

5. *Indian Archaeology*-1962-63, *A Review*, p. 32.

6. *Indian Archaeology*-1963-64, *A Review*, p. 40-41.

three portions without any interconnection between them. The other megalith, a cist enclosed by a cairn was also interesting. Over the cairn heap was noticed an exact replica of the cist below, a feature not observed elsewhere in India. The cairn-circle concealed a rectangular pit, oriented East-West and was about 60 cm. deep.

The excavated graves yielded pottery black-and-red, red and a dull black or grey wares ; iron objects ; and bones. Shapes in the pottery consisted of bowls with out-turned rim, bowls with hollow and pedestalled bases, carinated vessels, knobbed lids and elliptical storage jars. Iron objects included arrowhead, spear-head and sickle.

Most of the bones from the burials belonged to animals representing *Bos indicus*, sheep, pig, cattle, etc. Some of the bones exhibited cut-marks also. The only human remains found were three fragmentary ribs.

(b) *Kakoria, District Varanasi* :—Seven megaliths were excavated at this place [1]. Of these four were cairn-circles and three cist-circles. The cairn-circles varied 3 to 9 m. in diameter and the height of the cairn from the surrounding ground level was between 1 and 2 m. These concealed an oval pit, about 1·50 m. deep, and were invariably oriented North-South. However, variation towards East-West was also noticed in one instance. The filling of the pit was the dug-out material. The cairn rubbles were retained by a circle of boulders.

Grave-furnishings, such as pots, beads, microliths, bones, etc., were placed at floor level.

To construct a cist, a pit, rectangular in shape, was dug and sides were lined with courses of piled up stones. The floor was also likewise made by spreading small stones. The top was closed with capstone. The entire structure was covered by a cairn-heap, which in turn, was retained by a bounding circle of stones. Most of the excavated cists were disturbed.

Grave-furnishings were placed on the floor of the chamber. Only one site, yielded fragmentary potsherds and a human tooth, while others did not contain any pottery. However, a few fragments of bones, including a piece of a human skull,

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1. *Indian Archaeology*-1962-63, *A Review*, p. 39-40

were found. It is interesting to note that no iron was found in any of the megaliths.

Excavation of habitation area near by yielded black-and-red, red and all black wares, the shapes in the first recalling those from Sonpur and Chirand.

(c) *Hathinia Pahar and Bhadahwan Hillock, District Varanasi*: Five megaliths, four cairns and one cist were excavated here [1]. The cairns concealed a pit dug into the natural soil about 1·3. m. deep, and were oriented East-West. Grave-furnishings consisted of pottery and bones, usually placed at the floor level. An exception to this feature was one megalith where pots were found placed at different levels. A microlith was also found in one tomb.

The cist in the centre of a stone-circle was similar in details to those excavated at Kakoria. Inside it were found four stone-slabs, a fragmentary rim of black-and-red ware and a few sherds of other pottery. None of the megaliths yielded any bones.

Excavation of habitation area yielded among other things ceramics comparable to the chalcolithic sites of Western India, Rajasthan and southern Deccan.

(d) *Banimilia Bahera, District Mirzapur*: Four types of megaliths were observed: (i) cairns with single or multiple capstones, (ii) cists enclosed by cairns, but without capstone or port-hole, (iii) cairn-circles, and (iv) tumuli concealing a chamber inside. Five megaliths, three of the tumulus type, one cairn with capstone and one cist enclosed by cairn were excavated [2]. The cairn was composed of heaped up rubble stones over a clayey layer. Over the cairn, was hoisted a capstone. The cist was erected over the rock-surface with multiple orthostats, two each on the south and north and one on the east and west. The tumulus type concealed a chamber inside, usually rectangular but occasionally semi-circular in shape. Of the excavated burials, two had rectangular and one semi-circular chamber. The chamber itself was constructed of small dressed stones and covered by capstones. The whole was enclosed by a cairn of stone rubbles mixed with mortar.

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1. *Indian Archaeology-1963-64, A Review*, pp. 57-58.
2. *Indian Archaeology-1962-63, A Review*, pp. 38-39.

Inside the cairn and the cist were found a few sherds of dull red wares. From the chamber under the tumuli were recovered sherds of black-and-red, black slipped, dull red and over-fired red wares. Only one tumulus entombed a few fragments of bones. It is interesting to note that none of these burials yielded any iron object.

Digging in the habitation area near by brought to light similar wares.

E. *Rajasthan*:—In Rajasthan megaliths have been noticed at Khera, Satmas, Macheri, Deosa, etc.[1]. Cairns of two varieties, 'round topped' and 'flat-topped', were found at Khera. At Satmas, besides the above varieties, an additional type of cairn viz., 'cromlech type' was noticed. At Deosa, cairns, stone-circles, stone-circles with central menhir, and stone-circles enclosing a cist were observed.

The 'round topped' or tumulus shaped cairns were composed entirely of small stones and boulders and varied in diameter from 3 feet to 12 feet. The 'flat-topped' ones were irregularly four-sided in appearance with slightly tapering sides and covered by capstones. The cairns measured on an average 5 feet 6 inches in length and rose to a height of 4 feet 6 inches. The stone-circles varied in diameter from 16 feet to 24 feet while the central menhirs measured 5 feet and 21 feet. The 'cromlech-cairn' was a four-sided hollow structure rising above the ground and was constructed of small stones piled in courses. The top of the cairn was covered by capstones. The inner hollow was filled with stones. The cist-circle measured 24 feet in diameter. The central cist 6×6×4 feet in size was made up on stone-slabs and had been covered by multiple capstones.

The 'round-topped' cairns concealed a rough oblong trough-like depression cut into the natural bed-rock and contained pale coloured earth, yellow, sand, ash of calcined bones (sometimes bone-fragments) and charred wood. Inside the square hollow of the flat-topped cairns, were found, at the bottom, grey-ashy dust, possibly bone-dust, bone-fragments and charcoal or charred wood. The hollow was partially filled with stones. At Deosa, from the earth filling of the cairns were recovered ash, calcined bone-fragments and

1. Carlleyle, A.C.L., 'A tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72 and 1872-73; *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, IV (1878), pp. 13-15, 33, 39, 88-89 and 104-108.

charcoal. Inside the cromlech-cairns, in an oblong cavity in the bed-rock measuring 5 x 2 ft, were found earth, stones and bone-fragments.

F. *Central India* :—Excepting for one or two isolated dolmens megalithic monuments in central India consist of cairn/stone-circles. Two sites, Junapani [1] and Khapa [2], both in District Nagpur, have been excavated.

Usually the cairn-circle encloses a deep rectangular pit in the centre. Besides this, an auxiliary rectangular depression is also sometimes found on one side, the other side being dug to form a large shallow depression. More often than not the whole area enclosed by the circle of stones is simply cleared or levelled up to receive the interment. Earth-filling capped by cairn rubbles retained by a circle of boulders delimits the burial monument. Grave-furnishings are found at all levels including the cairn filling.

In these cairns, grave-furnishings consist of pots in Black-and-red, red and black and, in addition a micacious red ware—the last being peculiar to this region. Copper/bronze vessels and ornaments, iron weapons and tools and skeletal remains, usually placed on floor level, formed the interment inside. The skeletal remains, though excarnated and fragmentary, were placed in an articulated fashion. Besides, beads of carnelian, both etched and unetched, were also found. Apart from these, in a separate pit, a head of a horse was found buried in one cairn-circle. Gold ornaments viz., necklaces, bangles, etc., also formed part of the grave-goods. The general pattern of construction of the megaliths and the interments are similar to those obtaining in the megaliths of southern India.

G. *South India*:—South India is literally studded with megalithic burials and one can affirm with certainty that maximum work on these monuments has been done in this region. Types obtaining here are cairn/stone-circles, cists and their variants, dolmenoid-cists, urn-burials, rock-cut caves, hoodstones, topikals etc.,

Cairn/stone-circles concealed a rectangular/oblong pit nearly 2 m. deep and filled up with the same dug-out material. Over the earth filling, the cairn-rubbles

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1. *Indian Archaeology* 1961-62, *A Review*, pp. 32-34,
2. *Indian Archaeology* 1967-68, *A Review*, pp. 33-34.

had been dumped and these were retained by a bounding circle of stones [1]. A peculiar feature noticed at Brahmagiri was shallow ramp on the east with a non-functional door-slab corresponding to the port-hole of the cists and the eastern entrance of the dolmenoid-cists.

Cists were constructed of slabs of required size, a single slab going to make an orthostat, and placed in a *svastika* pattern one overlapping the other [2]. They had a floor-slab and a capstone as well. Normally, but not necessarily, a small hole—port-hole—on the eastern orthostat was also present. In some cases, the cist was cistcumscribed by bounding circle-stones. Again, as at Brahmagiri, the orthostats of the cists were buttressed by several courses of dry stone masonry to keep the orthostats in position. Variants of this are the transcepted cists with or without antechamber, as at Tayinipatti, and those with several partitioned compartments as at Gajjalakonda. In all probability, a pit of sufficient dimensions was dug for erecting the cists.

To construct a dolmenoid-cist [3] the required space was first cleared. In the centre, the dolmen-chamber, rectangular/oblong in shape, was erected with four or more boulders of huge size to form the orthostats. Invariably a gap on the eastern side, corresponding to the port-hole in the cist, was present. This was closed by a thin stone or door slab. The central chamber was buttressed on the outside with rubble for stability. The chamber was closed by a heavy capstone-boulder. Occasionally more than one boulder was used for capstone. The filling, cairn and rubble, was retained by a circle of undressed boulders. Here the orthostats used are single boulders and are not coursed walls.

For urn-burials [4] a pit sufficient to receive the urn was dug, sometimes even into the natural soil. The urns were covered with terracotta lids. The area was perhaps demarcated by a low earth tumulus. Sometimes the urn-burials

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1. Banerjee, N. R. and Soundara Rajan, K. V., "Sanur 1950 & 52; A Megalithic Site in District Chingleput", *Ancient India*, No. 15 (New Delhi, 1959), pp. 4-42.

2. Wheeler, R.E.M., "Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947: Megalithic and other cultures in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore State", *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1948), pp. 191-308.

3. Banerjee, N. R. and Soundara Rajan, K. V., 1959, *op. cit.*

4. *Indian Archaeology* 1954-55, *A Review*, pp. 20-21.

were delimited by a stone-circle and over the pit concealing the urn was a capstone. This is evidenced at Porkalam [1].

Topikals, umbrella stones, rock-cut caves are restricted to Kerala. Their megalithic character has been clearly established.

Grave-goods found inside the megaliths of south India are uniform consisting of pottery, iron objects, copper/bronze objects, personal ornaments, etc., besides skeletal remains. Ceramics comprised the Black-and-red, red and all black wares, of a variety of shapes. Certain shapes viz., the tulip-shaped vases, funnel-shaped lids, ringstands and knobbed lids are singular and form the basic connecting link with the monuments of several regions in south India with central India. Iron objects, weapons of offence and defence as also of household utilitarian value are found in plenty. Copper/bronze objects consisted of bangles, rings, anklets and vessels. Personal ornaments comprised beads of terracotta, semi-precious stones, shell, etc.; ear-rings of shell and gold; and necklaces and bangles of gold. The skeletal remains were post-excarnated and disarticulated belonging to more than one person.

The grave-furnishings inside the pit within the cairn-circles were placed at all levels and there was no regularity. The skeletal reamins were, however, found on a cushioning layer, normally of ashy grey deposit, on the floor. In the dolmenoid-cist, the skeletal remains were found inside the sarcophagus while other attendant furnishings were both inside and outside the sarcophagi. In cists, the goods were found inside the cist-chamber ; the skeletal remains being put on the floor. In urn-burials, the furnishings, including the skeletal remains, were huddled up inside the urns. A few pots were also placed outside around the mouth of the urns but inside the pit. A normal feature, wherever bounding stone circle and cairn packing was observed, pottery and other objects were placed inside the cairn-filling as well.

2 South Indian megaliths vis-a-vis other regions

1. The cairn-circles of Uttar Pradesh concealed rectangular and oval pits while in south India, rectangular/oblong pits were the normal feature.

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1. Thapar, B.K., "Porkalam 1948—Excavation of a Megalithic Urn burial", *Ancient India*, No. 8 (1952), pp. 3-8.

2. Orientation of the pits in the various regions is East-West. However variation i.e., North-South is also noticed.

3. The cairns of Uttar Pradesh had no pit or burial-chamber within them, but were capped by capstones. In Rajasthan, the cairns had a small depression within to receive the interment. Here also capstone was present. This is not the case with south Indian cairns, for capstones are totally absent. They, however, conceal urn-burials ; a feature not found either in U. P. or Rajasthan.

4. The stone-circle with a central standing stone (menhir) is present in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan the southernmost limit for this type being Drug District in Madhya Pradesh. This type is absent in south India.

5. The cists of Uttar Pradesh and south India differ considerably in their construction. Those of the former are of dry masonry i.e., several courses of small stones being piled up to make the wall. But in south India, the walls are of single slab (in slab-cists) or rude undressed boulders standing singly to its entire height (dolmenoid-cist.)

6. The tumulus type concealing a built up chamber with capstone is absent in other regions. A peculiar feature is the use of mortar in the make-up of the cairn rubble filling.

7. The " flat topped " cairns of Rajasthan are four-sided. The cromlech cairn is, in fact, a sort of dolmen constructed of dry masonry. This type is restricted to Rajasthan area.

8. The stone-circles of central India (Maharashtra) are similar to south Indian counterparts in that they also conceal pits. Abundance of pottery, iron objects etc., coupled with the fact that some of the shapes in pottery are identical with those of south India, form a strong link.

9. The sarcophagi or urn interment is unknown to the rest of India.

10. Pottery in the graves of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh are mostly fragments and are in negligible quantity. They exhibit no common or connecting link by way of shapes with the south Indian megalithic pottery.

11. No iron objects were found excepting at Kotia in Rajasthan or Uttar Pradesh. The south Indian megaliths yield iron objects in varieties and in plenty, thus forming an essential attribute of the burials.

12. The skeletal remains in Rajasthan are post-cremation calcined bones. Those in Uttar Pradesh, though excarnated and framentary are negligible; they are found in one or two megaliths out of a dozen and more excavated. However, animal bones are available in fragments. In south India, skeletal remains are considerable and the megaliths entomb bones of more than one person. They are primarily post-excarnated, though in isolated instances calcined bones are also noticed.

Thus the south Indian megaliths stand isolated from those of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

3. Conclusions

1. The megaliths of the tribal regions in Middle India and Assam which are being erected even today form a separate group. These have been influenced by the civilization of South-East Asia.

2. Those of the peninsular India stand separated from the rest of India in form and contents. That there is a common link between the cists of Iran and South India has already been established [1]. Buttressing of cists, as evidenced at Brahmagiri, would recall similar constructional pattern of cists at Tumas in Egypt. [2]. But the chronological gap between these two remains to be bridged. The dispersal of the megalithic types in south India was from a point of contact on the west coast. This would be more apparent when we consider the restricted type of cairn/stone circle in central India and the wide spatial gap beyond towards north.

3. The monuments of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh get automatically separated as a group. Here it may be noted that the megaliths of

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1. Childe, V. Gordon, "Megaliths", *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1943), pp. 5-13.

2. *Indian Archaeology* 1961-62, *A Review*, pp. 67-70 and Lal, B B., "The only Asian Expedition in the threatened Nubia: Work by an Indian Mission at Afyeh and Tumas", *The Illustrated London News*, 242, No. 6455, April 20, 1963, pp. 579-581.

Baluchistan, particularly the cairns, exhibit similarity in constructional details with those of Uttar Pradesh [1]. Though some cairns of Baluchistan did contain full pots, iron, bronze etc., most of them (cairns) yielded fragmentary potsherds only. Another feature is the interment of both calcined and excarnated bones, mostly fragmentary but occasionally larger in bulk as well. In short, fragmentary pieces were the normal feature. The calcined bone-interment would perhaps form additional link with the cairns of Rajasthan. Hence, it is quite likely that the direction of dispersal of the Uttar Pradesh megaliths was from Baluchistan.

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1. Stein, Sir Aurel, *An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 43 (Calcutta, 1931).

N. S. Ramaswami

A Composite Temple

The Bhoganandisvara temple, near the Nandi hills, some 30 miles from Bangalore, illustrates two kinds of developments in temple building which are worth attention. Regions much exposed to different cultural influences, mostly as a result of political changes, often give rise to temples which exhibit the handiwork of many dynasties. A capital example of this is Takkolam, near Kanchipuram, where the original Bana foundation has been overlaid and added to by Pallava, Rashtrakuta, Chola and Vijayanagar elements.

In much the same way, the Bhoganandisvara temple (to be distinguished from the Yoganandisvara temple on the top of the Nandi hills) is a product of many influences exerted at different times. A composite temple of this kind, as different from an integral temple which was built by a single agency and which has continued in that form, is sometimes an artistic liability. Temples in the Dravidian style as a class struck that unsympathetic, if learned, critic, James Fergusson, as a congeries of styles and features that have not been blended. Every artist knows that it is difficult to make additions to an existing structure without compromising its integrity. This problem is not even considered in many modern renovations, and the result is distressing.

The Nandi temple is a product of these two developments, and it has splendidly overcome the handicaps. Situated in a region which, when the nucleus of the temple was built, was under the Banas and which subsequently came under the Nolambas, the Cholas, the Hoysalas, the Vijayanagar emperors and the Polegars, it reflects in its art these successive conquests, and yet it survives today as an artistic integral whole. A comparison with the Takkolam temple must be in its favour.

There are perhaps more temples in the Dravidian style in modern Mysore State than one might expect. This State is essentially a land of Hoysala temples in the west, and south, of Kalyani Chalukyan temples in the north-west, and of Vijayanagar temples in the north-east. The Chamundesvari temple at Mysore, the Sriranganatha temple in the Cauvery island, and the Nanjundesvara temple

at Nanjangud are the better known of the Dravidian example. But there are many others. Contiguity to the Tamil land and the Chola rule for a period must have been the determining factors.

The Bhoganandisvara temple appears to be the earliest of its kind. The oldest part in this temple which has twin shrines is the northern one dedicated to Lord Bhoganandi. It is quite probable that this nucleus of what later became a large temple was erected about 800 A.D. by a Bana queen, Ratnavali. According to a copper plate record dated 810 A. D., Ratnavali, the beloved queen of King Bana Vidyadhara and the mother of Prince Banarar Dadda, built a Siva temple at Nandi in the reign of the Ganga king, Jayateja.[1] Another record four years earlier, 806 A. D., dated in the 17th year of the reign of the Rashtrakuta king, Govinda III (792-814, according to Professor Nilakanta Sastri and 793-4 to 814, according to Professor Altekar) refers to the temple of Mahanandisvara.[2]

The Rashtrakutas were in contact, mainly hostile, with the Pallavas during this period. Govinda III was "perhaps the ablest of the Rashtrakuta emperors". His military influence spread widely in the land. To avenge their help to Stambha in his revolt, Govinda attacked and defeated the Pallavas before 803 A. D. Towards the end of his reign he again occupied Kanchipuram. Surely it is significant that the Bhoganandi *vimana* should have been erected, about this time, in a distinctly Pallava idiom. For, such was the way of *royal conquests and cultural migrations*. There are no records, if, in fact, any existed, of a southern *sutradhari* building temples in the Kanarese land as one did at Pattadakkal in the previous century. But the Dravidian basis of the Bhoganandisvara temple was firmly laid in the wake of the southern conquests of the overlord of the Banas.

The hallmarks of the style of this time and region are a *profuse use of horse-shoe arches, row of musical Yakshas, squarish pillars, granite tower, and parapet*. The original temple appears to have consisted of the sanctum, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*, all of small size.

The first addition was an interesting one. Some eighty years later was built another shrine much similar to the older one. There is no clear epigraphical

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1. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1914.
2. *Ibid.*

evidence. But an inscription[1] in old Kannada in the temple seems to suggest that in the reign of Nolambadhiraja, Puliyanna, son of Ainurvachari, received gifts for building a *gopura* in the courtyard of the Nandi temple. Another Kannada inscription[2] on an image in a window shrine, dedicated to Arunachalesvara, has been assigned to the Nolamba period on palaeograpical grounds.

The Nolamba ruler at the time was Mahendra. He was " the greatest of the Nolambas. He attacked his neighbours, the Vaidumbas and the Banas, and claimed to have destroyed the latter. Certainly his kingdom included parts of Kolar and Bangalore districts and Dharmapuri in Salem district, where his inscriptions are found ".[3]

The Arunachalesvara shrine follows its neighbours closely. The *sikhara* is of brick and mortar, unlike that of the Bhoganandisvara shrine. But, probably the stone structure has been replaced.

The finest Nolamba contribution to the temple is the four pierced stone windows in the Arunachalesvara shrine. Perhaps the most notable feature of Nolamba architecture is the use of pierced stone windows to give a soft, diffused light to the hall (*navaranga*) and the antechamber (*sukhanasi*) to the shrine. One of these windows contains a superb figure of Lord Nataraja.

The Nolambas also excelled in turning out pillars, an achitectural member on which many dynasties lavished their art. Some of these were removed by Rajendra Chola I to Tiruvaiyar. A few fragments are also to be found in the Brihadeesvara temple at Tanjore.

The *kalyana mantapa* and the *mukhamantapa* in front of the shrines exhibit the skill of the Vijayanagar artists not only in creating them but in harmonising them with the earlier structures in the temple. The hundred-pillared *mandapa* in the Sri Varadarajasvami temple at Kanchipuram, the Jalakantesvara temple at Vellore and that at Virinchipuram are regarded as the supreme expressions outside Hampi, of the decorative sculpture in which

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1. *A Guide to Nandi* by Dr. M. H. Krishna, Bangalore, 1940.
2. Ibid.
3. *Hemavathi* by Douglas Barrett, Bombay. 1958.

Vijayanagar excelled. These two *mantapas* should undoubtedly be added to the list.

The *kalyanamantapam* may be described as jewelled architecture. Its four pillars deserve a place among the finest transformations of a shaft of stone into a thing of beauty, an aspect in which the Indian architect and sculptor has excelled. Birds principally, but also foliage and animals, display loving observation of nature and ability to reproduce it on stone which, incidentally, is not the soapstone in which the Hoysala artists created marvels, but a hard dark stone. The ceiling of this wonderful *mandapa* has six tiers in the shape of concentric octagons, and all have exquisite carvings on them.

The *mukhamantapa* in front of the *kalyana mantapa* appears to have some Chola features, but it is essentially another Vijayanagar production. So well are these two elements blended, a characteristic of the art of the entire temple, that it is difficult to believe that the *mantapa* was probably begun in one age and completed in another.

There are other additions of Vijayanagar times, particularly the *mahadvara* and the *vasantha mandapa*, which have been brought in perfect harmony with the rest of the temple. The outer courtyard and the pretty tank were probably added in Polegar times.

Beautiful as the Bhoganandisvara temple is, it is instructive for the manner in which additions of later ages have been blended with the other structures. Artistic harmony in buildings of this kind is of the first importance, a fact seldom realised in modern renovations. The makers of this temple have shown how this effect may be achieved.

H. D. SANKALIA

Panjab and the Aryans or Prehistoric Panjab

Traditionally, according to the early Vedic literature, *Panjab*, the land of the Five Rivers, viz. Śutudrī (Sutlej), Vipāś (Beas), Parushṇī (Ravi), Asiknī (Chandrabhāgā or Chenab), and Vitastā (Jhelum), which together with the Sindhu and Sarasvatī formed the Saptasindhu ; was the home of the Aryans. Nowhere is there any hint in the Ṛig Veda or later Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads and the Sūtra literature that the Aryans regarded themselves as immigrants or outsiders from some distant land. It was the late Lokmanya Tilak alone who saw in the Rigvedic description of the Uṣas (Dawn) and other natural phenomena the memory of the former Arctic home of the Aryans.

Whether the Aryans were the original inhabitants of the Panjab or whether they were immigrants, we have no visual proof of their existence. All written history begins some-where about the fourth century B.C. Twenty and more years of excavation at Taxila (the ancient Takṣaśilā) by Sir John Marshall did not yield anything earlier than 4th-5th century B.C.

Then was discovered Mohenjodaro in 1922. And the scholars immediately recalled the seals found by Cunningham at Harappa nearly 50 years ago and the one found by Daya Ram Sahni in 1921. Harappa is situated on an old bed of the Ravi, about 110 miles south-west of Lahore.

Excavation at Harappa have yielded the remains of a city civilization which in no way are different from those found at Mohenjodaro, at distance of 400 miles on the Indus, in Sind. Scholars now regard these as twin capitals of the Indus civilization or the Harappa culture. Thus between 1921–1931, the history of Sind and Punjab was suddenly taken back by no less than 2000 years. The accepted date of the Indus civilization is now 2350–1700 B.C., though Sir Mortimer Wheeler thinks that the great depth of the debris at Mohenjodaro would justify a still earlier dating of the beginning of the Indus civilization, as previously held by Marshall and K. N. Shastri.

Now the remains of the Harappa culture have not been confined to the area around Lahore, that is West Panjab (now in Pakistan), but have been traced further eastwards at Rupar, and scores of sites in East Panjab and Haryana. Even Chandigarh, it was revealed last year, is one of the Harappan sites, and so also is Kurukshetra. In fact, the whole of the Panjab, now cut up into various political divisions, as well as Northern Rajasthan, and Western U.P., as far as Delhi, once boasted of a city civilization. Unfortunately, traces of this extensive 4000-year-old civilization have been largely effaced by nature and men-devastating floods, a series of foreign invasions, and internal wars. Archaeology can rescue only a bit of this distant past.

Archaeology, since 1947, has also shown that this Harappan culture or the Indus civilization, was preceded by a still earlier civilization, and that it itself had lingered on for some centuries at least in the peripheral regions, though perhaps destroyed or abandoned at the twin capitals themselves. In fact, at Harappa itself have been found the traces of a later occupation which for no better name is still called "Cemetery-H culture". What the nature of this Cemetery-H Culture was we have not yet bothered to investigate. Certainly, there should have been villages or cities with houses, to which legitimately this rich and beautiful, and distinctive pottery belonged. It is definitely later, and different from the Indus, but how much later, who were its authors, archaeologically, let alone traditionally ?

Then came the excavations at Rupar, below the Simla Hills, unfortunately not yet reported fully. These excavations give us a sequence of cultures, no doubt, with a few gaps, right from the Harappan upto the mediaeval period. Of this the most important is the Painted Grey Ware and NBP deposits. These in one way confirm the sequence obtained at Hastinapur in 1951-52, and connect it up with that from Harappa. Explorations later revealed that what the vertical excavation at Rupar tells us was probably true. The authors of the Painted Grey Ware never met the Harappans. In fact, the later seem to have left the scene some centuries previously. So the Painted Grey Ware people either chose to stay at sites different from those occupied previously by the Harappans, or, if they did occupy the Harappan sites, as at Rupar, there was considerable time gap between the two.

All this would appear intriguing, nay meaningless, to a layman. Intriguing, no doubt, it is, but not meaningless. When we arrange the knowledge in an orderly fashion as shown below :

Time-table of Important Pottery Fabrics in the Panjab

Northern Black Polished Ware (NBP)	c. 400 B. C.
Painted Grey Ware (PGW)	c. 400-800 B. C.
Ochre Coloured Pottery (OCP)	c. 1000-1800 B. C.
Cemetery-H Pottery (Harappa)	c. 1500 B. C.
Harappan Culture or the Indus Civilization	2350 B. C.-1700 B. C.
Pre-Harappan Cultures	c. 2700 B. C.-2350 B. C.

we find that these span a period of nearly 2000 years. And the latest pottery, the NBP, really belongs to the earliest known historical period, viz, that of the Mauryas or to the period of Asoka and Chandragupta (c. 320 B.C.–250 B.C.). Hence the various Aryan tribes the Bharatas, Purus, and others mentioned in the Ṛigveda would belong to this period, if they had truly historical existence. And it is the one or the chief problem in Indian archaeology to identify the authors of these pottery cultures, which are known by very prosaic descriptive names such as "Harappan" or "Cemetery-H". What is important to note is that the period before the 5th–6th century B.C. which was formerly archaeologically blank, is now found to be unusually rich and since it *seems* to run parallel to the Puranic and Vedic history, for the first time we are able to give credence to the latter viz. Puranic and Vedic dynasties, and say that all this could not be mythical.

Again in the various pottery cultures particularly the pre-Harappan, we discern a number of Baluchi and Iranian traits. So there is little doubt that the early inhabitants of Sindh, Panjab and Baluchistan, that is North-West India, were, if not Iranians racially or physically, were very much influenced by early Iranian and Western Asiatic cultures.

This Iranian or Western Asiatic cultural influence would appear to decrease with the Harappan or the Indus Valley civilization. In many respects pottery shapes and design motives, particularly the pipal leaf, houses with bathrooms, and wells, and a unique, well laid out city, with north-south, and east-west oriented-roads, and a pictorgraphic script on the so-called seals of steatite, and copper, this civilization is regarded as indigenous. Still all this was not quite indigenous. It was never the practice in India to eat in elaborate dishes with tall or squat stands, or employ numerous flat dishes for a variety of foods. But this is exactly one finds in a typical Harappan house (and burial) and in a rich, well-to-do Iranian or Western Asiatic (or the later day European households).

The same living pattern can be discerned in the Ochre Coloured Pottery (OCP) and the Cemetery-H pottery. In both the large-dish-on-stands continue to attract our attention. However, in the Cemetery-H pottery many of the shapes are quite new, particularly, the small and large kuja-like vessels with globular dark red body, and high, flaring rim. Still more striking are some of the scenes painted in black over the dark or vermillion red surface. Even a layman beholding this pottery would immediately say that these people the Cemetery-H-were different from the Harappans, and the Painted Grey Ware people.

All these rich and varied pottery shapes and fabrics suddenly seem to have departed, gone for nearly 1500 years until c. A. D. 1300, when with the advent of the Iranians, Muslims, they reappear on the dining table in the Panjab and U.P. This in our present knowledge, the PGW people and their immediate successors, the NBP people-some of whom were the Mauryas, the Vatsas, the Panchalas and the Purus of early historical period, and occupied such well known places at Rajgir and Pataliputra, Kausambi, and Ahichchhatra, Hastinapur and Takshasila.

The same fundamental difference we notice in the method of disposing the dead, though *at the moment*, we have no knowledge how the PGW and the NBP people disposed off the dead. But cremation and not burial seems to have been the more likely practice. And this was the preferred Aryan custom, which the Hindus have adopted, though in the Vedic literature there are occasional references to burial in pots. More than this it is impossible to say, because no excavations have been large enough to give us a house plan of the PGW or the NBP period. The Cemetery—H culture is known hitherto by its burial pottery only, no houses or habitations of this culture have been laid bare. But like the pre-Harappans and the Harappans it was not confined to the Panjab only. It definitely extended into the former Bahawalpur State which is now in Pakistan.

II

Thus in the Panjab man's ancestry - cultural and physical has been traced back to at least 5000 years during the last 50 years.

But the Panjab promises, or has the potentiality of yielding, the earliest physical remains of man in India. This has been recognized by or known to the

geologists and palaeontologists all over the world. For here is a geological formation called the Siwaliks. This term is supposed to have been derived from the Sanskrit terms, Sapādalakṣa, or the latter seems to have been a Sanskritization of the prakrit term, Siwalik.

The Siwalik formation runs along the Himalayan foothills from north-west to south-east, for a distance of about 800 miles. These measure between 15,000 and 17,000 ft. in thickness and consist of coarsely-bedded sandstones, sand rocks, clays and boulder conglomerates. These are believed to have originated at the waterworn debris of the granitic core of the Central Himalaya, deposited in the long and broad valley of the "Siwalik" river. The topmost boulder comglomerates are the alluvial fans at the emergence of mountain streams. That means as in a river the 6000 ft. thick topmost portion called the upper Siwalik was deposited in fresh water. And then uplifted some 10 lakhs years ago, so that now it forms a most characteristic topographic feature of the whole of the Panjab from Rawalpindi through Jammu to Kangra.

Geologists divide this thick formation into three groups, Lower Siwalik, Middle Siwalik and the Upper Siwalik. And the most interesting, nay important thing is that it is the Lower and Middle Siwalik, that we have the remains of the ancestors of modern monkeys. These primeval monkeys, called in English primates have been given such names as Ramapithecus and Sivapithecus because palaeontologists hold that these monkeys though different from man, stand in direct line of development to man. Hence they hope that the earliest ancestor of man should be discovered in the Siwaliks. It is this hope that prompts scholars all over the world to turn to the Siwaliks, whether they now be included in the Panjab, Jammu or Himachal Pradesh in India or Pakistan.

In spite of this potentiality of finding the earliest ancestors of man in the Siwaliks no human or near-human fossil remains have been found anywhere in the Siwaliks, whereas at Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, the Leakeys have found bones and skull parts of the ancestors of man, called Zinzanthropus and Homo Habilis, dated by a new scientific method called Potassium argon to 1.7 and 2.00 million years respectively. Still the hope of discovering the earliest traces of man in India is sustained by the fact that it was in the Panjab, that the earliest handiwork of man, viz. stone tools were found first by the late Dr. D. N. Wadia. This clue was later followed up by Dr. De Terra and Dr. T. T. Paterson on behalf of the Universities of Yale and Cambridge in 1934.

The work of De Terra and Paterson was not confined to the Panjab. They also worked in Kashmir. For it had been established that Kashmir had witnessed four Ice Ages and three Interglacial periods during the last 10-20 lakhs of years, called the Pleistocene. It had also been proved that the climate of the Kashmir Valley proper was not different from that of the Panjab foothills before the Second Ice Age. Then the whole of the Pir Panjal range of mountains which flank the Panjab and southwest of Kashmir began to rise. The evidence of this uplift has been preserved in Kashmir in the form of Karewa beds. The Lower Karewas contain remains of vegetation and animals which could live in a semi-temperate or warm climate. In Kashmir itself a huge lake was formed. But when the climate changed, that is a warmer period came, the lake burst near Baramula. And the first river was formed. This is our Jhelum. The evidence of this catastrophic event can be seen in the huge gorge at Baramula (which at present cannot be visited by civilians).

These natural event-periods of intense cold, (Ice Age), warm period (Interglacial period), and uplift-have left their marks in the foothills of the Panjab, and Potwar plateau, through which flow the rivers Indus, and its tributaries the Sohan (Shobhana) and the Haro. Not only that, a careful geological survey by De Terra and Paterson enabled them to correlate the various topographical features in the Potwar with the occurrence of four Ice Ages and three warm (Interglacial) periods in Kashmir. Thus for the first time a relative timetable of events in the Pleistocene was available. However, this climatic and geological time-table would have had no meaning to us, nay useless, but for its human interest.

What is this human interest? Things made by or objects related to man. Things-stonetools-made by man were found in the various deposits of this geological time-table. Further, these tools exhibit a marked change-improvement in form and technique-from one geological and climatic phase to another so that it is possible to reconstruct a fairly reliable picture of the First Man and his successor-and their environment-climate, animals and vegetation-for the last five lakhs of years, comparable in some respects to what we know of Europe.

Some five lakhs of years ago, when the Kashmir Valley was under a mantle of ice, the mountain range known today as Pir Panjal was only about 6000 feet high. Then the earth heaved. The whole range was literally uplifted. While it dammed the ancestor of the present Jhelum river in the Kashmir Valley, the plains

below the foothills were tilted, at the same time heavy rains began to fall in the plains. These caused the formation of the rivers. These were the first rivers of the Panjab, known today as the Indus, Beas Ravi, Sutlej Jhelum, Sohan, Haro, etc. These rivers flowed a very high level, some 400 ft. above the present bed.

Man was present at this time. This we know, because his tools-huge, massive flakes of stone, made out of the Pir Panjal trap-are found at no less than six to eight places in the Panjab, and also at Pahlgam in Kashmir-in a layer of large pebbles-boulder-cemented by lime and earth. Some of the boulders bear traces of ice action, hence we are justified in inferring that these were moved or transported by an ice-river (glacier).

Then the climate changed. In Kashmir, a warm period, caused the ice to retreat to higher altitude, and melt it at a lower alliude River valleys were now full. They brought down a lot of earth and deposited over the layer of boulders.

Man was also present at this time, but whether it was man of one group, race or human family or of two different human families is not clear. For a curious thing has been noticed. At numerous places on the banks of the rivers Sohan, and at times on the Haro and the Indus, stone tools were found made of flat-based pebbles or pebble halves. Just one or two flakes were removed by giving a blow at the edge on the flat surface. Had these flakes been removed from one side only, we would have regarded these as probably nature made tool-like stones. But in the Sohan tools (so called after the river), the flakes have been given alternately, now on one side, and then on the other. This has given a wavy, jagged edge. Because of such a shape and edge, these tools have been called choppers and scrapers. These tools would be useful for making notches in trees - to facilitate climbing, to cutup animals, and to scrap or clean skins and barks of trees. Since no very sharp pointed or edged tools can be seen in these Sohan tools, it was thought by some Europan scholars that this first Panjabi was a vegetarian, that he was not a hunter!! That these earlier vegetarians were gradually pushed out by another Panjabi who was a hunter and warrior, with the help of his weapons among which we could recognize a large pointed tool, called handaxe and a broad-edged tool, known as a cleaver.

While these inferences have to be rejected as too facile, the fact remains and this is indeed curious or mysterious that in no Early Sohan sites in the Panjab, handaxes and cleavers have been found along with pebble tools or hoppers and scrapers. And this has naturally given rise to a theory that these were kinds of men or population in the Panjab, one population subsisting with the help of choppers and scrapers, the other population eked out a living with the help of handaxes. These two people were contemporary, but rarely met. Since such choppers, made on pebbles or chunks of fossil wood were also found in Burma, and other countries of South-East Asia, as far as China, a whole new or separate world of Chopper or Pebble-tool-using culture was postulated.

For some 30 years this theory has held the field. Though it is not given up completely, we must note that pebble tools or choppers have been found in large numbers in many parts of India, along with handaxes, or without handaxes, and hence a separate existence of a pebble culture need not be postulated. These pebble tools formed a part and parcel of the Early Stone Age Culture, and depending upon the nature of the raw material, the man fashioned his tools. The handaxe was a natural development of the pebble tool.

Secondly, a handaxe has been found at Pahlgam in Kashmir, at the same place where a huge flake of an earlier period was found. Again the same deposit has yielded pebble tool this year (1970) at Pahlgam and Sonmarg. Thus this distinction between the Pebble or Chopper of the Sohan Stone Age culture and the Handaxe of the Peninsular Stone Age culture might have to be given up, when further work is done in that part of Panjab which is now in Pakistan.

For the present it might be added that in the East Panjab, in the Valleys of the Beas and Banganga Shri B. B. Lal, at present Director General of Archaeology in India, for the first time found pebble tools at Kangra and Haripur in 1954. Later similar tools have been found by Dr. R. V. Joshi, at present Superintending-Prehistorian, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, then by Dr. Gopal Chandra Mohapatra, Lecturer in the University of Panjab at Chandigarh, and his pupil and Shri R.K. Pandit of the Frontier Circle at Jammu and Udhampur. Thus there is little doubt that a pebble tool culture also flourished in East Panjab, which was in no way different from that of the West Panjab.

However, Dr. R. V. Joshi and Prof. S. Z. Rozycki's studies of the Beas and Banganga valleys revealed that the so-called terraces (levels) were formed by uplift or tectonic movements, and secondly no difference could be made in tools collected from the surfaces of various terraces, thus a strict developmental sequence of human cultures based on tools, as in W. Panjab, was ruled out.

But we are sure of such a development in Western Panjab. At a number of sites, but particularly at Ghila Khan (or Kalan) on the Chauntra-Dalla road on the left bank of the Soan, a large number of tools was found. Since the tools are fresh, in a mint condition, one may say, that this was a workshop or factory site. No less than 120 tools were found here, some *in situ* from the fine gravel or the base of the Potwar Loess.

A still larger "workshop" was discovered at Adials, a group of three sites, close to the junction of Adiala-Misriot and Khassala Khan-Misriot tracks. No less than 600 tools were found concentrated in an area of 3000 sq. ft. The tools from Chiala Kalyan and Adials are designated respectively as Upper Soan A and Upper Soan B.

The most remarkable thing in these tools is that their makers have deliberately chosen small quartzitic pebbles, which are not more than 6 in. in diameter. For unlike the earlier period when man wanted huge choppers made from boulders, the man now required regular, more symmetrical, triangular or parallel-sided flakes. And why? Because such flakes, as today and for the last five to twenty thousand years, have been found most useful as arrow-heads, and knife blades. Only the material has changed during all these millennia from stone to copper, bronze, iron, steel and now stainless steel!

Not only to these characteristic tools bring us to the recent times, but also the geological deposits in which these occur, the tools, as mentioned previously, are found at the base and within thick cliffs of yellow-brown sandy, silty earth. These are not formed by river or water but wind. Such deposits are found all over the Panjab filling up valleys and plains and lying over foothills, at a height of 2000 ft, in Rajasthan and Northern Gujarat. These form a characteristic landscape in Northern India, because when cut by rain, huge gullies and cliffs

are formed. These are called *Kotars* in Gujarat. Such wind activity starts nowadays in February-March-April and continues until the arrival of the rains in June-July. During these months, particularly May-June, the sun is not clearly visible, and the whole sky is laden with dust. The beginning of this climatic phase marked by frequent dust storms in North India can be confidently traced back to the Third Glacial times, about 30000 years ago.

Side by side with this industrial and climatic change another important change had also taken place. And this was the arrival or the final development from the earlier existence of the people manufacturing handaxes and cleavers. Both these were varied in form, finer and more symmetrical. Whether a latent cultural and ethnic force becomes vocal and dominant or here is intrusion or invasion of the handaxe-cleaver people from the Peninsular Africa cannot be said in the absence of more positive data. But there is little doubt that just before the use of arrowhead and blades made on flakes became popular all over India, as in many parts of the Old and New World. India had experienced a cultural unity, from Rawalpindi to Madras and Dwarka to Bhuba jueh symmetrical ovate handaxes and cleavers had become a fashion.

The story of early man in the Panjab would have ended here with the introduction of lithic blade tools at the end of the Third Glacial and Interglacial times.

But within the last few years, ground or polished stone tools, reminiscent of those found in the Peninsular India have begun to be found in the Panjab, both East and West. In the former small polished axes on a soft stone like shale, were found by Dr. Gopal Chandra Mohapatra at Haripur in the Kangra Valley. Large ones were found by another scholar at Pinjor near Chandigarh, whereas Dr. Dani is reported to have found similar stone axes near Taxila where formerly a few were found by Sir John Marshall in the historic deposits. Now with the discovery of a new grave culture, and Pre-Buddhist graves in Swat, and still earlier cultures in Seistan, and Afghanistan, and truly Stone Age cultures in the caves near

Peshawar, we are able to visualize, however faintly the earlier stages of man's development in this strategic region, which has served as a corridor of migration from times immemorial. Secondly, we are given links with cultures across the frontier in Central Asia and Iran.

It is against this general framework that the question of the Aryans - whether they are indigenous/auto-chnous or whether they are immigrants - will have to be solved. No one should forget that at the moment, we have nothing but a few stone tools and potsherds and these are not sufficient to determine the identity of their authors.

H. SARKAR

The Ghata-prasadas of ancient texts

The *ghaṭa prāsāda* is one of the twenty types of temples mentioned in the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā Adh.* LVI: *prāsāda-lakshaṇādhyāya, śl.* 26) and other texts. It is shaped like a *kalaśa* or jar and should have one storey.[1] The *Matsyapurāṇa* calls it *kumbha-prāsāda* but prescribes nine storeys for it.[2] According to the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, it should measure eight cubits in width, while the *Samarāṇgaṇasūtradhāra* (Chapter LXIII, 1-34) stipulates sixteen *hastas*. Now, the *Agni-purāṇa*, the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* and the *Prayoga-mañjarī*, refer to a type of temple by the name *kalaśa*: it is one of the forty-five temples and is also included, in these texts, in the list of twenty temples. In these texts, the forty-five temples are divided into five groups like *Vairāja* (*chaturaśra* or square), *Pushpaka* (*ayatāśra* or rectangular), *Kailāsa* (*vṛitta* or circular), Maṇika (*vrittāyata* or elliptical), and *Tṛivishṭapa* (*ashṭāśra* or octagonal).[3] The *kalaśa-prāsāda*, which, in all likelihood, is the same as the *ghaṭa*- or *kumbha-prāsāda*, falls in the circular or *Kailāsa* group, thereby indicating that the temples shaped like a jar are intended to be circular on plan. This also explains the occurrence of the *ghaṭa-prāsādas* along with the *vrisha*, a circular temple, and the *haṁsa*, an elliptical temple, in the same *śloka* in the

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1. *Vṛisha-eka-bhūmi-sriṅgo dvadasahastah samantato vṛittaḥ Haṁso haṁsākaro ghaṭo-ashṭa-hastaḥ kalasarūpaḥ.*

2. Stella Kramrisch has tabulated the available data in her book, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta, 1946). See Chart II on p. 270A of Volume I.

3. *Ibid.*, see Table on p. 278. Also. Tarapada Bhattacharyya, *The Canons of Indian Art or a study on Vāstuvidyā* (Calcutta, 1962), Tables on pp. 441-451. It is significant to note that despite the fact that such Brahmanical temples dated to the third century *A.D.* came from Nagarjunakonda, in Andhra Pradesh (see, note 8 below). Further, the apsidal temples, on the east coast, far outnumber the minor groups, like the circular and elliptical. Perhaps, the *Maṇika* group includes not only elliptical shrines, but also apsidal ones. In this context, the names like *gaja, siṁha* etc., of the same list is quite significant.

Bṛihat Saṁhitā, which follows some order or grouping while describing the different types of *prāsādas*.

The *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* and other texts giving the names of the twenty temples refer to at least three more circular temples like the *samudga* (*samudra* of the *Bhavishya-purāṇa*), *vṛisha* and *vṛitta*; even the *padma*, described as lotus-shaped, may also have been a circular *prāsāda*.[1] When so many types of circular temples are mentioned in the same context in the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, one may expect reasonably some variations in them so far as their ground-plans are concerned. Of course, it is difficult to connect the textual descriptions of different types with the extant remains. Yet, because of the characteristic shape that the name *kalaśa* or *ghaṭa* conjures up in the mind, it may not be altogether impossible to correlate certain existing monuments with the *ghaṭa-prāsāda* of different treatises. Even the *vṛitta-prāsāda* may reasonably be identified with small *sāndhāra* temples like of which can be noticed in abundance in various parts of Kerala (Fig. 1, 4 and 5).[2]

One may very well presume that the *ghaṭa*-or *kalaśa* should have a shape simulating a necked jar with globular body. In other words, it is not just a circle but something more : it is a circle with a rectangular projection in front. And it is this projection that differentiates the *ghaṭa-prāsādas* from other types of circular temples like the *samudga, vṛitta, vṛisha*. In temple architecture, this projection serves as a passage or a porch in front of the shrine. This addition of a porch to the circular *garbha-gṛiha* gives the *ghaṭa-prāsāda* a distinctive shape and

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1. According to the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, the *padma* should be in the shape of lotus (*padmaḥ padmakṛiti*). However, the lists of forty-five as well as sixty-four temples include it under *Kailāsa* or circular group. The *Śilparatna* mentions a type of circular temple (*vṛittākārāḥ-Surālayāḥ*) as the *padma-prāsāda*, and according to it, there are fifteen such types. See Chapter XVI, 108-113 of the *Śilparatna* by Śrī Kumāra ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, LXXV (Trivandrum, 1922). pp. 89-90.

2. The *vṛitta* has been described as a dark temple. "These dark ones do not have external light entering the interior. There should be walls close by all round the temple and the entrance is to be on the western side." See English Translation and Notes on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* by V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhatt (Bangalore, 1947), p. 500. Such constructions are characteristics of the *sāndhāra prāsādas* which should have an inner wall (*antara-bhitti*) besides the outer wall (*bāhya-bhitti*). This is the commonest type in Kerala. Such *vṛitta*-temples might have been included later on into the type described as the *padma-prāsāda* in the *Śilparatna*.

character. Such temple-plan is by no means, a universal feature, for it is generally absent in Kerala, where a *namaskāra-maṇḍapa* unconnected with the main shrine, stands in front of the temple. It may be mentioned here that circular huts with a rectangular passage are still being used in the District of Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh; these types are built alongside the simple circular ones.

The circular monuments, with a rectangular passage in front, date back to as early as the second century *B. C.* They may be either rock-cut or structural: the Buddhist rock-cut cave, Cave 13, at Pitalkhora, in Maharashtra, has a pronouncedly circular end and two straight arms while the circular *stūpa*-shrine, made of bricks, at Salihundam, Andhra Pradesh, has clearly a jar-shaped plan formed by a narrow rectangular passage issuing out of the arcs of the circular *stupa*-shrine. On the other hand, the rectangular projection is absent in the Buddhist circular temple at Bairat. The circular cave at Junnar, however, shows a slight projection similar to the rim of a jar.[1]

The similar arrangement of providing a porch-like front to the shrine was followed also in the Brahmanical shrines having an elliptical ground-plan, as the Vaishṇava shrine, ascribable to the second century *B. C.*, both at Nagari and Vidisha, has a porch connected with the elliptical sanctum.[2] But there is hardly any evidence regarding the existence of a Brahmanical temple, with a circular *garbha-gṛiha* in pre-Christian times. Equally doubtful is its occurrence during the early Christian eras because the excavations at Nagarjunakonda have unearthed remains of Brahmanical temples, of the third century *A. D.*, having rectangular, apsidal and square plans but there is no circular temple meant for enshrining a deity.[3] Significantly, the temple complex at Site 78 there, situated on the bank of the Krishna, has revealed the use of five basic forms like apsidal, square, rectangular, circular and octagonal. The complex appears to be a forerunner of the *jāti-vimānas* having at least two *mukhya-vimānas*, apsidal on plan, accompanied by a group of subsidiary structures, built variously on square, rectangular, circular and octagonal bases. Yet it is

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1. For Bairat, Junnar, Pitalkhora and Salihundam see H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, (Delhi, 1965), pp. 25-42.

2. H. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

3. H. Sarkar and B. N. Misra, *Nagarjunakonda* (New Delhi, 1966). pp. 24-29.

difficult to say if these subsidiary structures were ever used as shrines. Thus, in spite of the discovery of a circular base, the evidence from Nagarjunakonda does not prove the existence of circular Brahmanical shrines, not to speak of the *ghaṭa-prāsādas*, the latter being practically absent also in the Buddhist architecture there.[1] On the basis of the available facts, it may probably be assumed that circular Brahmanical temples did not receive any patronage during the third century *A. D.* At the same time, the testimony of the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* clearly suggests the popularity of circular temples in the sixth century *A. D.* It may, therefore, be inferred that circular *prāsādas* belonging to the Brahmanical faith came into vogue as a distinct temple-type, some time between the fourth and the sixth centuries *A. D.* The gap can further be bridged if the circular-cylindrical temple at Rajgir—the Maniyur Math [2] can be placed in the intervening period.

The archaeological remains of circular temples are meagre also in the mediaeval times; as a matter of fact, barring Kerala, this structural form, did not gain any popularity anywhere in India. Curiously, despite the paucity of this ground-plan, it exhibits a number of types; and the extant circular plans-none of them possibly older than a millennium-can be divided into the following seven broad types.[3]

TYPE I : (Fig. I, 4 and 5) Circular *sāndhāra* temples without any connected porch. It is a dominant type in Kerala. Several temples there show more than one *sāndhāra*-circuits. Further, in some cases, such *sāndhāra-prāsādas* have doors at four cardinal directions.[4] The *garbhagṛiha* inside the Kerala temples forms almost an independent entity-just a miniature shrine, square or circular on plan, with an octagonal *grīvā* and and *śikhara*.

1. H. Sarkar, "Some Aspects of Buddhist monuments at Nagarjunakonda," *Ancient India*. no. 16 (New Delhi. 1962), pp. 65-84.
2. It was enlarged several times, including in the late Gupta times, when niches for enshrining Brahmanical images in stucco were provided. See *Archaeological Remains Monuments and Museums* (New Delhi, 1964), p. 61.
3. A brick temple at Kottamaṅgalam, in Lalgudi Taluk, District Tiruchirapalli appears to be circular on plan. Cf. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* 1962-63 p. 29. As nothing is known about its ground-plan & other features it has not been included in the present classification.
4. It appears to be an amalgam of two different concepts: dark temples and temples with four openings enabling the sun-light to reach the sanctum.

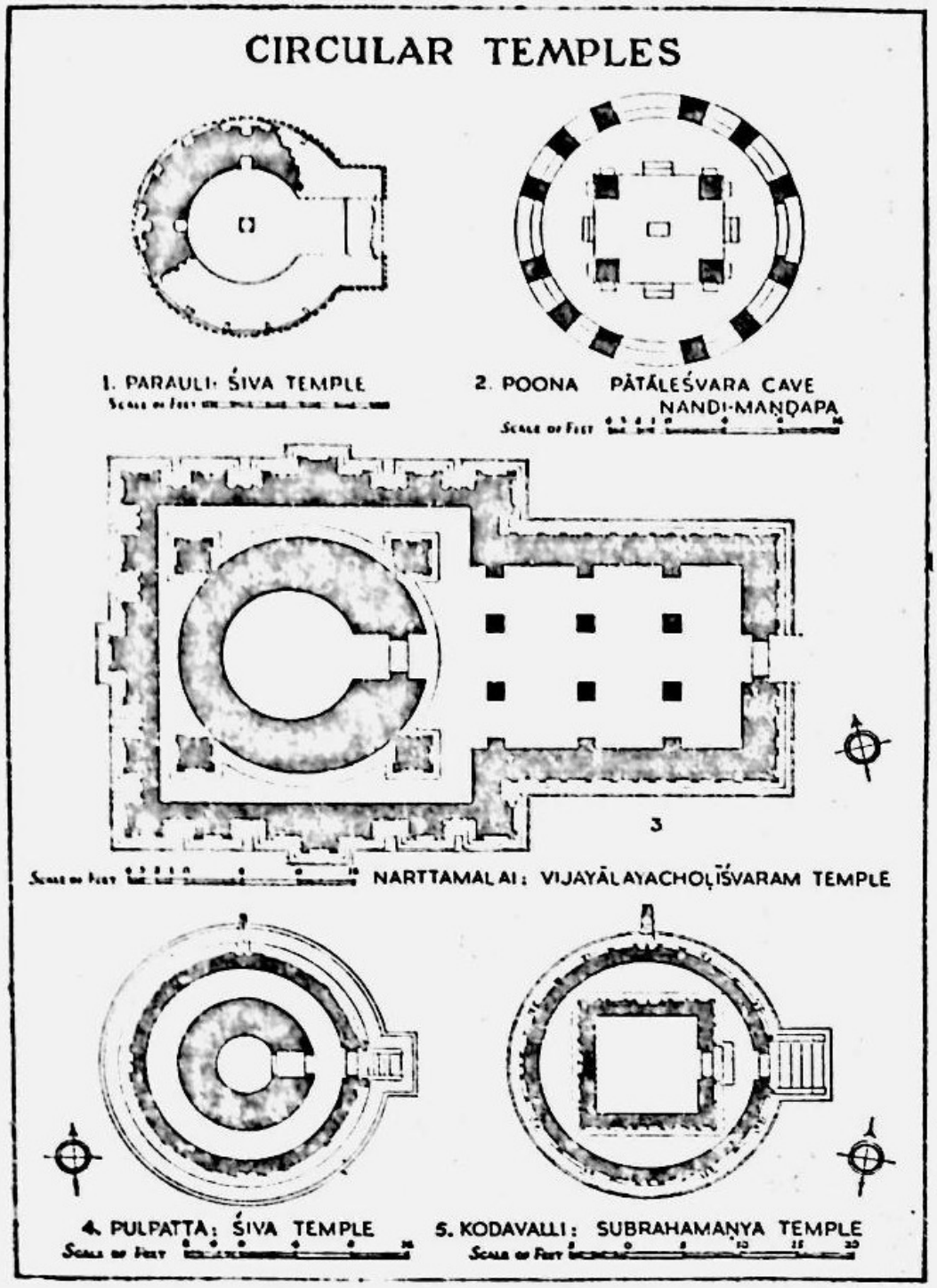
CIRCULAR TEMPLES
1. PARAULI: ŚIVA TEMPLE
2. POONA PĀTĀLEŚVARA CAVE
NANDI-MANDAPA
3
NARTTAMALAI: VIJAYĀLAYACHOḶĪŚVARAM TEMPLE
4. PULPATTA: ŚIVA TEMPLE
5. KODAVALLI: SUBRAHAMANYA TEMPLE

Fig. I.

TYPE 2 : (Fig. I, 2) Circular pillared pavilion with open sides. The round Nandi pavilion in front of the subterranean cave, the Pātāleśvara at Poona, of the Rāshṭrakūṭa times, is the solitary example of this type. The space around the pavilion remains water-logged for the most part of the year.[1]

TYPE 3 : (Fig. I, 3) Four-sided temple having a circular *garbha-gṛiha*, as one finds in the Vijayālayacholīśvaram temple at Narttamalai.

TYPE 4 : Circular externally and square internally; examples come from Kerala as well as from Tinduli [2] in the Gangetic valley. The form was known in the Buddhist architecture at Nagarjunakonda. In Kerala, circular *garbha-gṛiha* are often square internally.

TYPE 5 : Circular hypaethral temples like the Chaunsath Yogini temple at Bheraghat in Madhya Pradesh, and Ranipur Jharial and Kalahandi in Orissa etc.[3]

TYPE 6 : (Fig. II, 6 to 8) Circular both internally and externally, two arcs of the circle extending into a rectangular porch. Examples of this type come from Gurgi [4] and Chandrehe [5], in Madhya Pradesh, and Belgola, [6] and Agara [7] in Mysore.

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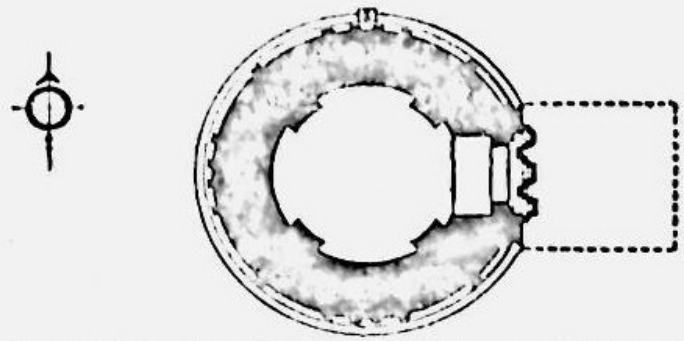
1. James Fergusson and James Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India* (1880) reprinted in 1969, p. 426, pl. LXIX.
2. *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-9 (Caloutta. 1912), p. 19.
3. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a tour in the Central Provinces in* 1873-74 *and* 1874-75. Archaeological Survey of India Report, IX (Calcutta. 1879), pp. 73-74. According to Cunningham, "In circular temple of Coimbatore the enclosing wall reaches only the shoulders of the statues."
4. R. D. Banerji, *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 23 (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 45 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 31 ff.
6. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1944 (Mysore, 1945), p. 33, pls. VIII, 2 and IX, 3 and 4.
7. *Ibid.*, 1938, p. 25, pl. X, 2.

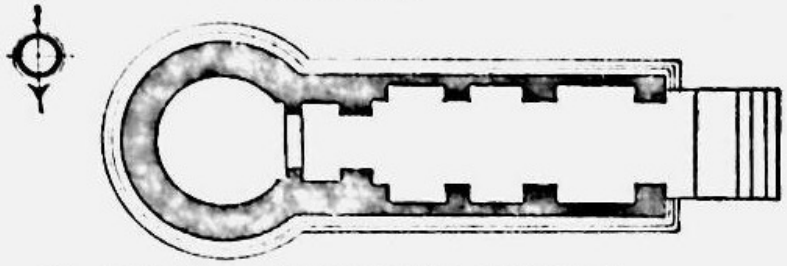
CIRCULAR TEMPLES



6. BELGOLA : BHAKTAVATSALA TEMPLE

5 0 5 10 15

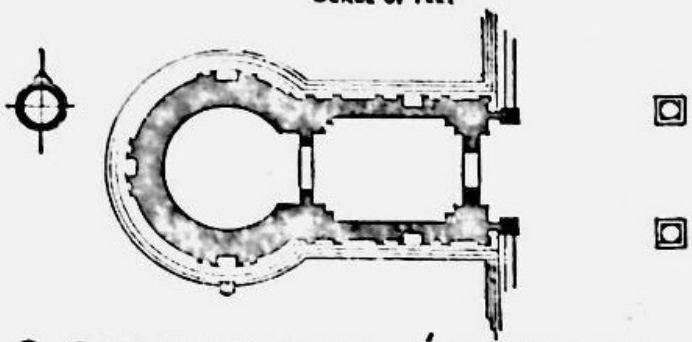
SCALE OF FEET



7. AGARA NARASIMHA TEMPLE

10 5 0 5 10

SCALE OF FEET



8. GURGI MASAUN : ŚIVA TEMPLE

5 0 5 10 15 20

SCALE OF FEET

Fig. II.

TYPE 7 : (Fig. I, 1) Circular internally and sixteen-sided externally, with rectangular projection in front. Examples come from Parauli[1] and Kurari[2] in the Gangetic valley.

Of the seven types, Types 6 and 7 come nearer to the *ghaṭa*-shaped plan. But the combination of circular plans with sixteen-sided ones is rather interesting, for the *padma* and the *samudga prāsādas*, according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, should have sixteen sides.[3] Again, the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* and other texts mention a type by the name *shoḍaśāśra* having sixteen sides.[4] In the circumstances, the temples under Type 7, may be excluded from the category of *ghaṭa*- shaped *prāsādas*. Hence, Type 6 of the circular temples may be identified with the *ghaṭa-prāsādas* of the ancient texts.

There are at least four extant remains of jar-shaped temples belonging to the Brahmanical faith—two each from Madhya Pradesh and Mysore. Situated in the former Rewa State, in Madhya Pradesh, the temple at Chandrehe dedicated to Śiva was built some time in the middle of the tenth century by the Mattamayūra sect of the S'aiva ascetics. It faces west and has a *maṇḍapa*, a *mahāmaṇḍapa* and an *antarāla*, besides the circular sanctum. The temple looking like a truncated cone has a circular *śikhara* superimposed by a gadrooned *āmalaka*. In every respect, the dilapidated Śiva temple at Gurgi-Masaun, near Rewa, is similar to that of Chandrehe. It was also built during the tenth century by the S'aiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect. Both the temples have almost identical dimensions and are brick-buit: while the Chandrehe temple has an outer diameter of 16 ft. (4.9 m), the one at Gurgi-Masaun, facing west,

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1. *Annual Report of the Archaeolcgical Survey of India*, 1908-9 (Calcutta, 1912), p. 17.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
3. Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 270-A.
4. Undoubtedly, the external plan of the temples at Parauli and Kurali, in Uttar Pradesh, is based on the principles of a circle. This type of modified circles has its own development and the Savari Narayan temple near Kharod, the Bhand Dewal temple at Arang etc., belong to this category. [see, J. D. Beglar, *Report on a Tour in Bundlekhand and Malwa*, 1871-72; *in the Central Provinces*, 1873-74, Archaeological Survey of India Report, VII (Calcutta, 1878.] The denticular circumference of the plan of the Dodda Basappa temple at Mysore has made it both stellate as well as circular. The plan of the sanctum of the Udayes'vara temple at Udaypur (District Vidisha) built by the Paramāra king Udayāditya between 1059 and 1080 is both stellate and circular.

measures about 17 ft. (5.2 m)—both the temples having an inner diameter of 10 ft. (3.1 m).

The Bhaktavatsala temple at Belgola and the Narasiṁha temple at Agara, both in District Mysore, are also modest temples built on a plan similar to that of the Chandrehe and Gurgi-Masaun temples. The Narasiṁha temple at Agara, facing west, enshrines an image of Yoganarasiṁha in the circular sanctum measuring 14 ft. 9 inches (4.5 m) externally and 7 ft. 9 in. (2·4 m) internally. At present this stone-temple has no *śikhara* ; the structures beyond the vestibule appear to have been added later on. The brick *śikhara* of the Bhaktavatsala temple, facing east, is missing ; also, its front part is not available. It measures 7 ft. 6 in (2.3 m) and 13 ft. 9 in. (4.2 m) respectively in inner and outer diameters. Both the temples appear to be of the pre-Hoysala periods. It is interesting to note that both the temples have an outer diameter of about 8 cubits as stipulated in the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* for the width of the *ghaṭa-prāsāda*.

All the four temples, the extant remains of the *ghaṭa prāsāda* of the text, seem to have come into existence by about the tenth century *A. D.* It is difficult to think that temples in that period would be built without following the principles enjoined in the *Vāstu-śāstras*. According to Banerji, " temples with circular *garbhagṛihas* have not been discovered outside the radius of the Chedī kingdom. This particular type may, therefore, be called the Chedī type of mediaeval temples. It seems to have been designed by the architects employed by the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect in the country of Dahala."[1] But the circular temples of the Mysore region do not belong to the Śaiva faith. Further, by the tenth century *A.D.* circular temples, dedicated variously to Śiva, Vishṇu, Bhagavati etc., came into existence in Kerala; in fact, the beginning of such circular shrines there, though not of the *ghaṭa-prāsāda* type, can easily be dated to the ninth century on the basis of epigraphical data as well. In the circumstances, one need not take the circular temples as belonging to a particular sect[2] or region, specially when

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1. R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Also, endorsed by V.V. Mirashi in his *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi era*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, IV (Ootacamund, 1955), p. cl X.

2. It has, however, to be agreed that the Mattamayūra sect might have played some role in the spread of circular shrines in different parts of India. A branch of this sect was established at Bheraghat; the temple there was known as *Golaki* or round

it is certain that the circular plan occurs in different parts of India. As it is not a dominant form, the possibility of different architects following the prescriptions and principles laid down in various texts can hardly be ruled out.

The plan of the *ghaṭa prāsāda* is certainly quite characteristic and the influence of the apsidal form on it cannot also be overlooked. Yet, the Indian architects, specially during the mediaeval times, would not simply be guided by whims or idiosyncracies; their sole preoccupation was to translate in stone or other building materials, the forms and shapes described in the *Vāstu-śāstra*. Viewed in this context, the architecture of the extant remains of the *ghaṭa-prāsāda* does not appear to be fortuitous: it is a deliberate attempt to give shape to a form prescribed in texts [1].

(*Contd.*)— temple. The monastery or *maṭha* attached to this temple was known as *Golakī-maṭha* The sect exercised great influence on the Kalachuri monarchs and later, on the Kākatiya rulers. Branches of this sect were founded in several places in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. There are also evidences to show that the *Golakī-maṭha* attracted scholars from distant parts of India. For instance, Vimalaśiva, one of the *Rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings, hailed from Kerala, while Viśveśvarasambhu, who initiated the Kākatiya king, Ganapati, to Śaiva faith came from Dakshiṇa Rādha, in Bengal. See, V.V. Mirashi, *op. cit.* pp. cl III-cl IX.

1. Some of the illustrations in this paper have been copied from various publications: the plans of temples at Agara and Belgola from *Archaeological Survey of Mysore* for the years 1938 and 1944 respectively; the Parauli temple from *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-9; the temple at Gurgi-Masaun from R.D. Banerjee, *op. cit.*; and the *nandi-maṇḍapa* of the Pātāleśvara cave, Poona, from Fergusson and Burgess, *op. cit.*

AKKARAJU V. N. SARMA

Decline of Harappan Cultures: A re-look

The end of Harappan cultures (used synonymously with Indus civilization in this article) in the regions of the Greater Indus, Makran Coast and Western Littoral (Kutch-Kathiawad-contiguous regions of Gujarat) have been interpreted variously. The suggestions on the decline of civilization vary from Aryan invasions [1], flooding [2], desiccation [3], violent geomorphic changes [4], to multicausal ones [5]. In this re-look, a multicausal approach, based on a palaeoecological model is taken, and the variables considered are quite different from several earlier interpretations. In developing the arguments, a model is taken as an object or a process. The point of greatest interest is the relationship between socio-cultural system (here the Indus civilization) and its ecological relationships. Cultural systems including civilizatons and states, are complex systems in dynamic equilibrium, and for convenience considered at three main levels. Complex systems being systems within systems, they mainatain a) equilibrium within each of the subsystems; b) equilibrium with each of the other subsystems;

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1. B. & R. Allchin, The birth of Indian Civilization, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1968) pp. 126-156.

2. R. L. Raikes, Antiquity XXXIX, 196-203, (1965).

3. Sir John Marshall, Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization, (A Probsthair London, 1931), p. 2.

   S. Piggott, Prehistoric India, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1950), p. 134-135.

   M. S. Vats, Excavations at Harappa. (Manager, Publications, Delhi, 1940) p. 4.

4. R. L. Raikes has looked into this issue. From a note on p. 128 of 5 (below) "it is thought that there were intermittent spasms of tectonic uplift across the Indus valley.....20 miles from Amri". It is suggested that blockage due to tectonics might have ponded back huge areas of Indus, thus drowning large areas, removing the civilization.

5. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, The Indus Civilization, (Cambridge University Press, London, 1968) pp. 126-134.

and c) the socio-cultural systems are in equilibrium with their coupled environmental systems[1]. The points of articulation or coupling between the environmental systems and the socio-cultural systems (here Indus civilization) depend on the presence of critical variables. Therefore, the type of variable that would be responsible for the decline of Indus civilization would be somewhat different at different ecological contexts. This article differs from earlier explanations, in that it attempts to use the scanty evidences of the environmental conditions of the Indus period, rather than take contemporary environmental data and extrapolate it on Indus civilization. Recent evidences from palaeoclimatology although minimal and the explanations for the rise of civilizations and the "State" offered in ecological frameworks, though incomplete, contain certain elements which can be combined to produce an internally consistant explanation for Harappan declines.

The data are presented in the following general order. A) Harappan cultures and their ecological locales; B) Main Harappan chronology in the Greater Indus Region, and the Littoral Region (Kutch–Kathiawad, and contiguous regions of Gujarat); and C) Relevance of Palaeoclimatic model and a re-examination of Harappan declines. There is no need to describe the main details of Harappan cultures, as the published literature (1-5) is more than adequate.

Harappan Cutures and their ecological locales

The main Harappan sites are located in what could be conveniently defined as Greater Indus Region, Makran Region and the Western Littoral Region (Fig 1). For several years, much of the descriptive details of Indus civilization have stemmed from the spectacular sites of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. These sites are in the Greater Indus region, and since partition have gone to Pakistan. Since partition, several other Indus civilization sites have been found. The most spectacular ones are the Kalibangan, a site located on the drybanks of Ghaggar River, in Ganganagar District of Rajasthan State in India[2], and the boat dock yard site of Lothal[3] in the Western Littoral region. All these sites exhibit a high degree of urbanization and share the main criteria typical of both New World and old World civilizations. The criteria are based on Lanning[4]:

1. D. L. Clarke, Analytical Archaeology, (Methuen & Co, London, 1968), pp. 43-128.
2. B. B. Lal, Indian Archaeology since Independence, (Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1964), p. 1-107 + figures.
3. Indian Archaeology, A Review. (Director General of Archaeology in Indian, N. Delhi, 1954-55, 55-56, 56-57, 57-58, 58-59).
4. E. P. Lanning, Peru Before the Incas, (Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1967) pp. 1-6.

(a) Subsistence based on intensive agriculture with or without animal husbandry;

(b) Relatively large dense populations;

(c) Efficient systems for distribution of food stuffs, raw materials and luxury goods over fairly large areas;

(d) A diversity of settlement types, including city or ceremonial centres as the focus of socio-political organization;

(e) State structures, with central governments extending varying degrees of control over the lives of people in many settlements;

(f) intensive social stratification;

(g) Extensive occupational specialization in which only a part of the population is involved in the production of food, while the remainder are craftsmen, administrators, merchants, so forth.

While the mature phases of Indus civilization show all the above criteria, the earlier pre-Harappan cultures such as at Kalibangan and Mohenjodaro; as well as the early Kot-Dijian and early Amrian cultures for example, do not seem to show all the above criteria, while it is not possible to argue in this article whether these cultures preceding the Harappan, rather than pre-Harappan[1], the fact seems to be clear that these were not full civilizations, but were of a "tribal" nature, based on a hunting agricultural economy. From the period of c. 2400-2300 B. C., when the first urban settlements of the Greater Indus region come into existence, certain ecological variables may have played a very important role in the development of urban centres. Their most important effect would have been the perfection of food producing methods on "an increased per acre production of calory yield in food leading population growth up to a threshold beyond which kin dominated organizational systems could no longer hold populations; and once the demographic threshold was passed, new *state*

1. Mohammad Rafique Mughal, the Early Harappa cultures in the Greater Indus and N. Baluchistan. (Doctoral Dessertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1970) p. 1-383.

systems come into play"[1]. Given the evidences of the rise of civilizations in Mesoamerica and elsewhere, it would seem that the pre-Harappan cultures did not become suddenly urbanized, but perhaps evolved into urban civilizations at certain spots, while at other spots they maintained an essentially simple character. In the latter instance, they maintained a contact with the "state" centres. There is archaeological support in part for these hypotheses. The archaeological records indicate that only such sites as Kalibangan, Mohenjodaro, Harappa in the Greater Indus region, and Lothal in Western Littoral region evolved into large urban complexes. Other Harappan sites tended to remain much less developed, as exemplified by such sites as Sukta-gen-dor, and Sotka-koh (on Makran Coast), and Nenu-ni-Dhar, Selari, Kanthakot and Morve (in the Western Littoral Region)[2]. Although the seaport stations (eg. Sukta-gen-Dor and Sotka-koh) did not evolve into much larger urban complexes, their strategic locations, for trading, rather than on ecological factors which were causally significant in the growth of Indus Urban centres such as Mohenjo-daro. This idea of an independent evolutionary process for the coastal centres can only be substantiated by extensive digging at the port-sites, and we will have to await sometime to come for this.

Ecological Contexts of Indus Civilization Locales

The three main regions from which Indus civilization remains are known are the greater Indus Region, the Makran Region and the Kutch-Kathiawad-Gujarat Region[3]. These regions are based on contemporary geographic classifications[4], and undoubtedly during prehistoric times some of the boundaries may

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1. E. P. Lanning, The Origin of State, (Summary of seminar proceedings, Dept. of Anthropology, Columbia University, NYC, 1968), p-1.

2. O. H. K. Spate, India and Pakistan, (Methuen & Co, Ltd, London, 1967), pp 480-533, 642-682.

3. Spate develops the concepts of Western littoral, Western borderland and Indus plains. These have been modified by the present writer as Greater Indus region (combined Western Borderlands and Indus Plain), Makran Region (south western areas of Western Borderland and land along the arabian coasts), and The Western Littoral (including the Gulf of Kutch, Cambay and the contiguous regions of Gujarat). This modification is more helpful in interpreting Harappan declines.

4. D. P. Agrawal, in Studies in Prehistory. D. Son and A. K. Ghosh, Editors, (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1966), pp 139-148.

have shifted due to changing climatic bands, but this possibility is a minor source of error to the argument presented in this paper. When the above three regions are compared, one notices striking differences. In general, the Greater Indus region is a warm semi-arid desert. The Makran coast is warm desert. The Western Littoral region (Kutch-Cambay–Kathiawad, regions of Gujarat which are contiguous) has moderate rainfall and some marshy sections. In the Makran coast, as one proceeds inland, the ecology changes from arid to semi-arid character. The east-west oriented hills in the Makran region are present only in the south side, but past the Siahan range (i. e. Central Makran range), the land becomes a desert. The coast of Makran is described by Holditch (quoted by Spate, as " that brazen coast washed by molten sea...gigantic cap crowned by pillars and pedestals are balanced in fantastic array about mountain slopes... with successive strata so well defined that they possess the appearance of masonary construction.,,, standing stiff, jagged, naked and uncompromising, above the confused ravine-riddled lower hills of clay ". This description gives an idea of the difficult nature of the territory.

In terms of the vegetation, there are significant contrasts between the regions. Within the Greater Indus region, in the hilly areas of the north, forests of juniper, wild olive, pistachio, laurel and myrtle occur, but as one proceeds north-west, the character of vegetation changes into that of a desert. In the desert, occassionally, reed patches occur in the *hamuns* (oases), and thin lines of *Tamarisk* grow along the *wadis* or *loras*. Islands of greens appear in the deserts during the spring time. The Indus River at its delta region merges gently into the saltmarshes and mud flats of the Rann. At these regions of the Indus, are found mangrove flats, with sandy bars alternating with clayey silts, but by and large, at this point the Indus is a " savage waste ".

Locally, around the Karachi region, vegetation consists of *babul* (Acacia arabica), and *Tamarisk*, and was a source of fuel for urban areas until gas and

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(*Contd.*)— D. P. Agrawal, Science, 143, 3609, 950, (1964).

B. B. Lal, Ancient India, 18 & 19, 208-221, (1962 & 1963).

S. Mortimer Wheeler, in Indus Valley and Early Iran, by F. A. Khan, (Department of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Education, Govt. of Pakistan, Karachi, 1964), pp ix-xiii.

electricity came into use. The water table of the Indus plain, according to Spate is about 8 feet (2·4 metres) and rises gradually, leading to water logging and increased salinity.

The Greater Indus region merges into Punjab on its eastern flanks. Spate finds it convenient to take the Indo-Pakistani political boundary as the line of division. However, the location of well developed urban sites like Kalibangan in regions similar to the Greater Indus region, such a politically based boundary division is inadequate for ecological purposes. Hence, the Greater Indus region extends well into the Indian territory, but at this time, its eastern boundary can only be approximately demarcated on the map (Fig. 1). The Punjab region and the Greater Indus region gradually merge into each other, in terms of vegetation.

The Western Littoral region is conveniently divided by Spate into 1. Kutch and Kathiawad; 2. Gujarat; 3. Konkan; 4. Goa; South Kanara; and 5. Kerala. Regions 1 and 2 are most important of the above for Harappan cultures, as most of the finds come from from them. It will be useful to consider the Kutch-Kathiawad and the contiguous Gujarat regions as one unit for discussions of their ecology, although minor differences may exist between them. The Rann and Kathiawad show a prograding character. Here the current off the shores seem to build up the coasts. The region is also characterised by mud flats made of black saline soils. North of this region, the mudflats imperceptibly merge into the Thar Desert. The Kutch coast climate varies from extreme aridity in the north, to monsoonal conditions at the Cambay region.

The vegetation in the Western Littoral region is different from the Greater Indus and Makran regions, in that it is thorny but along the coasts deciduous plants are present. The coasts have mangroves and in sections are rich in bird life. In the Gulf of Cambay region, the water is salty, and deep wells at over 30 feet depth have been sunk to get at fresh water. Once inland, in the region of Kutch-Kathiawad-Gujarat, there is fresh water available at relatively lesser depths.

In brief, it may be said, that the Greater Indus and Makran Regions, are desert like, arid to semi-arid in nature. The Kutch-Kathiawad-Gujarat regions are more marshy, and more verdant than the former two regions.

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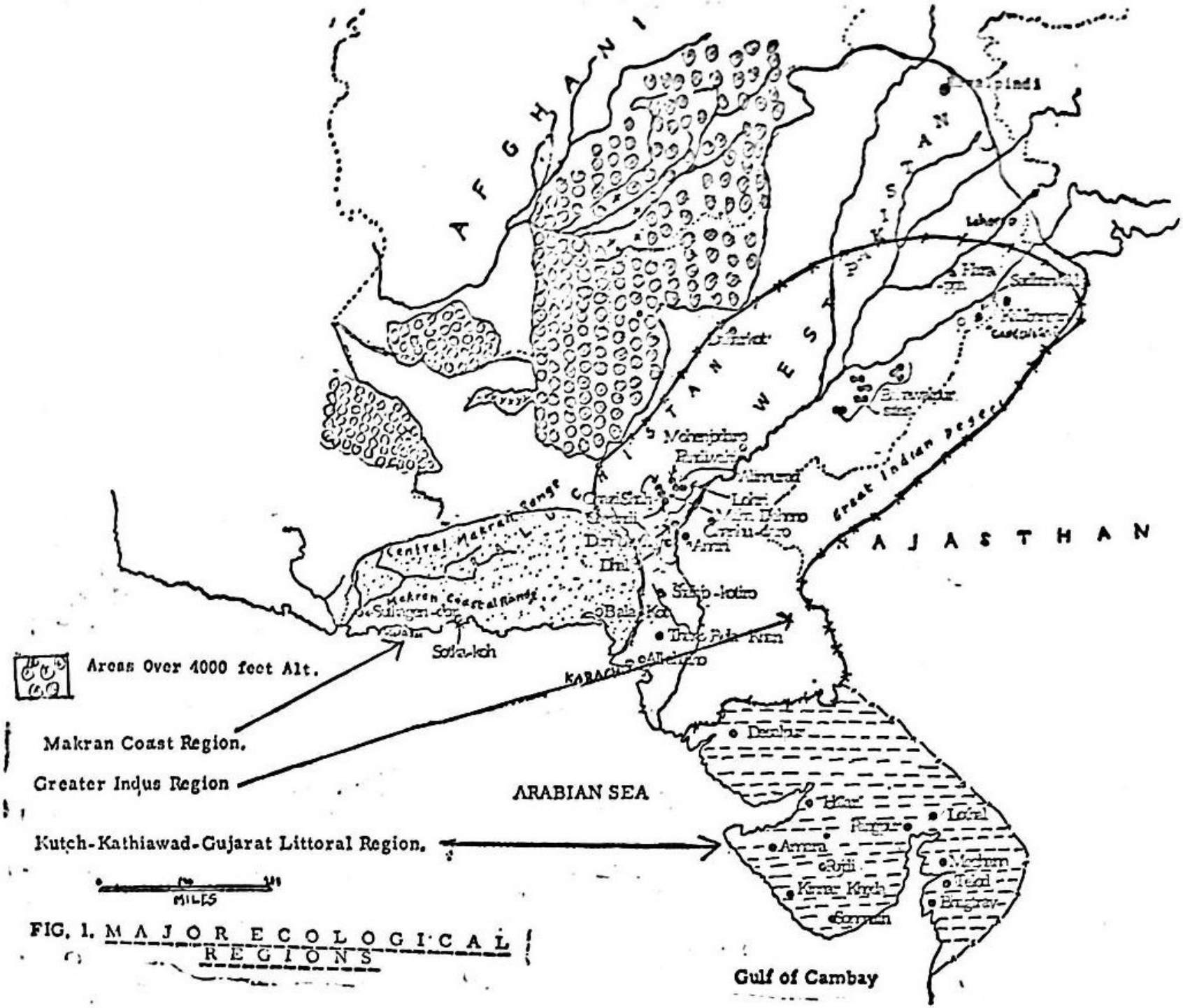

FIG. 1. MAJOR ECOLOGICAL REGIONS

Harappan Chronology

The main Harappan chronology is summarized in a table (Table 1), This summary is based on all the carbon-14 dates available at this time. It has already been mentioned, that the distinction between pre-Harappan and early-Harappan is an important one, and all of the dates in the table have been taken as pre-Harappan, rather than early-Harappan. Based on the C-14, dates available, it is suggested that pre-Harappan (or early-Harappan) cultures may extend from the time span of 2300-3700 B. C. The main Harappan occupations in the Greater Indus regions (as evidenced from the C-14 dates thus far available) may have lasted from 2300-1750 B.C., and such a short span for Harappan occupations has been advocated by several synthesisers. Since there seem to be some evidences of continuum between the pre-Harappan to Harappan, the main Harappan civilization may have been slightly longer, but not earlier than 2400 B. C. The palaeoclimatic model also seems to point out towards a short chronology of 2300-1750 B. C. for Harappan civilization. If based on this short chronology, some of the dates available for Harappan sites are to be either accepted or rejected, and when acceptable would have to be under different sigmas. These sigma changes are indicated in the table. The detailed carbon-14 evidences are available in following references (1-5, 77 and 15). In the model developed here, the pre-Harappan (or early-Harappan) occupations may have occurred earlier than 3700 B. C. and are likely to have been of a tribal character. The difinitive urban cultures are quite unlikely to be much out of the bracketed range, however.

Palaeoclimatology and Harappan Cultures

After the retreat of the last glaciers (Wisconsin or Wurm or Sartenian), much of the warmer conditions in the world have come about. This the Holocene period is also referred to as Post-Glacial or Recent. At the retreat of the glaciers, the sea level may have been at least -35 to -40 metres, and following this event at about 10,500 B. P., the sea may have risen about 2 cms/ year. This rise may have lasted about 1000 years or so. In this time span, evidence from the tropical regions suggests that there was increased pluviality or precipitation, alluvial siltation, complex terracing of river valley and an expansion of tropical monsoon fed lakes [1]. These facts are known from several parts of the world. Concurrent

1. R. W. Fairbridge, in Encyclopedia of Geomorphology, R. W. Fairbridge, Editor

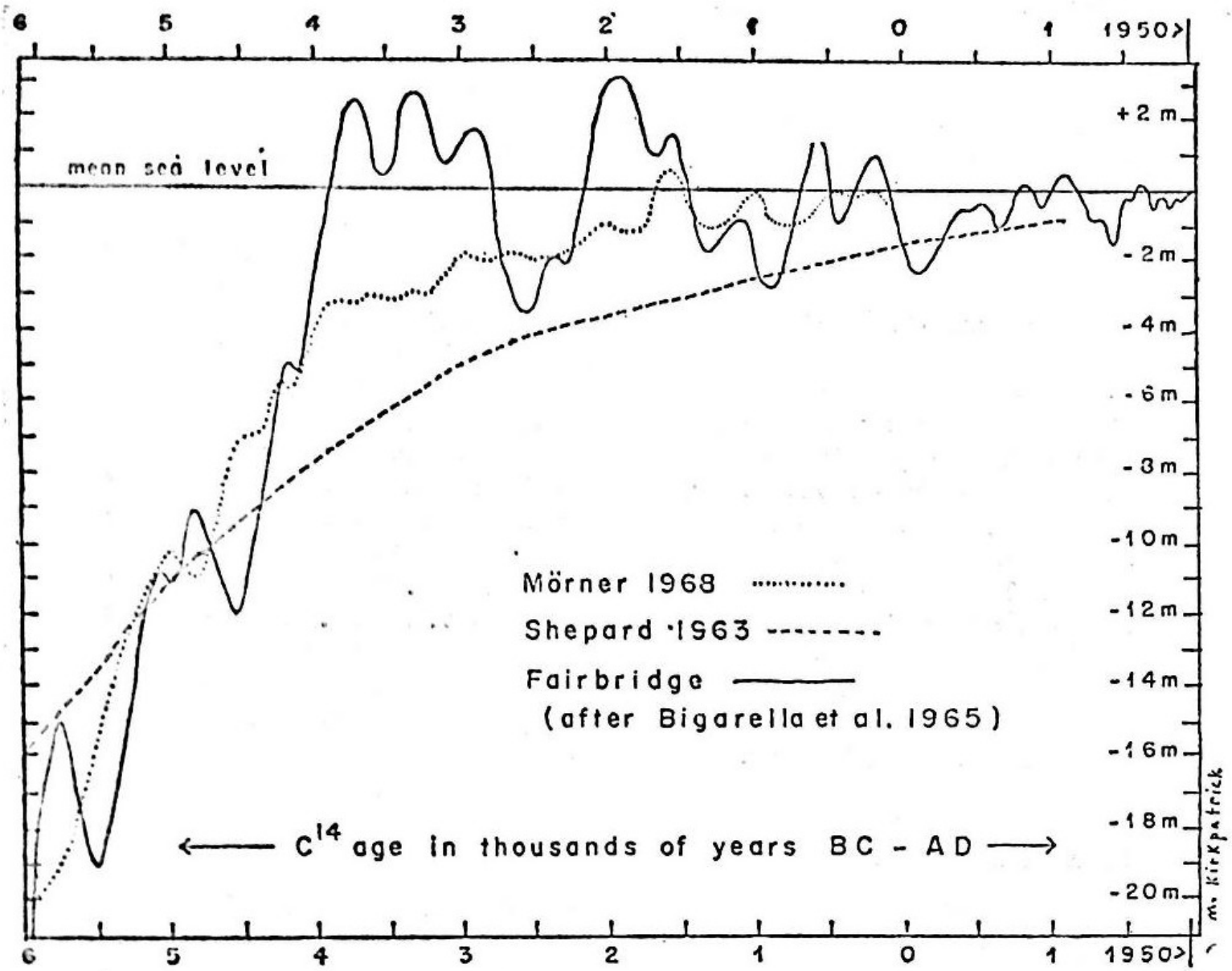

FIG. 2. Eustatic changes during the last 8000 years.

with rising sea levels, there is also a rise in the general water table of the earth, a fact that stems from gravity and hydrostatics. During the Holocene period, many minor oscillations in the sea level have been domonstrated. The findings of three investigatons are given in figure 2. The most extensive eustatic work in a world wide context has been done by Fairbridge [1]. While his results have been questioned by Sheppard [2]. Morner has shown some degree of validity to Fairbridge curve [3]. In fact, the application of the eustatic curve [4] of Fairbridge by different people in the New World had fit remarkably well with archaeological and geomorphic data. In the application of pluviality and water table rise/fall relationships, the Harappan evidences show a very close fit, which cannot be ignored.

In terms of exact evidences for minor climatic fluctuations in geomorphic contexts, in the highly vegetated regions, which have monsoonal regimes, minor climatic fluctuations do not show up critically. In marginal semi-arid areas with a 15-45 cms rainfall fluctuations remarkable evidence exists for minor climatic fluctuations. This evidence is known from semi-arid areas of Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the American South West. Even though in arid areas, such climatic fluctuations do not leave behind any geomorphic evidence, it is incorrect to assume that climatic fluctuations never occur. However just such an assumption has been made by earlier interpreters of Harappan declines. If we reject in our consideration, evidence of post-pleistocene climatic fluctuations from other areas, in the consideration of Harappan declines, we are proceeding against

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(*Contd.*)— (Reinhold Book Corporation, NY, 1968) pp 525-536.

D. Gill, in *Encyclopedia of Geomorphology*, R. W. Fairbridge, Editor, (Reinhold Book Corporation, NY, 1968), pp 333-336.

R. W. Fairbridge, *Annals of New Work Academy of Sciences*,95 (1), 542-579, (1961).

1. R. W. Fairbridge, in *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth*, Vol 4, (Pergamon Press, London, 1961), pp 99-186.

2. F. P. Sheppard and I. R. Curray, in *Progress in Occanography*, M. Sears, Editor, (Pergamon Press, NY, 1967) pp 283-291.

3. M. A. Morner, *Sea and The Swedish West Coast*, (Stockholm, 1969), p 447

4. W. Hurt, *American Antiquity*. 30, 1. 25-33. 1964.
J J. Bigarella et al, *Anais de Academia Brasiliera de Ciencias*, Brazil, 197, p 274 (1965).

the body of theory in palaeoclimatology as well as against various empirical evidences. Basically, in a tropical environment a warm pluvial period indicates by ascending water bodies (both sea and fresh water lake levels). These fluctuations are extremely sensitive indicators of past pluviality. While in the tropics, it is a warm pluvial (i. e. during an interglacial time, it is a pluvial), other world regions have shown the opposite, the occurrence of a cold pluvial [1].

Therefore, it is put forth here, that in studying cultural processes evidences from past oscillations of water bodies (which are extremely sensitive indicators of pluviality) is extremely useful. If a socio-cultural system and its ecological articulation points are in equilibrium, the socio-cultural system should normally continue to exist. If points of districulation occur, the critical variable like water, can be interpreted through pluviality indicators, even though in the immediate region one may not have any geomorphological evidence. In doing this, care should be taken, so that the cultural interpretations brought about, do not contradict the body of theory of either palaeoclimatology or anthropological archaeology. A examination of both the palaeoclimatic evidence and archaeological data provides consistent results. In figure 2, the global eustatic phenomena suggested by Fairbridge, Sheppard and Mornor have been given. If the Harappan chronology is examined in the context of Fairbridge and Morner curves, it becomes immediately striking that the maximal development of Harappan cultures coincide with rising sea levels, increasing pluviality and water tables (beginning between 2400 BC to 2300 BC), and the culture declines at 1700-1750 BC, when the sea level has receded from the preceding high point. This period corresponds to the younger peron times, according to Fairbridge [2]. The same kind of rise is also evidenced in the work of Morner, although the exact dimension of the rise differ in absolute figures, a fact stemming from local geological charateristics of the Swedish coasts, where such isostacy and eustacy playing a simultaneous role. After the main period of Harappan occupation there have been several oscillations in world sea levels, but in the Indus regions, Harappans had generally abandoned their main settlements in spite of later pluvial cycles.

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1. A.V.N. Sarma. The cultural implications of upper Pleistocene and Holocene ecology of Santa Elena Peninsula, Ecuador, (Dictoral Dessertation, Columbia University MYC 1969), p 1-211.

2. Fairbridge, *op. cit.*

Their abandonment of the Indus region is probably due to their discovery of richer, and more hospitable areas in the Ganges, and in general north Indian regions.

When the pluviality phenomena are interpreted in Harappan contexts, it would appear that the three regions, the Greater Indus, the Makran and the Western Littoral have reacted somewhat differently. In terms of the greater Indus region, the ground water level was rising beween 2400-2300 B. C, when the crystallisation of the first urban settlements from the preceding tribal ones came about, all the critical variables including water, were available for the "state" to function totally. By around 1900 B. C., the water table was receding and the Harappans had to cope with a declining water supply. This is the time period (i.e. at aboubt 1750 B. C.), when a small Aryan group invaded major Harappan cities like Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Despite the claims, there is no conclusive archaeological evidence that Aryans ever invaded all other Harappan cities at the same time (in the Makran, Western Littoral and Greater Indus regions). An Aryan invasion coincided with decreasing water supply only at the Greater Indus region.

From here, some of the arguments presented by different other investigators on Harappan declines would be examined in this revised framework. Wheeler states that there was a progressive degeneration of the Harappans, resulting from building a slum, especially building the structures on top of preceding structures, but it would seem that during an ascending water table, one would have to build higher and higher platforms to avoid water logging. Another fact that seems to support the rise of the water table, and the creation mechanisms to overcome it, is seen in the extreme thickness of the mound area at HR. area of Mohenjodaro, which was bored to a depth of about 57 feet. This is suggestive of building higher and higher to overcome water logging or flooding of the basements. While the water table was receding in the Greater Indus region, (1900-1750 B. C.—fall in sea level), "civic" standards had also declined, namely the state structures did not have enough mechanisms to supply the basic needs particularly water of a large population. To survive in such a context, human groups would have to move to more hospitable environments. In this regard, it is hypothesized that the chalcolithic culture in India arose due to the movement of several Harappan peoples around 1750 B.C. This does not mean that *all* populations emigrated from the Greater Indus region, but a *majority* did leave. Given the vagaries of a declining water supply, structures like the Great Bath, may

have been used as reservoirs in addition to being religious foci, as is usually assumed.

A distinction between steady and changing settlements and patterns resulting therefrom, has been suggested for Greater Indus region [1], but it is suggested here that only certain Harappan sites attained urban conditions, and hence showed up as larger mounds in the archaeological record, while the others remained as minor centres. Also, it has been argued that the drains were inadequate as storm drainages, a fact undoubtedly true. However, their exact role in large urban centres, may have been one of sewage removal, since an ascending water table and its consequent water logging require good mechanisms of disposal. The destruction of vegetation for fuel [2], has been blamed but at the present time the vegetation cover does not seem to have been much altered from Harappan times, when seen in the contexts of fuel supply. Many of the local populations exploit the vegetation for fuel, without seriously depleting the supply [3]. The argument that man's hunting extinguished the game of the regions is also invalid, since even now it appears that the region supports game animals similar or least close to those of Harappan times. The use of fired bricks has been explained as vegetation depleters (in its manufacture), but it is suggested here that these bricks were more prestigeous and hence used in periods than the less prestigeous, if not less stronger mud bricks.

While the fall of the water table might have triggered off the movement of the populations away from the Greater Indus region, somewhat different mechanisms may have operated in the Makran and Western Littoral regions. In the Makran region, such sea ports as Suktagen-dor and Sotka-koh were thriving until about 1800-1900 B. C., but after that the fall of about 5 metres of sea level, in association with a rising coast line rendered their direct trading impossible. This eustatic decline, combined with the active deposition of silt during this period, plus the silt deposited during the active depositional period

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1. R. L. Raikes and R. H. Dyson Jr., *American Anthropologist*, 63, 265-281, (1961).
2. R. L. Raikes, *Water, Weather and Prehistory*, (Humanities Press Inc, MYC), 1967, pp. 106-184. See also short note by R. L. Raikes, *American Anthropologist*, 65, 655-59, (1963)
3. Personal Communication of Mr. F. A. Durrani, University of Pennsylvania, Dept. of Anthropology.

of the sea [1], led to the ultimate loss of these trading stations. The relevance of sea levels is indicated by the fact that these two sites are several miles inland from the present coast line. For example, Suktagen-dor, Sotka-koh-and another site Bala-kot are 30, 8, and 12 miles inland from sea coast line respectively. Hence, the Makran coast sites declined due to eustatic and tectonic causes combined. Based on the model developed (as Harappan sites) the Makran sites are not likely to be older than 2400-2300 B.C., and may not have survived much past 1800-1900 B.C. Because of the nature of the territory, and the climate, it is unlikely that more Harappan outposts would be found on Makran Coast, when compared to other Harappan regions.

The Kutch-Kathiawad-Gujarat region had a somewhat similar reaction to the eustatic declines. Here too, as on the Makran coast the fall of 5 metres of sea level removed the docks from use as port sites, e.g. Lothal. However, as the interior of the region can be dug up for fresh water, in spite of marshy nature, many Harappan outposts came to exist. These outposts, it is hypothesized, are not likely to be large "state" structures. The existence of Harappan outposts is borne out by the archaeological record of Kotadi, Nenu-ni-Dhar, Kanthakot, Morve, Narapa, and Vada.[2] Quite relevant is the fact that seaward trade to Persian Gulf disappeared around 1900 B.C., and its cessation is known from archaeological record but the exact causes seem to be the fall eustatic levels which removed the port cities from their trading role.

In all the three regions, especially in the Greater Indus region, periodic flooding may have occurred, with not affecting the total area where Harappan sites are known to exist. Hence the loss of Harappan civilization by total flooding hypothesis is non-tenable, as their decline are better explained by eustasy and pluviality phenomena. The change in the Indus drainage patterns and the loss of Ghaggar river are all dynamic factors relevant to Harappan times, but their role in the total loss of Harappan cultures at about 1750 B.C. may at best have to be explained in regional contexts. Because of much of the geological

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1. C. F. Dales, *Antiquity*, XXXVI, 86-92, (1962).

2. *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1967-68. (Archaeological Survey of India, N. Delhi, 1968), pp 13-17.

data concerning the Ghaggar are lacking, though this is a guess, the drying up may have been the result of an extremely long arid phase in the pluviality/aridity cycle. Knowledge of exactly when the Ghaggar became dry has to await further dating, perhaps from cultural or organic materials from the river bed. By the same token, extended pluviality, in association with geomorphic changes has produced shifts in the drainage patterns of the Indus during recent years. Based on uniformiatrianism, such shifts may have occurred during earlier times, but their role in total removal of Harappan cultures is limited, if any.

As wheeler suggests the Saurashtrian Indus was a late developing phase. The same seems quite probable, as the eustatic/pluviality model, while explaining the declines of coastal sites, indicates that the inland ones were more intact. After 1750 B.C., these inland sites might have then evolved into Chalcolithic cultures. However, the migrants from the Greater Indus region would have entered the central and northern aspects of India more easily than the littoral groups. The chalcolithic elements of North India are more easily derived in this framework.

SUMMARY:

With the availability of palaeoclimatic data (particulalrly the correlations available for pluviality/aridity with rise and fall of temperatures, water body levels etc) in the tropical areas, a consistent explanation for the decline of Indus civilization can be developed on multicausal framework. In certain regions it was simply a case of declining water supply. in other cases, removal of water at trading ports a point leading to non-functionability of ports.

The explanation that Aryan invasions led to Harappan declines, is not to be refuted, but played a minor local role. These invasions coincided with a decreasing water supply, and at a time the "state" structures were unable to cope with the demands of the population. The theory that civic disorganization led to urban decline is valid, but it should be emphasised that the disorganization may have an extremely importans environmental variable underlying it. The Makran coastal centres disappeared due to eustatic phenomena, as did the Kutch-Kathiawad-Gujarat ports; but a difference between the two is, that in the latter ecological area, fresh water is available inland, relatively easily, and in the former, the terrain is hilly. This

fact was undoubtedly recognised by Harappans, as evidenced by numerous Harappan sites in Kutch-Kathiawad-Gujarat regions. The Saurashtrian (inland) Harappans may have survived slightly longer than the other groups.

Much of the arguments presented in this paper are on the basis of the evidences available at this time. Some of the arguments may need revision when more evidence becomes available. At best this framework will be tenable for only a short span of time. [1]

HARAPPAN CULTURES 2300 B.C. - 1750 B.C. (3700-4250 B.P.).

KALIBANGAN			HARAPPAN			
HARAPPAN LEVELS IN YRS. B.C.			LOTHAL			
1217 +/— 103 (TF 138)*			Pd.	II-A	1555 +/— 130 BC	(TF 135)**
1397 +/— 93 (TF 244)			Ph.	III-B	2005 +/— 115 BC	(TF 27)
1665 +/— 113 (TF 143)			Ph.	III-B	1995 +/— 125 BC	(TF 26)
1773 +/— 88 (TF 152)			End.	III-B	2010 +/— 115 BC	(TF 22)
1794 +/— 103 (TF 142)			Ph.	IV-A	1900 +/— 115 BC	(TF 29)
1835 +/— 145 (TF 149)			Ph.	V-A	1865 +/— 110 BC	(TF 23)
1866 +/— 113 (TF 141)			Ph.	V-A	1810 +/— 140 BC	(TF 19)
1900 +/— 105 (TF 150)			Pd.	II-A	1895 +/— 113 BC	(TF 133)
1930 +/— 105 (TF 139)			Pd.	I-A	1965 +/— 135 BC	(TF 136)
1960 +/— 103 (TF 151)						
2030 +/— 105 (TF 147)						
2060 +/— 105 (TF 145)	ROJDI					
2077 +/— 115 (TF 153)						
2077 +/— 103 (TF 163)	1 B			1745 +/— 105 BC		(TF 199)
2097 +/— 103 (TF 25)	1 B			1970 +/— 115 BC		(TF 200)
2045 +/— 75 (P 481)						
2236 +/— 103 (TF 160)	Disuse of Dockyard at Lothal estimated at 1800 B.C. (see Lal).					

I thank Drs. Rhodes Fairbridge Edward P. Lanning of Columbia University for discussing aspects of palaeoclimatology and anthropology respectively. The opinions expressed and the responsibility for the same rest with the author. I thank Miss. Muriel Kirkpatrick, Lab Supervisor at Temple for help done with eustatic curve diagram. I sincerely thank my colleague, Dr. Denise O'Brien, for having edited the paper and removed several ambiguities.

A larger and expanded version of the arguments of Harappan declines to the coming of Iron age is currently under preparation, with collaboration from Mr. Durrani of Univ. of Pennsylvania.

MOHENJODARO

LATE LEVELS

1760 +/— 115 B. C. (TF 75)

MATURE LEVALS (all in years B.C.)

1864 +/— 64 (P 1182A)
1966 +/— 60 (P 1176)
1967 +/— 60 (P 1178A)
1993 +/— 61 (P 1180)
2062 +/— 66 (P 1177)
2083 +/— 66 (P 1179)

POST HARAPPAN

No major record available, which is continuous with the preceding culture.

Some records are known. It is suspected that the later chalcolithic cultures may have evolved from the preceding Harappan cultures. This time period would be time of abandonment of coastal ports like Sotka-Koh and Suktagendor.

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*Solid Carbon Samples. May need an addition of 200 years to compensate suess effect.

**These dates fall some what out of range for palaeoclimatic model developed in this paper. However, TF 165 may be used in first sigma. So also TF 143, which will fit the model when used in first sigma.

Some of the dates have been calculated in B. C. from published figures, (when expressed in B. P. yrs.) by subtracting 1950. In doing this, there is a source of minor error in the last digit (mostly within 1-5 years). This source of error does not alter the interpretations.

While objections may be raised in my using the C-14 dates with no specific phase/period/stratigraphic relationships in this table, it should be pointed out, that the main aim of the table is to bring the focus of range in occupations rather than minor details.

M. SESHADRI

Some Unique Mahisasuramardini images from Mysore State

A large number of stray but unique images of the Goddess Mahisasuramardini are noticed by scholars from various parts of India from time to time. A typological and chronological [1] classification of the various figures of Mahisasuramardini both in India and outside was made in the March issue of the Half-yearly *Journal of the Mysore University,* Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1963. An interesting feature of these images is that some of the early forms survive into quite late periods and are found on the wooden *rathas* or cars of temples of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The victory of the Goddess Durga Mahisasuramardini over the Buffalo demon symbolizes, the victory of the soul over animal passions. In this endeavour, considerable help is derived from Sarasvati (*Jnana*) and Lakshmi (*auspiciousness*) and others who usually accompany the Goddess.

The figure illustrated in (Fig. 1), found in a shrine at the west end of the southern porch of the Somesvara temple at Kunigal, Mysore State, belongs to type II basically and may be put into a new sub-group (IV) since the deer occurs as one of her mounts, along with the lion. Though the shrine at the west end of the southern porch of the Somesvara temple at Kunigal has been dated to the Vijayanagar period, the images itself is of a much earlier period. The pose of the Goddess is remarkable : She stands in *Tribhanga* with her left

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1. *Journal of the U. P. Historical society* (Old series) Vol. XXII, 1949, Lucknow pp. 152-159.

leg crossed behind her right. Her four hands hold in order sword, discus, conch and long bow. She has a jewelled *kirita* (crown), necklace, sacred thread, breast band, *nagamuri* (snake shaped ornament for the arm), *kammerband* and shorts? anklets and wristlets. She has two mounts (*vahanas*), lion on her right and antelope on the left. The severed head of the buffalo on which Mahisasuramardini stands has a protruding tongue. This particular type of image was very popular during the Pallava—Chola Period. S. R. Balasubramanyam has illustrated a similar figure[1], though there are some minor differences. The deer mount is present on the left of the figures but the presence of the lion on the right is not certain because that very portion is broken. Originally the lion was probably present. It is 8-armed with *kati* and *abhaya* but the inevitable long bow is present. Stylistically, therefore, the Mahisasuramardini from Kunigal should be assigned to the 9th Century A.D. when the Pallava, Chola, Ganga and Nolamba elements were permeating the art of South India.

The last figure which belongs to type IV (see Half-yearly *Journal of the Mysore University* XXII, No. 2 (Arts) March, 1963, page 22) comes from the Ramesvara Temple at Kubatur, Shimoga District (See *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1941). The demon who has emerged from a slit on the back of the buffalo is caught by the right arm by the Goddess and is pierced with the spear end of the *trisula*. It is interesting to note that the three-pronged end of the *trisula* is not used in action. This is a typical feature of the Chalukyan figures. (See the Badami and Aihole specimens, plate 6 B and Pl. 8 : Half-yearly *Journal of the Mysore University* (Arts) March, 1963). The figure is later Chalukyan and assignable to 11-12th Century A.D.

(Contd.) *Artibus Asia*, Vol. XXI, 2, 1958.
Artibus Asia, Vol. XIX, 1956 pp. 368-373.
Artibus Asia, Vol. XXVI, 3/4 1963, pp. 237–46.
Ancient India Vol. 4.
Lalit Kala, Nos. 1 and 2, April, 1955-1966.
Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University Section A-Arts, March 1963, d. 26.

1. *Early Chola Art*, Asia Publishing House, 1966, also see fig. 20A.

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Fig. 1. Mahisāsuramardini, Somesvara Temple—Kunigal.

Fig. 2. Mahisāsuramardini—Kampanayura Temple.

Fig. 1. Bharata (Front View)

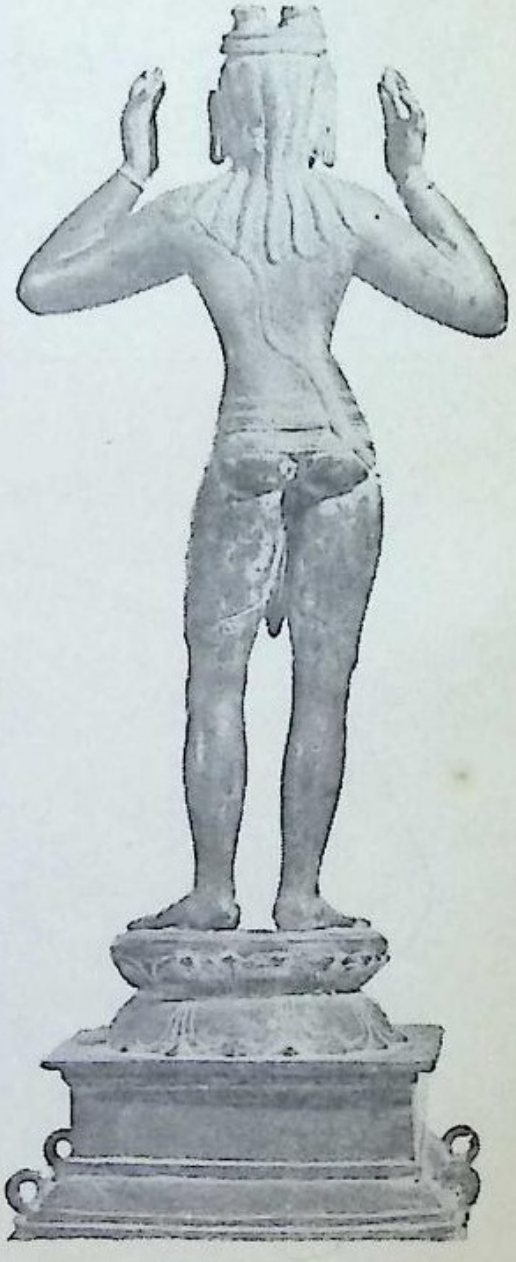

Fig. 2. Bharata (Back View)

(See page 300)

Another interesting figure (Fig. 2.) of Mahisasuramardini was found by me with its neck broken in a dilapidated Chola temple at Kempanayura of Mysore District. It is 4-armed with *cakra*; *sankha*, *abhaya aud kati*, and has breast band, anklets and wristlets. Two lions with their faces in the opposite directions are seen squatting to her right and left respectively. The Goddess stands on the severed head of the buffalo in *samabhanga*. The occurrence of the two lions makes this figure one of the rarest. Since the figure has typical[1] Chola drapery it can be without difficulty assigned to the 10th century A.D.

(*Contd.*)— *Early Chola Art*, Asia Publishing House, 1966, Also see Fig. 20 A: Half.yearly *Journal of the Mysore University*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (Arts), March, 1963.

1. Another figure which has six arms, originally from Besnagar, is now in Gwalior. See Plate 17, *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, XXII, No. 2 (Arts). March, 1963.

B. N. SHARMA

A Unique Bronze Image of Bharata

Vālmīki, the celebrated author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, has given a graphic account of Bharata's meeting with his elder brother, Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, when they were in exile[1]. Bharata had gone to the forest in search of Rāma with the intention of bringing him back to Ayodhyā. Their father, Dasaratha, had passed away, and in the age-old Hindu tradition, Bharata thought it only proper that his eldest brother should ascend the throne.

Bharata implored Rāma, the illustrious scion of Raghu, to return to Ayodhyā. But Rāma told him in unequivocal terms that he would honour his pledge of spending fourteen years in exile and could not return to Ayodhyā. Thereupon, Bharata placed a new pair of gold-plated wooden sandals in front of his noble brother and prayed to him to bless them with the gentle touch of his lotus feet. Rāma placed his feet on the sandals and the devout Bharata, taking them with touching reverence, said that, having relegated the burden of rulership to the wooden sandals, he would live on fruits and roots alone, wear matted locks and the bark of trees and dwell outside the city of Ayodhyā till the return of his brother. If, however, Rāma did not return to Ayodhyā after the lapse of fourteen years he would embrace the all consuming fire.

Rāma gave his approval and affectionately embracing Bharata bade good-bye to him and his party. Thrilled with joy in receiving the pair of sandals from Rāma, Bharata placed them reverentially on his head and proceeded towards Ayodhyā with his retinue. There he installed the sandals of Rāma on the throne

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1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Gorakhpur, 1963, Bk. 2. cantos CXII-CXV.

and himself put on the garb of an ascetic. He took his residence at Nandigrāma, near Ayodhyā, from where he carried on the affairs of the State deputising for Rāma, and seeking inspiration and guidance from the sandals, which made him feel the constant presence of Rāma.

This description from the *Rāmāyaṇa* clearly portrays Bharata as the embodiment of devotion. His great reverence and regard for his elder brother, the rightful heir to the throne of Ayodhyā, is unparalleled in Indian history. Bharata carried on his head the ornate sandals of Rāma, installed them on the throne and governed the kingdom on behalf of Rāma. This important episode from *Rāmāyaṇa* is beautifully represented in a unique bronze, image of Bharata. acquired recently by the National Museum, New Delhi (Accession No. 69.49, Ht. 75.5 cms. figs. I and II).

Numerous sculptures illustrating scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been found at Deogarh, Kirādu, Khajurāho, Bhubaneswar, Somanāthapura and and other places in India. The famous group of bronze image composed of Rāma, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān, preserved in the Government Museum Madras, is one of the masterpieces of early Chola workmanship of c. 1000 A. D. But no image of Bharata carrying the wooden sandals on his head was so far known to the students of Hindu iconography.

This unique image of Bharata is shown standing on a double-lotus pedestal mounted on a rectangular base, with hooks on the four sides for use in carrying the image in procession. His hands bent at elbows, are raised high in the attitude of supporting the ornate sandals, placed on a cushion on his head. In his calm and serene face is mirrored the feeling of devotion and reverence.

Having sworn to live like a recluse till the return of Rāma to Ayodhyā, he is sparsely dressed. He wears a necklace, thin bracelets and a sacred thread shaped like a sinuous band flowing towards the waist zone. The short lower garment secured at the waist has an ornamented floral clasp with ribbon ends on sides arranged artistically. The upbraided matted locks of hair descending at the back in a loose fashion further suggest the garb of an ascetic *munives'adharaḥ*.

According to Vālmīki [1] Bharata was of a dark brown complexion and had eyes resembling the petals of a lotus, and these are admirably fashioned in the image. The broad and roundish face, rather sharp nose, somewhat thin lips elongated ears, the tapering and shapely fingers, the elegant contours with high finish are some of the characteristics of the late Chola period noticed in this rare image. Yet on a closer examination, it is evident that a certain amount of stylisation has set in. The modelling has become rather stiff and the knee-joints prominent, which are features met in artistic creations of the early Vijayanagara period. Therefore, this fusion of the late Chola elements into the Vijayanagara ones suggests a 14th century date for this beautiful image of Bharat a.

1. *Rāmayaṇa*, Bk. 2, Canto CXII, v. 115.

Photographs: By courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi.

K. V. Soundara Rajan

A Surya Shrine at Narthamalai, Tamil Nadu, India

This paper deals with a rock-cut shrine which is located in front of the well-known temple Vijayalaya-cholisvaram at Narthamalai in the Pudukkottai Division of the Tiruchi District of Tamil Nadu. This cave shrine which comprises a sanctum and an oblong, spacious, transverse front hall, also rock-cut, with a plain-pillared facade, has also a structurally added outer *mandapa* whose plinth alone has survived till to-day. This rock-cut fane is carried out at the base of the hill called the Melamalai, and the structural part in front, by its inscriptions seems to address itself to the late Chola times, of the period of Kulottunga I. The group of temples including the Vijayalaya-cholisvaram, this cave temple in its front and another small rock-cut shrine, also with some remains of a structural *mandapa* in front appearing to have been co-evally added to it during the 7th regnal year of the Pallava king Nrpatunga (circa. 866 A.D.) by a Muttarayar vassal chief Sattam Paliyili and his sister, have all been described in the *Manual of the Pudukkottai State* (Vol. II–part I 1940 and part II, 1944).

The outer hall of the larger cave-temple referred to above, carries twelve identical figures of *sthanaka* Vishnu, that is, in the standing pose, four–handed, carrying the traditional weapons of the *chakra* (discus) and the conch (*sankha*) in the upper hands. The sanctum which has a low squarish pedestal in the middle of the floor, with a socket-hole in the centre does not give any indication of the divinity originally installed therein. It is with a probable identification of this that the present paper would be primarily concerned.

It should be noted that Vijayalaya-cholisvaram, as it stands now is a temple built by a Muttarayar chief Videlvidugu Ilango-Adiarayar and repaired when damaged by heavy rains by his subordinate or successor Mallan Viduman-

the fact of which is mentioned in an inscription found at the base of the northern side *dvarapala* of the temple, on its exterior wall. This Muttarayar was in charge of this area before the Cholas, under Vijayalaya could wrest power over the whole of the Chola-mandalam from the Muttarayars of Tanjai and Vallam, owing allegiance to the Pallavas of Kanchi.

As regards the larger cave-temple under reference, alike by the absence of any clinching foundational or other records as by the lack of any primary or secondary architectural or sculptural evidence, a satisfactory identification of its origin and purpose had not so far been possible. The suggestion is made here in the following pages for the first time, that it could have been a shrine for Surya, which could have been intended, to be an adjunct to and oriented towards the main and the earlier Siva temple here, called Vijayalaya-cholisvaram. A tradition for such a *parivara* sub-shrine for Surya had already been in vogue in this part of the country already in the early Chola times and has further been extensively elaborated upon in the main deltaic Chola-mandalam also in the late Chola times. It is also to be noted that the subsidiary shrines around Vijayalaya-cholisvaram do not show any evidence of any one of them having actually been used for Surya.

As the basic description of all the monuments in the Melamalai of Narthamalai, including the large rock-cut cave with Vishnu relief figures now under consideration, have been furnished in the *Pudukkottai State Manual* mentioned earlier, it is not repeated here. But some useful information and *prima-facie* observations might be made.

1. The rock-cut shrine with Vishnu carvings in its transverse front hall is reasonbly well enough facing Vijayalaya-cholisvaram squarely.

2. The interior or exterior details of this cave do not make it of any stage co-eval with either Vijayalaya-cholisvaram or the smaller cave-temple known as Paliyiliccuram which, for example, has a rock-cut linga in its sanctum. The larger cave obviously had not been intended for Siva, nor is any chance there for its Jain affiliations as the Vishnu reliefs are more or less integral with the

rock-cut effort in this shrine. It is in fact much more complete, more specious and traditionally better rendered in the carved and painted Vishnu reliefs than is the case even with the shrine cell of the smaller cave temple further south at a distance.

3. The stuctural *mandapa* remains in front of the two cave-temples are not also comparable, in that they are by internal evidence of inscriptions, integral with the rock-cut sanctum in the smaller case, whereas in the larger case, the structural *mandapa* might or might not have been of the same time as the rock-cut part, although it is likely that the analogy of a structural *mandapa* for a rock-cut shrine part might have worked similarly in both the cases, in differing times. The broken records in the larger caves, front structural *mandapa* refer themselves to the late Chola times, in the reign of Kulottunga I.

4. The nature of the pedestal in the sanctum which is low and squarish (or rectangular), with a socket-hole in the centre, as it is unlikely for a Siva linga should have carried a regular statue on it which should not only have fitted into the socket but also have perhaps utilised the large area on the pedestal, and should, additionally go well with the twelve identical Vishnu relief figures in its front hall.

5. As Vijayalaya-cholisvaram is facing west, while still being located on the very brow of the hill—an orientation which was warranted obviously by Agamic injunctions which do not desire a Siva temple to be facing into the village habitation which is permissible only for the Vishnu temples—a Surya sub-shrine facing it from the west is also made appropriate. This minor tradition of a Surya shrine to face a Siva temple and forming part of its complex is purely a Chola tradition, examples of which are far too many in Cholamandalam to merit special enumeration here. In the Pudukkottai region itself, the Karkkuricchi Mahadeva temple at Tirukkattalai, about 8 miles near Pudukkottai town, is an example of what is perhaps an earlier stage of such a practice of the Siva-Surya disposition. In this temple which like Vijayalaya-cholisvaram is an *ashta-parivara* temple lay-out, and of Irukkuvel authorship under the vassalage of the Cholas, during the time between Parantaka and Gandaraditya, in the first half of the

10th century A.D., the sub-shrine to the south-east is intended for Surya but is not directly facing the main shrine as happens in most of the later temples. The tradition to place the Surya sub-shrine on the north-east sector of the temple campus gets into currency almost from the time of Rajaraja I and especially from the time of his son and successor Rajendra I, who in his great temple at Gangaikonda cholapuram, provides for a unique Surya-*pitha* with Navagraha devatas carved all around the block, and fixes it in the north-east part of the large outer *mandapa*. This vogue becomes all the more popular during the time of Kulottunga who builds a separate temple for the first time in Tamil country for Surya, as at Suryanar Koil, in Thanjavur district. The example under reference at Narthamalai is in the axial line of the main temple here, namely, Vijayalaya-cholisvaram, and the structural addition made to it was during the time of Kulottunga I most probably, if the architectural and inscriptional data of the structural addition is taken into consideration. It has the twelve identical Vishnu carvings on its outer hall of the cave part.

We should now deal with the carvings briefly. It is well-known that the Adityas were twelve according to the earliest tradition of the Vedic and the post-Vedic times—the number seemingly representing the siderial period of the Sun with reference to the twelve zodiacal signs. The Adityas had in the later stages been largely merged with Vishnu, although it is common in literature (as in the early hymns of the Alwars) and in art to show them as part of the *entourage* of either Siva or Vishnu. At the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi built by Rajasimha Pallava (Narasimhavarman II), we have the panels of the Ekadasa Rudras and the Dvadasa Adityas flanking the passage towards the main court of the temple. In the great and holy book, the Gita, Lord Krishna giving a magnificent exposition to Arjuna in the 10th chapter, about his omniscient character especially identifies himself with a number of men and things, among which he speaks of being Vishnu among the Adityas. This aspect of the Aditya-hood of Vishnu comes in handy for the Chola art-patrons to depict Surya and the twelve manifestations of the Sungod, as Visnu-Adityas, the *par-excellance* form. An incidental feature is that the Vishnu carvings are not rendered with all the weapons but with the *abhaya* and the hand-on-hip (*kati*) pose for the

lower arms. The drapery, modelling, ornaments etc., leave one in no doubt that we are dealing here with the Chola craftsmen in their hey-day. As a Surya figure is to be specifically consecrated in the sanctum, the carvings on the outer *mandapa* are rendered in relief form. Although the Surya figure that ought to have been in the sanctum is now lost, it should have been a standing figure and perhaps might have had his seven steed chariot driven by Arjuna at the feet of the Sun statue, for which purpose the space on the pedestal is sufficient. The importance of Vijayalaya-cholisvaram has been sufficiently well attested to in the later Pandya records here and the sub-shrine for the Sun-god should have become necessary and was apparently not part of the *ashta-parivara* lay-out here earlier, negatively speaking on the available evidence at the site. The great urge or impulse to supply it could have reached its peak during the time of Kulottunga I, when Surya worship assumes new dimensions in Tamil Nadu, for reasons which are outside the purview of our present subject.

As a sequel, it would be a very satisfactory answer, consistent with the evidence at hand, variously, of the rock-cut cave's relation to the main temple, the nature of the sanctum, the twelve identical Vishnu figures carved in relief in the outer hall, in a manner different from normal Vishnu icons, the structural front *mandapa* which by its own internal evidence is of the late Chola times and the need for a structural addition to this cave rather than to any other part of the temple-complex here, and the difference between this cave and the other smaller cave temple called Paliyiliccuram, in style and content and the highly simplified character of the architectural part of the larger cave, if it is taken as intended for a sub-shrine for Surya as an adjunct to the main temple here. It is to be noted that this was perhaps one of the rare cases where the Chola craftsmen who were such adepts in working on granite, from the later half of the 9th century onwards, had been associated with a rock-hewn example of their period and sculptural style.

A. SUNDARA

New Discoveries of Ash-Mound in North Karnataka : Their Implications

Of the many problems pertaining to the proto-historic cultures of the lower Deccan, including north Karnataka, the people responsible for, and the cause or purpose behind the formation of the ash–mounds, noticed by Mackenzie more than a century back, are not yet satisfactorily known in spite of the recent systematic and commendable works by Allchin and others. In the present paper, it is proposed to review all the aspects of these ash-mounds in the light of new discoveries made by me during the recent years.

1. NEW SITES

No less than thirteen such sites were located by me in north Karnataka in the course of my exploration of the region under the project of village-to-village survey of antiquarian remains launched upon by the Archaeological Survey of India, and also for my research on *Megaliths in North Karnataka* for over a period of ten years. These sites are as follows:

1.	Rajulabanda	Manvi	Taluk	District	Raichur
2.	Gorkal	,,	,,	,,	,,
3.	Tadbidi	Shahapur	,,	,,	Gulbarga
4.	Budihal	Surapur	,,	,,	,,
5.	Budihal near Nalwatwada discovered by P. Narayana Babu.	Muddebihal	,,	,,	Bijapur

6.	Bisnal	Bilgi	Taluk	District	Bijapur
7.	Shirguppi	Jamkhandi	,,	,,	,,
8.	Hippargi	,,	,,	,,	,,
9.	Kulloli	,,	,,	,,	,,
10.	Terdal	,,	,,	,,	,,
11.	Saptasagara	Athani	Taluk	District	Belgaum
12.	Kudachi	Kudachi	,,	,,	,,
13.	Sadalaga	Chikkodi	,,	,,	,,
14.	Konnur	Gokaka	,,	,,	,,

It is note-worthy that the last site is situated near the left bank of the Ghataprabha, sites 6 to 13 in the upper Krishna valley, sites 3 to 5 in the lower Krishna and the first two in the lower Tungabhadra valley.

All the sites have the habitational debris of the chalcolithic culture, such as grey ware pottery of Maski fabric, painted and plain; microliths and parallel-sided blades, fluted cores, waste flakes; neoliths, particularly polished stone-axes with pointed butt-end; animal bones; and ashy earth. In the upper Krishna sites, however, black-on-red painted pottery is comparatively profuse. Another kind of pottery, in two fabrics, plain and painted red and grey wares—a pottery different from the grey ware of Maski fabric—has also been found. This kind of pottery was first noticed at Savalda, in District Dhulia, and subsequently in other localities of the Tapti valley. Occasionally, Black-and-red ware pottery, apparently of the megalithic fabric, occurs sporadically at these sites. A number of megalithic sites, largely with passage-chamber tombs, have been found near many of the sites in the upper Krishna and the Ghataprabha valleys. It is worth-noting that the ash-mounds are found to overlie immediately the neolithic or chalcolithic deposits.

2. Distribution And Authorship

It will be evident from Fig. 1 showing the distribution of ash-mounds that there are no ash-mound in any of the neolithic or chalcolithic areas in the

upper Tungabhadra, from Kundadri of the Tunga up to Hospet area, in the Malaprabha, upper Ghataprabha up to Konnur and the Bhima up to Shahapur area. It is only in the Bhima-Krishna-Tungabhadra *doab* that the ash-mounds of previous discoveries are confined, while those of the recent discoveries are located only along the Krishna valley as far as Kallolli near Yadur (the first village on the river in Mysore State). It is thus evident from the spatial distribution of the ash-mounds that the activity resulting into the formation of such mounds is confined chiefly along the Krishna valley. It is, however, reasonable to infer from the distribution pattern of the ash-mounds that the movement of activity spread from the upper Krishna along the same valley towards the *doab*.

The Bhima-Krishna-Tungabhadra *doab*, the area of concentration of the ash-mounds, was the melting pot of various cultures and had witnessed the neolithic and the megalithic stages of cultural developments. I have shown elsewhere that there were four neolithic cultural strains moving towards the *doab* region in different periods and from different directions. The earliest and the most extensive is the one characterized by the grey ware pottery of Maski fabric that moved from the upper Krishna towards the *doab* in about 2200 B.C. This movement seems to have stimulated the Late Stone Age people of the Palar-Pennar region and also of the Kaveri valley to develop a neolithic economy of the kind found at T. Narasipur, Paiyampalli, Nagarjunakonda, Singanapalli etc., spreading as far up and south of the Tungabhadra as Halur and Brahmagiri. This development seems to have taken place from about 1900 B.C. The third cultural strain, features of which are yet to be known, is represented by the pottery of the type found at Savalda occurring only in the upper Krishna. No datable evidence to fix up the date-range of this culture is available but its presence, as the evidence of the Terdal excavations shows, is subsequent to that of the first. The fourth cultural movement is represented by the plain and painted pottery of the Jorwe fabric, which spread from the Godavari region towards the Krishna Tungabhadra *doab* along the Bhima in 1100-800 B.C.

Now if the ash-mounds are of neolithic origin, as postulated by Bruce Foote and Allchin, it has to be ascertained as to which of the four groups was responsible for them. Or at what stage of cultural assimilations the activity began ? None of the chalcolithic sites with Jorwe pottery in the Godavari and the Bhima valleys has the remains of ash-mounds. It is quite probable that the people of the first cultural group were the authors of the ash-mounds because their cultural remains, such as pottery, have been found sporadically in stratified layers of ash-mounds and more in the sites close to Utnur etc. Further, the second is most probably an adaptation of the first by the Late Stone Age people. This culture had spread also in the Don valley, a northern tributory of the Krishna, and also to the Bhima, the Ghataprabha, the Malaprabha and the Tungabhadra valleys. Yet, it is note-worthy that the ash-mounds are found only in the Krishna valley and not in the valleys of other rivers. Secondly, out of about 250 sites, only 35 sites have yielded ash-mounds. Evidently, there exists a marked disproportion in the extent of the ash-mound culture in relation to the neolithic South India.

At this stage, I would like to place before you my observations, sometimes aided by limited excavations about the stratigraphic relationship of the ash-mounds with the chalcolithic cultures. At Kudachi (Krauncha Nagara of the tradition), an ash-mound is found to overlie the chalcolithic habitational debris (Fig. 1 B). In the section of the former, chalcolithic pottery is scarcely found, if not totally absent. Further, in my small excavation at Terdal, a chalcolithic site with an ash-mound, no trace of slaggy ash could be traced in the lowest three layers there. The ash-mounds at Wandalli and Kuditini show neolithic grey ware pottery in small quantity in a limited area on the periphery of the mound giving an impression that the ash-mound had been encroaching upon a pre-existing site. At Kodikal, only the lowest part of the mound, as K. Paddayya's scraping reveals, yielded unmistakable neolithic habitational debris datable to 2460 +/— 105 B. C. It is interesting to note that a very few antiquities had been obtained from Site III (11-12 contour) in the ash-mound proper while the trench in Site I (6–7 contour) in NE, some antiquities came from the lowest layers 10–12). And the charcoal samples subjected to C-14 dating, are from the lowest

layer (11) of this trench. Thus the date of early habitational debris cannot be applied to the formation of the mound over these debris. As a matter of fact, occasional occurrence of a few neolithic grey ware from the layers of the mound need not mean neolithic origin or association, as early materials, by accident, might find their way into the succeeding phase. The almost invariable situations of the ash-mounds in or nearby chalcolithic or neolithic sites may only indicate that the mounds came into existence, most probably in the latest phase of the neolithic or chalcolithic cultures.

It is necessary here to have a few words about the origin of these ash-mounds. Several hypotheses have been put forward regarding their formation and according to these theories they are due: to petrified substance: ancient *kankar*; volcanic or limestone slag; funerary practices; accidental burning of cow-dung; funerary holocaust; ancient burials; gold and iron smelting etc. According to Allchin, the ash-mounds are due to ritual burning of the cow-dung accumulated annually or over long periods within cow-pens by a cattle-conscious pastoral communities, and also suggested that the Holi bonfire might be a survival of the ancient tradition responsible for the ash-mounds. He dates the ash-mounds to about 2000-720 B.C. On the contrary, the latest work by V. R. Reddy on the ash-mound at Palvoy, Andhra Pradesh, seems to indicate that they were iron smelting sites.

Now about the authors of these ash-mounds. The remains of ash-mounds in the upper Krishna are associated in most cases with the new type of pottery comparable to that of Savalda. In the Tapti valley, scoriaceous ash-lumps have been found in sites with this type of pottery. A few painted potsherds closely akin to the type of pottery in question is also found in the uppermost layer of the neolithic, and immediately underlying the megalithic, at T. Narasipura. Further, in Takalghat, near Nagpur, and in Paunar excavations the early phase comprises painted pottery, black-and-red ware and also iron objects. It appears from the illustrations of the Paunar excavations that painted pottery from the site is similar in types and in paintings to those of the upper Krishna. It is interesting to note that the ash-mounds in the Krishna valley are situated in proximity to iron-bearing localities such as Bisnal, Rajankollur areas.

ASH MOUNDS IN NORTH KARNATAKA
NEOLITHIC POTTERY
ASH MOUNDS
DISTRICT NAMES
1 C.M. = 12 K.M.
BIDAR
R. KAPANI
R. BENITOORE
GULBARGA
R. KAGNI
R. BHIMA
BIJAPUR
R. DONI
BENCANHALLI
KAKKERA
TADBIDI
SHIRGUPPI
HIPPARGI
PUDACHI
SADALAGA
TERDAL
KULLOLLI
BISNAL
R. KRISHNA
R. GHATAPRABHA
BUDINAL
THANWADI THANDA
MALLUR
KOBERAL
BUDI-HAL
GAUDUR
WANDALLI
GYERGUNTI
RAICHUR
BUDINNI
KURKUNDI
KONNUR
BELGAUM
R. MALAPRABHA
R. MASKI
MANVI
PATALABANDA
GONKAR
TELMARI
DIKLIHAL
DHARWAR
BENAKAL
R. TUNGABHADRA
SIVAPUR
SANAVASPUR
R. HAGARI
NIMBAPUR
GADIGNUR
BELLARY
KURIKUPPA
KUDTINI
KAKBALLI
KUDGAL
SANGANAKAL
HALAKUNDI
AGARI
R. KALI
R. GANGAWALI
R. VARADA
17
16
15
75
76
77

Fig. I.

There is a probability of yet another cultural group as being the originators of these ash-mounds, and it was the iron-using passage tomb-builders. It appears to me from the study of the red ware pottery of the Savalda type and of the passage-chamber tombs, of C. 1100-800 B.C., that there is a similarity between the two in some types and fabrics. Again, in the excavations of the ash-mound at Palvoy, were found megalithic pottery and iron objects. The occurrence of neolithic pottery in the stratified layers of the ash-mounds may be due to the overlapping of the neolithic and megalithic cultures and cannot be taken as a strong evidence for the neolithic origin of the mound. Lastly, I actually extracted one complete vase of megalithic black-and-red ware from the top part of an ash-mound locally called Vali Dibba at Venkatapur, near Hospet.

Thus the study of the recently-noticed ash-mound along with the earlier ones shows that the activity leading to the formation of the ash-mounds spread along the Krishna towards the *doab* and further eastwards and southwards, probably by the users of the painted pottery comparable to that of Savalda of the upper Krishna or the builders of the megalithic passage-chamber tombs. Most likely this people was connected with iron smelting activity.[1]

1. The paper is based on the one read in the Seminar of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Karnatak Historical Research Society. Dharwar, held on June 30—July 1, 1970. I am greatful to the authorities of the Society to publish it elsewhere, and also to Shri Pimpre who prepared the map on Fig. 1 and to Shri Suresh Vasant Gadhava for Photographs on Fig. I from my negatives, illustrated in this paper.

G. R. H. WRIGHT

Restoration of Hindu Temples in South India and its Conceptual Backgrounds

There is presently in Tamil Nadu a concern for the conservation of Hindu Temples which, many of them, are fine monuments. In this connection I would like to illustrate and discuss briefly one limited issue, first placing it in its proper context. As usual the background is more extensive than (and as important as) the issue. Indeed without an understanding of the background the issue does not take shape.

Any question concerning the restoration of monuments depends ultimately on the conception of *a monument* and the attendent quality, *monumentality*. According to the etymology of the word, a monument " calls to mind," " reminds the understanding". It commemorates something memorable in a memorable way. That is, it calls to mind history, it does so by art.

Thus it can be seen that any monument possesses what may be termed an aesthetic character or instance to its native and an historic instance to its nature. Both these instances open into an extended speculative background, for there is both a philosophy of history and a philosophy of art. Is every temporal circumstance unique, is history *magister vitae* ? Or is history an unimportant superficial manifestation of the eternally revolving absolute? Is art based on form or feeling?. Art as imitation, art as experience. What is Art?

These philosophical understandings condition the concept of monumentality—or indeed may negate it. On them depends the most basic decision involved in any possible scheme of restoration: What, if anything, to restore?".

To this fundamental question, a brief answer in passing. Both art and history commingle in the fabric to produce a memorable quality—the monumentality. This is not to be equated solely with scale (although, of course, the scale of construction may contribute to the monumentality). The quality refers to a meaning, a significance which endures. If there is present an utilitarian significance only for the moment, then there is no monumentality and no question of conservation and restoration, for the concern of these operations is monumentality.

If it is possible to establish a category of momumentality and the monumental by reference to history and art, these concepts are not theoretical and remote from the practice of restoration of monuments. They are the basic tools of practical analysis to get from the general to the particular—to confront the problems of a particular monument. Monuments may be classified both from the standpoint of history and from the standpoint of art. Indeed they must be so classified, for clearly monumentality is very varied in expression.

Obviously on the monument's art, the constructional art embodied in its fabric, will depend the technical processes of conservation and restoration. Is the monument ,constructed of mud-brick, stone, wood, etc.? Is it decorated with plaster or paint etc.?.

It is not so apparant that the historical condition of the monument dictates the overall aims of conservation and restoration. But this is so, for the history of the monument determines the function it fulfills in modern society, and (with restored monuments as with all structures) function determines form.

History is continuous, but in this connection, as in all others, it must be divided for purposes of study, with the understanding that, in reality, the divisions merge one into the other. According to its historical instance, a monument may be apportioned to one of three classes, and for convenience the following designations may be employed.

Archaeological ruins where vestiges only of an ancient structure survive and the original integrity cannot be regained. The ruins have become a monument

in themselves. *Ruined monuments* where sufficient of the fabric remains so that the original integrity can be appreciated, but the building no longer performs the social function for which it was constructed. *Living monuments*, where the structure is still in use for its designed purpose (temple, palace etc.) but the art by which it was constructed no longer subsists. There is, indeed, historically speaking a further category of monuments—*modern monuments*. But these, since they are constructed entirely within the historical and artistic forms of contemporary society, need no restoration. If they are damaged, they may be renovated in the manner of any other contemporary building (and likewise maintained).

With these considerations, Hindu temples, the particular field of restoration at issue, have been given the necessary categorical definition. They are living monuments mainly of stone construction.

Since they are at one and the same time monuments and centres of religion, i.e. they are living, religious monuments, an additional understanding must be imported to inform this definition—the understanding of religion. And not only this understanding in itself. The history and art which constitute that monumentality are here connected with religion. Thus there comes in point very strongly the question what is considered to be the proper relation of history to religion (is religion in history or beyond history or both ; is it a timeless absolute or is it relative to social institutions etc ?) ; and the question what is the proper relation of art to religion (is there a separate religious art etc.?). Finally in this connection it must be noted that on occasion both history and art can be and have been made substitutes for religion. In which event an ancient monument may well come to be worshipped in itself rather than remain a place of religious worship.

In defining the concept of a monument it has been seen in passing that the subject of restoration is *monumentality* and that the reason for restoration is the *enduring significance* which is a *sine qua non* of monumentality, is indeed a definition of monumentality. It now remains to

clarify the operation, the *modus operandi* : What is restoration ? How are monuments to be restored ?.

In conceptual terms the operation of restoring monuments consists in making evident and appreciable to the best advantage every surviving monumental attribute. This is in no way idealist, or idealising, it is an operation *in rem*. Restoration is integration or re-integration of the monumentality destined by art and history, to the exclusion and elimination of all non-monumental accidents.

To operate in this way it must be possible to lay hands on these attributes of monumentality. Wherein are they resident ? They are manifest in the *structure* and in the *aspect* of the monument. These two necessary concepts are self-evident, although the metaphysics of their relation is by no means simple. One is not substance and the other quality. They are both equally substantial, and the one cannot exist apart from the other. There can be no aspect without structure, and there can be no structure without aspect. However, it is very possible to change one without changing the other. The aspect may be damaged without affecting the structure and *vice versa*. Equally the structure may be restored without affecting the aspect and *vice versa*.

Unless a defect has developed in the structural stability or in the aspect of a monument, it needs no restoration. How, then, do such defects develop? What are the causative agents? That which makes—mars. The agents which damage and destroy the structure and aspect of monuments are those which create monumentality. They are multitudinous, they are all the children of time—the acts of men and the processes of nature (a dichotomy of great practical importance).

When defects in the structure or aspect have impaired the monumentality, what are the processes by which this monumentality may be restored? Considered individually, they may by of infinite variety, but their mode of operation is again twofold. The processes may remove something which is damaging to

the structure or the aspect of a monument, the process may add something which will benefit the structure or the aspect of a monument. Restoration operates by removal and by addition; by removal of (and only of) the non-essential, the non-monumental, and by addition of (and only of) essentials to the monumentality. It achieves its aims with an economy of means, for it is itself an art.

All these matters must be thought about before proceeding to the restoration of any monument, otherwise there can be nothing systematic in the work. On the other hand, if these categories and concepts have been realised, it is unlikely that any particular monument or group of monuments will present problems difficult to identify and resolve.

So much for the background. Consider now the Hindu Temples of Tamil Nadu and their restoration. With reference to the above determined categories the characteristic situation can be put in a nutshell. The temples are living monuments; the damage suffered is almost entirely restricted to their aspect; it is caused very largely by the (recent) acts of man; the restoration indicated must proceed in the main by way of removal.

Recent reports have drawn attention to this state of affairs. It is the aspect of these monuments which demands attention and that, as may be expected, almost entirely due to the acts and omissions of man. Destruction, dilapidation, village style *redecoration* etc. all continue to negate the aspect of monumentality etc." Again, "it has been indicated that the damage and deterioration to the monumental quality of this temple has been due in the main to human rather than the natural causes. This is true generally of monuments which remain in use or in a built-up area—and it is certainly true of the generality of Hindu temples in South India. Crude blockings, walling up of colonnades, partition walls dividing what was designed as a unit, monumental facades cut up or screened off by ramshackle barriers and enclosures or hidden by accretions etc."

Indeed if the work of restoration must proceed without any basic understanding and a rule of thumb is needed, then it would be this.

Restoration should be by way of removal only. Do not add anything to the aspect of the monument and remove everything visible added by man during the present century beginning with the most recent addition.

The syndrome here outlined may not appear at all strange to those familiar with ancient monuments and their care. It is, however, very strange to the local layman. For it transpires that the local layman has himself formed subconsciously a concept of restoration of monuments. This concept can be expressed in a syndrome exactly opposite to that set out as actually obtaining, viz., the damage suffered by these temples concerns their structure (they are likely to collapse or crumble); this is due to natural causes (like the decay of all old things); thus restoration must proceed by way of adding something to give them strength.

Here then is the aspect of the restoration of Hindu temples brought to issue. The concept that such monuments are to be restored by removing material from them seems downright bizarre to the ordinary man. Yet it is a necessity that the reality of the the concept should be demonstrated. This question is worth a brief discussion on two grounds; it is a vital question in the context, and, in turn, the context offers an exceptional facility for resolving the question. The facility is provided by Hindu Advaitic thought.

A monument calls to mind something of enduring significance which in some way, in some measure is embodied in it—with which it is identical. This phenomenon is expressed (alas! neither clearly nor convincingly) in one word, *culture*. If this imponderable entity be taken as a basis, it is possible to develop an analogy entirely within the concepts of Advaitic philosophy, which will domonstrate with the greatest force imaginable the cogency of restoration by way of removal.

The culture in question can be likened to *Brahman* (although, of course, on the Advaitic analysis *per se* it is exactly *Maya*. The essential existence of any monument, its monumentality, is then *Atman*. Thus the problem of restoration is clearly to reveal the *Atman*; and in revealing it to show that *Atman* and

Brahman, monument and culture are one in source, admitting no secondary derivation.

The analogy insists that this process in one of removal. By the removal of the non-essential *sheaths* (*Kośa*) the true reality, *Atman*, reappears. The *Rajaputra*, whose true nature was concealed by error, now stands revealed *in* his true nature. Or, to use the opposite simile of Sankara (*Vivekacudamani*, 1949–50), the pool of water covered by sedge does not shine forth; but when the non-essential, accidental covering of sedge is removed the clear water becomes visible for what it always has been. Nothing in its nature has been changed, only of it has been revealed.

The state of revealed monumentality may well be termed *Kaivalya* the the state of being pure, uncovered entire. By the process of removal the monument has achieved wholeness, integration. Isolated from what does not belong to it (*Klesa*), it is no longer *Klitsa—not itself*; it has been restored to itself.

NATANA KASINATHAN

Coins of Samara Kolahala and Bhuvanekavira

Mr. Elliot in his collection listed two coins with the legend *Samara-Kolahala* (Din of war).[1] In one of them the legend is written on the reverse and a Garuda on the back of a fish, with *sankha* and *chakra* on the obverse (Fig. 1). The other one has Garuda with *sankha* and *chakra* without fish on one side and the legend on the other (Fig. 2). Sir T. Desikachari has also listed three coins of this type [2]. In all of them Garuda in anthropomorphic form figures on the obverse, and there must be some significance for the portrayal. Elliot thinks that a religious change might have taken place during the time of the king, Samara-Kolahala.

On palaeographical grounds the coin is to be assigned to the 14th or 15th century A. D.[3] During that period the later Pandyas were ruling in the southern part of Tamil Nadu having Tenkasi or Tirunelveli as their capital. No king of that dynasty was having either a name or title as Samara-kolahala. Hence it is obvious that this coin was not issued by the Pandyas.

One Sundarattoludaiyan Mavalivanarayan, who ruled in the same period in Srivilliputtur[4] area, was, however, having *Samara-kolahala* as one of his titles. The occupation of this area by Vanakovaraiyars has been described thus: "About the beginning of the 13th century A. D., when the Chola supremacy was

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1. *Coins of South India*, by Elliot, Plate III, No. 134. and 135, p. 126.
2. *List of Pandyan coins*, plate IV, Fig. 73, 74 & 75.
3. See Pandai Tamilahattu Nāṇayaṅgal, By. R. Nagaswamy, *Hand Book*, (Pub) Madras.
4. List of Inscriptions of Later Pandyas, No. 9, *T. A. S.* volume I. p. 46.

Fig 1. Coin of Samara Kolahala.

Fig. 2. Coin of Samara Kolahala.

Fig. 3. Coin of Bhuvanekavira.

getting weakened and the Pandyas were rising in importance, a chief of Nadunadu (or Magadainadu) Rajaraja Vankovariyar by name, rebelled against his overlord and seems to have joined the Pandya King". The Pandyas appear to have changed their capital from Madura to Tirunelveli, leaving Madura country in charge of their new ally the Vanakovaraiyan.[1] Sundarattoludaiya Mavalivanarayan seems to have ruled from Saka 1398 to 1468. His inscriptions are found in several places such as Tiruppullani, Alagarkoil, Kalaiyarkoil etc Therefore it is most likely that this king might have issued the coins bearing the legend *Samara-kolahala.*

The Vanakovaraiyars might have been subdued by the Vijayanagara general Narasa Nayaka who invaded Pandya country during that period. This will explain well the Vanakovaraiyars bearing some of the titles of Vijayanagara kings such as Muvaryarganda, and Rajamisaraganda. They also probably adopted Vaishnavism, the religion of Vijayanagara kings. That is why the anthropomorphic Garuda is found on this coin having *sankha* and *chakra*, the attributes of Vishnu.

As said earlier, in some of the coins Garuda is standing upon the back of a fish. This shows clearly that the Pandyas were in a subordinate position. Therefore, in all probability, this coin bearing the legend *Samara-kolahala* might have been issued by a Sundarattoludaiyan, the Bana who bore the title.

Another coin, bearing the Tamil legend *Bhuvanekaviran*, also deserves special mention (Fig. 3). The title *Bhuvanekaviran* was assumed by a number of Pandya kings. Thus, Jatavarman Vikramapandya who was a contemporary of Jatavarman Sundarapandya (1253-1268) had the title Bhuvanekaviran.[2] Again Maravarman Sundarapandya who ruled from 1268 to 1311 was also called *Bhuvanekaviran*[3]. Some of the later Pandyas who had ruled either from Tirunelveli or Tenkasi had this prominent title. Jatavarman Kulasekharadeva "who

1. *T. A. S.* vol. I, p. 53.
2. *S. I. I.* vol. IV, No. 228.
3. *A.* R. E. 260 and 263 of 1917.

brought back the past" also had *Bhuvanekavira* as one of his titles[1]. Parakrama-pandya, who ruled in 16th century is also mentioned as having the same title in one of his inscriptions found at Karivalamvandanallur[2].

In spite of the fact that all the above kings had the title *Bhuvanekaviran*, it seems that they could not have issued this interesting coin. One could find on almost all the coins issued by the Pandyas, the fish symbol or elephant or a moon to indicate the Pandya origin. But the coin under discussion has none of the above symbols but an anthropomorphic Garuda. It does not conform to the usual practice of the Pandyas. Hence it might have been issued by a one other the Pandyas.

The Bana King Sundarattoludaiyan, mentioned earlier, also had the title *Bhuvanekavira*[3]. We have seen that he had issued coins with the Garuda emblem. It is therefore likely that this coin bearing the legend *Bhuvanekavira* was also issued by him.

1. *T. A. S.* vol. I. p. 47.
2. *Ibid*, p. 50.
3. List of Inscriptions of Later Pandyas, No. 9, *T. A. S.* volume I, p. 46.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

The Skanda Cult

The worship of *Muruga* (Subrahmanya) is a very ancient cult in the Tamil Country. However, V. Venkayya held the view that there is no reason to suppose that Muruga was an ancient Dravidian God, afterwards assimilated with Skanda and that Muruga is not a new name, but only a Tamil translation of the Sanskrit designation, Kumaran. I wonder if this view would receive general acceptance. One of the *Sangam* works, the *Tirumurugarruppadai* (one of the 'Ten Idylls' or *Pattuppattu* celebrates the chief centres of worship of Muruga in that age—Tirupparankunram near Madurai, Tiruvavinangudi (Palani), Tiruchchirralaivoy (Tiruchchendur), Tiruveraham (Swamimalai)—others would identify it with Veli (Velli ?)-malai in the modern Kanya Kumari district—and Palamudir-Solai (Alagarmalai ?). There are later temples with new icons in these historic centres; there is no chance of knowing the original cult-objects or the structure found in them; it is very likely that these early temples were humble abodes under the shades of trees on hill-tops as in Palani or on artificial mounds as in Swami malai. Tiruttani and Vallimalai in North Arcot district are also associated with the Muruga cult.

The *Ramayana* (Bala-kanda,), the *Mahabharata* (Vanaparva) and the *Skandapurana*, with its later Tamil version, *Kandapuranam*, describe the origin and the exploits of Skanda; but there is great variation in their versions. References are also found in the *Vayupurana*, the *Agamas* and the *Silpasastras*.

Surapadma, his son, Bhanugopan, Simhamukhasuran, Tarakasuran—these were some of the *Asuras* who caused great distress to the *Devas*, and it was in answer to the prayers of the *Devas* for protection that Skanda was created.

Skanda is said to have split Kraunchagiri to pieces with his *sula*. According to one legend, Surapadma is said to have been cut into two pieces by Skanda; one of them transformed itself into a peacock and the other into a cock. Skanda used the first as his vehicle and the other as his *lanchana* (crest). There is another tradition that Agni gave the cock to Skanda and blessed him with victory in the war against the *Asuras*.

In north India, Skanda is credited only with one consort, Devasena, daughter of Indra, while the South Indian tradition gives Him two consorts; Devasenai and Valli. In mediaeval times, there has crept in, in Western India, a belief that *sumangalis* (women having their husbands alive) should not worship Subrahmanya.

The *Brihat Samhita* of Varahamihira (sixth century) describes Skanda as wielding *sakti* in his hand and riding on a peacock.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE SKANDA IN NORTHERN INDIA: The figure of Kartikeya is featured on the coins of the Yaudheyas. The Yaudheyas were republicans, jealous of their political freedom, and could not be easily subdued even by the mighty Gupta emperor, Samudra Gupta. Kartikeya (Devasena), the war leader of the *Devas*, was their patron deity. Their coins depict three types of this god. (1) He is represented as a six-headed standing figure with a spear in his right hand. The legend is *Brahmanya-devasya-Kumarasya*. (2) The second variety is also six-headed, and the legend reads, *Brahmanya Yaudheya*. (3) In the third variety Skanda is also a standing figure with a spear. The *Brahmi* legend reads, *Yaudheya Ganasya Jaya*. Their devotion to Kartikeya and their war-like spirit and love of freedom are brought out.

There are two stone sculptures of Kartikeya which have been ascribed to the Kushan period. One, from Palikhera, is a standing figure with two hands; the right hand is in the *abhaya mudra* pose and the left holds a big spear. His hair is tied into a top-knot and he wears a beard.

Kartikeya images were common in the Gupta age. An image of the early Gupta age, with a spear in the right hand and a cock in the left, is found in the Mathura Museum (No. 2332).

A more interesting sculpture is one of Kartikeya riding on a peacock. He is shown being anointed by both Brahma and Siva as commander of the army of the *Devas* (No. 466.).

The Bilsad stone inscription of the Gupta era 96 (=A.D. 415-416), of the time of Kumara Gupta, mentions that Dhruvasarman built a temple to Svami Mahasena (as Brahmanya), including a gateway, a flight of steps and an almhouse.

A terracotta seal found in the Bhita excavations (of about the third or fourth century A. D.) reveals that the "illustrious Maharaja Gautamiputra, Lord of the Vindhyas" had made over his kingdom to the great Lord Kartikeya.'

Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava* is assigned to the Gupta age. It gives a graphic description of the defeat suffered by the *Devas* in their struggle against *Asuras* led by Tarakasura, the marriage of Parvati to Siva, the birth of Skanda and his anointment as the leader of the Heavenly hosts.

The Ikshvakus of Nagarjunakonda, the Kadambas of Banavasi and the Western Chalukyas of Badami claim to have enjoyed the special favour and protection of *Skanda* (Mahasena).

Subrahmanya is sometimes represented as a teacher who taught his own father, Siva, the significance of *pranava*. In this aspect, he is known as Desika Subrahmanya or Brahma Sasta. T. A. Gopinatha Rao reproduces such a figure in his *Hindu Iconography* (Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 347, Pl. CV). The figure itself is in the Ramesvara cave at Ellora.

A beautiful sculpture from Nagar (Rajasthan) has two arms and is seated on a peacock. The deity holds a spear in his left hand and the right hand is

broken. This is one of the earliest figures of Skanda from Rajasthan bearing Gupta features (*Lalit Kala*, Nos. 3–4, p. 109, Pl. LII, Fig. I).

There is a fine three-faced Skanda seated on a beautifully carved peacock from Bairat, now preserved in the Central Museum, Jaipur. The figure is enclosed in a *koshta* supported by pillars and with a *makara torana* above. There is a bearded attendant on either side. The cock and the shield are held in the left hands and the *sakti* in the upper right hand. These objects alone could be identified. Skanda wears an *ekavali*. There are flying *gandharvas* above with garlands in their hands. The dress and ornaments reveal Gupta art traditions (*Lalit Kala*. Nos. 3–4, p. 110, sculpture on p. 112 : 6th century A.D. ?).

From Samalaji in Gujarat region there has been discovered a two-armed Kartikeya. It is now in the Baroda Museum. It carries a long *sakti* in its right hand and the cock in its left. The figure has an early iconographic tradition popular in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. It has to be assigned to the fifth, sixth centuries A. D. This form of the god is said to be a favourite of the Lakulisa sect of Saivas, whose influence in this period seems to have spread almost all over India. (See "Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda" *Baroda Museum*, pp. 66 and 126).

KALINGA ART: In Kalinga temples, the figure of Kartikeya occupies one of three main *devakoshtas* of the main shrine, the occupants of which are called Parsvadevatas in Kalinga terminology. He is generally a standing figure with a spear in the right hand and a cock in the left. He wears a tiara with three projecting tufts. Over the head there is a trefoil arch. There are two attendant deities, one on either side. The dress and the ornamentation are generally superb.

PALLAVA PERIOD: The Kanchi inscription of Rajasimha *alias* Nandivarman II (eighth century A. D.) mentions that he resembles Guha (or Subrahmanya or Kumara), son of Isvara, and that Brahmanyadeva was his patron deity. Skanda as a child is represented in all sculptures—stone and metal—of Somaskanda.

There is another aspect of Subrahmanya according to which he is said to have put down the pride of Brahma by exposing the latter's "ignorance" of the Vedas; in this aspect, he is known as Brahma-sasta. He is to be represented with a single face and four arms : *akshamala* and *kamandalu* in two hands and *abhaya* and *varada-mudras* in the other two hands. It is believed that it is this form of Subrahmanya that is represented in the sculpture on the Dharmaraja-Ratha as well as in the Trimurti cave at Mamallapuram; and perhaps; also one of the standing figures in the lower Pallava cave at Tiruchirapalli (G. J. Dubreuil's *Iconography of South India*, Pl. XXXI).

The Mallam inscription of the 15th year of the Pallava king, Nandipotta-varman (Nandivarman II : A. D. 746) mentions a gift of lamps and offerings to Lord Subrahmanya of Tiruvanbur—modern Mallam in Andhra Pradesh.

EARLY CHOLA PERIOD : Subrahmanya becomes a very popular deity in the early Chola period. We have now to consider Subrahmanya in three aspects: having an independent temple devoted to his worship alone the *Svayampradhana*, type; as a *vimana-devata* ; and as a *parivara-devata*. In the later Chola period he is installed as a *gopura-devata* in a niche of the seven-storeyed *gopuram* as in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram.

(a) *Subrahmanya as a svayampradhana deity* : T. A. Gopinatha Rao, in his *Hindu Iconography*, gives the main features of a temple having Subrahmanya as the principal deity. (Such a temple is styled, according to the *Agamas*, as a *svayampradhana* temple.) It may be constructed on any side of a town except the east, and may face any direction. The central shrine may contain one to seven storeys. It may be surrounded by *prakaras* and *mandapas*. The top portion of the *vimana*, round the *griva* is to be adorned with peacocks or elephants, similar to the installation of Nandi or Garuda in Siva and Vishnu shrines respectively.

The *Agamas* also prescribe eight *parivara devatas* to be placed in the eight cardinal points of the *prakara*. These *devatas* may have two or four arms; in

the latter case, two of them are to be in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses and the rest are to hold *khadga* and *khetaka*.

Provision is also made for the installation of eight *sarira-palakas* (body-guards) similar to the *dvarapalas* of other temples.

The only structural south Indian temple of the *svayampradhana* type dedicated to Subrahmanya so far known is the (Bala) Subrahmanya temple at Kannanur (Pudukkottai division of Tiruchirapalli district). This village is situated 23 miles south-west of Pudukkottai town and 17 miles south of the (southern) Vellar river, which is considered as the traditional boundary between the Pandya and the Chola kingdoms. The temple is a *karrali* (structural temple built entirely of stone). The original temple consisted of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The *vimana* has *devakoshtas*, a *griva*, a spherical *sikhara* and round *stupi*. The *mukhamandapa* was a later Pandyan structure of the 13th century A. D. While the peacock is usually found as the vehicle of Subrahmanya this is the only temple, to my knowledge, which has the elephant as his vehicle. Small elephant sculptures are also placed on the four corners of the *vimana* round the *griva*.

The *Uttarakamikagama*, the *Kumaratantragama* and the Tamil *Sangam* works *Patluppattu* (Tirummurugarruppadai), *Paripadal* and *Purananaru* mention the elephant as Skanda's vehicle. *Pini-mukham* according to the commentators, means the elephant as the vehicle for Muruga.

The fact that it is a structural stone temple dedicated solely to Subrahmanya, the broken image of the original deity, the fine architectural features, the image of Dakshinamurti in the southern niche of the *garbhagriha*, and the elephant vehicle all these make the temple a unique one. The temple has to be assigned to the period of the Chola Aditya I, of the ninth century A. D. (See *Early Chola Art*-I).

Of the many sculptures reproduced by Gopinatha Rao, I would single out for mention one styled Senapati, now housed in the Madras Museum, which could

be assigned to the early Chola period (*Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Pl. CXXVI, No. 3). It is a figure of Subrahmanya as *senapati*; he rides with his consort on a peacock and carries a bow in his left hand, the arrow being in the hands of the consort held in embrace.

(b) *Subrahmanya as a vimana-devata*: We shall now consider Subrahmanya as a *vimana-devata* housed in a *devakoshta* on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*.

The temple called Avanigandharva (-kandarpa) Isvaragriham at Kilaiyur (Melappaluvur, Tiruchirapalli district) was built in or before the 13th year of Aditya I (A. D. 884). The temple has two shrines side by side and faces west. Both the shrines are built of stone and have two different kinds of *sikharas*, one square and the other round. There is a figure of Subrahmanya in the eastern *devakoshta* of each shrine. In the niche of the southern shrine (*ten-vayil-sri-koyil*), now called Agastyesvaram, there is a standing figure of Subrahmanya.

The sculpture of Subrahmanya in the eastern niche of the northern shrine (*vada-vayil-sri-koyil*), now called Cholisvaram, is a seated figure. The right leg is pendant and the foot rests on a stool. The left leg is bent. There is a semi-circular *prabhavali* adorned with flames. The conical crown has the rosette adornment.

Both the figures are original sculptures of excellent workmanship and belong to the latter half of the ninth century A. D. (*Early Chola Art*-I).

Subrahmanya as a *vimana-devata* is also found in the eastern (back) niche of another early Chola temple called Agastyesvaram at Kiliyanur, about 15 miles from Pondichery.

(c) *Subrahmanya as a parivara-devata*: In early Chola temples, there were eight sub-shrines for the *Ashta-parivara-devatas* and Subrahmanya was one of the *Ashta-parivara-devatas*.

SUBRAHMANYA AS A GOPURA-DEVATA: The *madil* (wall of enclosure) enclosing the third *prakara* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram was built in the Later Chola period (A.D. 1070-1279). It is called the *Rajakkal-Tambiran-Tirumaligai* after a surname of Kulottunga III, perhaps completed in this reign (A.D. 1178-1216). The earliest of the four existing *gopurams* is the western one built by Vikrama Chola and his successor, Kulottunga II. Its gateway portion is in two tiers. In the lower tier there are a number of *koshtas* with labelled sculptures. One of them is a spirited battle-scene in which Subrahmanya with three (of his six) heads riding on a peacock is represented fighting a host of *asuras*.

SUBRAHMANYA BRONZES IN SOUTH INDIA: There are some good bronzes of Subrahmanya. At Tandantotham, we have a bronze of Subrahmanya and his consort Devasena—perhaps of later Pallava or early Chola age. Rajaraja I set up a solid copper image of Subrahmanya with four hands with a *pitham* and a *prabha* in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur.

An excellent bronze of this deity is found in the Gangaikonda Cholisvaram at Gangaikondacholapuram built by Rajendra I.

NATIONAL MUSEUM PIECES: The National Museum, New Delhi, has recently acquired a few fine sculptures of Skanda. One is a metal piece of Shanmukha. Five faces are arranged above the central principal head as found in an earlier Yaudheya coin. It may be assigned to the later Gupta period (fifth or sixth Century A.D.) and it hails from the Punjab region. Skanda is four-handed. The image is bewelled. On its proper right is the peacock head over the human head; on its proper left is a personified form of *Sakti*.

There are three stone sculptures of great artistic merit. One is Skanda with a single head wearing a turban instead of a crown. The right hand is in *abhaya mudra*. The left holds the *sakti*.

The next figure of Skanda is one represented in the posture of being anointed as the army chief of the *Devas*. Indra and Brahma hold *Kalasas* in the act

of pouring water on the head of Skanda (*abhisheka*) and Siva places a crown of flowers over Skanda's heads.

Another Kartikeya is represented as riding a peacock whose feathers are spread out behind beautifully.

The last of this group is a standing figure of Skanda in *tri-banga* pose. It is of the Gurjara-Pratihara period. He has four hands. The upper right hand holds the manuscript of the *Vedas*. The lower right hand feeds a well chiselled, standing peacock with its beak turned gracefully to the arm of Skanda who holds a fruit. The upper left hand holds a spear which rests on a female figure Devasena (?) whose left hand holds a bag of prosperity and plenty hanging from her left shoulder. The *jata*, the *kundalas*, the necklace, the long garland, like Vishnu's *vanamala*, the *keyuras*, the bracelets, the girdle with tassels falling over the two thighs are superb in execution. It seems to be *koshta* sculpture. It has an enchanting smile on its face. It is a product of a master-crafts man.

Skanda cult and worship are popular all over the land. Some of his temples in the Tamil land are called Kamaran Koyils. Some early structural temples of Subrahmanya are found at Kanchi, Uttaramerur and Tirupporur. Vaidhyisvaran Koyil has a famous shrine of Muthu-Kumarasvami who has the gift of healing human ailments. The *Skanda-Sashti* festival commemorating Skanda's victory over Tarakasura is popular and draws a large number of devotees. *Sura-Samhara* is celebrated in many parts of Tamil Nadu with great enthusiasm mainly by the artisans and weavers.

Sankara and Arunagirinathar have popularised the worship of Subrahmanya and we have evidence of the popularity of this cult all over India.

ASKO PARPOLA

Reconstructing the Harappan Hinduism —Sources and Methods

Since the unexpected discovery some fifty years ago of the great, well-planned and technically highly advanced cities dating back to the second half of the third millennium B. C. in the Indus Valley, scholars have tried to bring flesh to the bones of the silent archaeological remains. The principal questions have been, who originated this Harappan civilization, what was its language and religion, how it ended, and whether any cultural elements have survived in the later Indian civilization.

The archaeologists have been able to answer partly the questions of the beginning and the end. The civilization seems to have arisen from the local cultures that can be traced in these regions from about 3000 B.C. onwards. The silting bears evidence to violent floods which seem to have disrupted the economy of the cities based on alluvial agriculture and maritime trade. Another cause for the fall of the Harappan civilization seems to be the invasion of the Aryans which is connected with certain archaeological remains and dated to between 1750 and 1250 B.C.

Speculations about the language and religion of the Indus people are based mainly on considerations of later language distribution and historical linguistics, references in the Rigveda to the aboriginals that the invading Aryans met, and to the iconography of the inscribed seals which number about 2500. It has generally been agreed that the language must have been some pre—Aryan language of India, and that, if the religion has any connections with later Indian religions, it was probably some primitive form of Hinduism. Sir John

Marshall's identification of a seated anthropomorphic figure on a seal as Siva Paśupati and yogesvara, and of the conical and cylindrical stones with the Rigvedic references to phallic worship of the pre-Aryan Indians and later linga stones have been widely but not unanimously, accepted. As long as we cannot read the Indus script, we cannot be sure, it has been said.

It is not possible for me in this connection to set forth the methodology of the *decipherment of the Indus script* in which I have been participating. Those who are interested may refer to the three published preliminary reports and a systematic summary in the April 1970 issue of the *Journal of the Tamil Studies*. But because it has given me the impulse and starting point for the reconstruction of the Harappan religion, I would like to sum up the main results which are relevant here.

The language in which the Harappan inscriptions are written belongs to the Dravidian group of languages which are nowadays spoken chiefly in South India, but also in Pakistan near the Indus Valley sites. The Harappan language appears to be fairly close to classical Tamil, and is decidedly younger than the hypothetical mother language of all known Dravidian languages. The short seal and votive texts contain proper names of individuals, titles of officials, names of institutions like temples and baths sacred to particular deities, and dedications to gods. In this respect they are rather similar to the seal texts of the Sumerians with whom the Harappans are known to have been in trade connections and to the later Indian seals.

The type of proper names, being mainly theophoric, that is, containing names of gods as components of the names, is also shared not only by the Sumerians and later Indians onomastics, but by almost all ancient peoples. The names of gods, both in the dedications and in the theophoric elements of the proper names, consists to a great extent of names of stars. In the logosyllabic script based on the principle of homophony the word, "star", is written with the picture of "fish" and "star" called *mīn*, and the stars are fancied as fish swimming in the ocean of heaven. Five particular fish signs diffentiated by various diacritics form one group with a similar occurrence pattern. They

can only be interpreted as denoting the five planets known in ancient times, called in Tamil as well as in the Indus inscriptions according to five different colours :

= golden star = Jupiter

= white star = Venus

= red star = Mars

= green star = Mercury

= black star = Saturn

Also in later *Sanskrit* sources the planets are associated with these colours. In the Hindu religion astrology plays an important role, and planetary deities enjoy popular worship. But the prominent position of the planets in the Indus inscriptions points to a much higher rank than that of the planetary deities of the later times. Among the non-Aryan gods who are mentioned already in the Rigveda, Rudra is evidently identical with certain aspects of later Siva. Both words can be understood to mean "red": the name, Rudra, seems to be the Indo-European translation of the Dravidian name, *Ceva* or *Civa* which word occurs also in the Tamil name of planet Mars *cey-miṉ* or *cevvāy*. One of the Sanskrit names of Mars is Rudhira, which means "red" and "blood", and is etymologically the same word as Rudra. Rudra further has in the Rigveda many epithets which mean "red" and among his Rigvedic epithets is also "red boar of the sky", which points to a celestial aspect that was later forgotten. His fearful nature tallies with the ominous nature ascribed to the planet Mars in later Hindu astrology.

In like manner other principal Hindu gods are associated with certain colours, for example, Balarāma with the white colour.

In this way we conceived and developed the theory that the *planets originally represented the main gods of Hinduism.* This theory was confirmed

by the iconography of some special seals, which, according to the texts, belonged to the high priests of these astral gods. On a seal which, according to the inscription, belonged to "the servant of the golden star", that is, of the planet Jupiter, which is in Sanskrit called Bṛhaspati and through its very name linked with Bṛhaspati or Brahman, the god has been depicted inside the fig tree sacred to Brahman, accompanied by seven figures with plaited hair, the "seven sages" or Bṛhaspatis, wearing the plaited hair of a wise man.

The decipherment of the Indus script has, thus confirmed the most widely held guess about the language of the Harappan civilization as *Dravidian*. But perhaps of even greater significance is the rediscovery of the forgotten identity between the planets and the main gods of the Hindu pantheon, and their occurrence in the Harappan inscriptions. For, not only has it confirmed the old theory that the religion of the Indus people was Hinduistic, but also revealed to us, in addition to *the great antiquity of Hinduism, its Dravidian origin and its early astral character.*

But although the decipherment has given the starting point to my attempt to reconstruct the religion and world view of the Harappan people, I think that *it would have been possible to come to the same results quite independently of the source material provided by the Indus script.*

In a recent paper[1] I have treated the *Dravidian origin of Hinduism*, and shall, therefore, repeat here only the main points. It is almost generally agreed that Hinduism is not of Indo-European origin. Therefore, its original language cannot have been Sanskrit, which is the language of our principal sources on Hinduism, but must have been some non-Aryan language of India which has been *translated* into Sanskrit. It is impossible to translate a whole religion from one language to another without obscuring it, especially if the two languages are

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1. Asko parpola "proto-Dravidian and Sanskrit in reconstructing the earliest form of Hinduism; methodical notes", a paper read at the Third International Conference—Seminar of Tamil Studies, Paris, July 15—18, 1970.

totally unrelated. This is particularly true of the *puns*, which have played an important role in the making of the Hindu mythology.

The quasi-etymologies of the Brāhmaṇa texts look like imitations of earlier Hindu linguistic speculation. Mythical puns, double translations, and direct loans unmistakably reveal the original language of Hinduism, the Dravidian, which is also by far the largest and most civilized pre-Aryan and non-Indo-European language of India. A comparitive study of the Sanskrit and Tamil terminology of Hinduism is one of the most important tools in reconstructing the Harappan Hinduism. The Dravidian sementics and homophones enable us, in fact, to penetrate even to the neolithic conceptions antedating the Harappan civilization.

It has hitherto been generally assumed that Hinduism has developed from Vedism. In other words, there has been a tendency to trace a historical development of certain fairly primitive germinal ideas of the older Vedic texts into the mature Hinduism of the later period. It seems to me that this development theory does not take sufficiently into consideration the nature of our sources, which tends to distort the perspectives.

First of all, full attention must be paid to the *difference between the age of the contents and the age of the form* in which a given tradition has been fixed and preserved to us. The redaction of the Rigveda, which has been very faithfully handed down for thousands of years is considerably later than the composition of most hymns comprised in it. And to take another and more relevant example, although the Purāṇas and Great Epics date in their present form only from about the beginning of our era and later, their earlier forms are referred to already in the earliest Upaniṣads and in the Brāhmaṇa texts of about 500 B. C. or earlier. We must bear in mind that in India we usually have only the "perfect" classical texts, whose form is late but whose contents is for the most part old—of course interpolations which give the flavour of recent age must also not be forgotten—whereas all the earlier stages of the tradition are, as a rule, lost. Therefore, the contents and ideas of a text which is known to us through a late tradition can be older than those of a more ancient tradition. I am here thinking particularly of Hinduism and the Veda.

Another misleading characteristic of our sources is their often *biased nature*. They do not present us a reliable, objective, complete and balanced picture of the life of man at that very often unknown time when they were composed. This means that it is principally wrong to draw conclusions *ex silentio*. The contents may be limited by intentional selection and censorship dictated by the scope, aim or policy. There is certainly censorship in the Veda towards certain aspects of Hinduism such as idolatry and astrology. The subject matter may also set limits to the author. Further more it must be remembered that the sources preserved to us represent often only a fraction of the literature that existed at a given period in ancient times. From the fact that the Dravidians today have no literature that is older than 2000 years, we cannot conclude that they had no literature 4000 or 3000 years ago.

In spite of all its defects, the Indian tradition is so rich that we cannot miss the truth. In my opinion, the antiquity of Hinduism over the Vedism in India can be demonstrated independently of the Indus valley material. In such large text collections as the Veda it has not been possible to avoid completely referring to certain aspects of life that were prevalent and commonly known but not recognized by the portion of population whose official views the texts tend to represent. There is also clearly Hinduistic thinking and mythology which is not at all primitive already in the later portions of the *Rigveda*, which belong to the period when the Indo-European and Dravidian cultures were *amalgamated*. Sanskrit, the language of the invader who were in hold of the political power, was for prestige reasons established as the language of culture, but this did not prevent ideas and myths from being borrowed and translated from Dravidian. We know that very much the same happened when the Semite Accadians assumed political power in Mesopotamia and adapted the Sumerian civilization to their own language and traditions.

When compared with the early hymns of the *Rigveda*, the religious thinking has by the Brāhmaṇa period undergone a radical change. This change could be called *Dravidianization*, for although the frameworks like the gods' names and the language to a large extent remain Aryan, the main thing,

the speculation on mystical identities, quasi-etymologies and the construction of complicated balanced systems is of Hinduistic nature.

The undercurrent of Hinduism was too strong to be suppressed by the selective censorship of the Veda. It broke through in several different versions around the middle of the first millennium B.C. The relative age of the Upaniṣads, Buddhism, and Jainism has long been disputed. *I am inclined to think that it is not necessary to suppose that these religious movements must have borrowed ideas from each other.* In fact, the space of time seems too short for the development of their individuality if the fundamental ideas, centred around the doctrine of transmigration common to all of them, were so young. The sudden appearance of all of these in some sense anti-Vedic religions should, in my opinion rather be ascribed to the loss of power of the circles behind the Veda, and *the difference between the new movements should be interpreted as speaking for the antiquity of the common archetype from which they are derived.*

By comparing these different traditions it is possible to *reconstruct the common archetype*, very much in the same way as the true texts of the classical authors are reconstructed. The post-Vedic traditions could be compared with mediaeval manuscript and the Vedic references with papyrus fragments or quotations in contemporaneous classical authors, which are valuable but must be handled with caution. We can start with the elements which are common to all the traditions, and then start filling the gaps by judging the differences individually, paying full attention to the nature and age of the various sources, so that the resulting whole best fits the variation and the supposed factors which have led to its development. The comparative work itself provides us with invaluable guides, for we soon discover that one tradition generally represents the archetype more faithfully than the others in this particular aspect, having most elements in common with it, but in certain other aspects another tradition is to be preferred, and so forth.

Like the common elements in the various traditions suggest a derivation from a common archetype, *we find within this archetype itself unmistakable*

repetitions of a few fundamental patterns. Thus for instance the individual components of the macrocosm of the universe and the microcosm of the man, whose identity is one of the dominating conceptions of the Hindu world view, are found to correspond exactly with each other even to the extent of the names; like *Meru* being the name of the macrocosmic world mountain supporting the heaven, and its microcosm counterpart, the vertebral column supporting the head. In my opinion, the archetype of the later Indian religions, that is, the *Harappan Hinduism, is a systematical conscious construction in which pre-Harappan conceptions prevalent in neolithic times among the Dravidians have been artificially united to form a coherent whole.* All branches of knowledge have been systematically adjusted to one and the same basic model. The parts of this model which in different systems or categories correspond to each other were comprehended to represent one and the same fundamental reality and therefore to be identical in nature. I have accordingly endeavoured to reconstruct not only the archetypal Hinduism but also its basic patterns and to synchronize the various systems which since the decline of the Harappans have developed independently. The original unity between the different conceptual categories of Hinduism has to be rediscovered before the system and its parts can be properly understood.

The systematization of the religion is the result of an attempt to understand the universe and its function analytical. This early scientific activity which consisted of classifying and sub-classifying, forming categories and fixing their internal structure, bears evidence of the *mathematical mind* of its creators. I have no doubt that Hinduism was systematized *about the same time as the traditional Indian calendar was fixed.* According to the astronomical evidence, this took place *about 2400 B. C.*, which is the date when the well-planned great Harappan cities also came into being. The high technical level of the Indus civilization, including a system of weights with exact ratios, is a clear indication of the practice of astronomy and mathematics.

We have, thus come to the third main result of the decipherment of the Indus script, namely, connection of the early Hinduism with astronomy and

astrology. This even could have been traced without the decipherment of the Indus script. Astrology is very important in later Hinduism, but already in the Vedic religion the calender and astronomy occupy a much more important position than is generally thought. In this connection I can only mention the central position of the *lunar making stars*, the *nakṣatras*, and the problem of their origin.

This leads us to one further group of source material, which is very important in the reconstruction of the Harappan religion, namely the *early borrowings outside India*, which have preserved information that has been lost in India.

Of great importance is pre-Buddhist Chinese philosophy, the backbone of which is the *doctrine of Yin-Yang wu-hsing*, in the Han times connected with the Chinese calendar. This doctrine, which has no particularly Chinese background, *coincides exactly with the basic pattern of the reconstructed Harappan Hinduism*, which is rooted in neolithic conceptions that demonstrably have a linguistically Dravidian and geographically Indian origin. There are also striking coincidences in the details. It has long been recognized that of the Indian *nakṣatras* and the *Chinese hsiu* either one must have been borrowed from the other, and that the astronomical evidence points to the origin of the system about 2400 B. C. At this time there was, as far as we know, no high civilization in China, but in India the Indus civilization was in the process of formation.

Also the Indian names of the *nakṣatras* prove their Harappan origin. These names *link the cycle with Hindu mythology*. We can, for example, *read from the stars the Indian deluge myth* as it is told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The original names and concepts connected with the stars must, of course, be reconstructed by comparing the Sanskrit names and other traditional information on the stars with the Dravidian terms preserved in Tamil. The fact that there are many synonymic names for every star in Tamil is, in itself, a sign of the originality of the tradition as compared with the Sanskrit names, which for the most part have been meaningless already in ancient times. A further source which must not be forgotten in reconstructing the names is appelations in the other astronomical cycles, which overlap to a great extent.

The specificly Indian flora, fauna and climate and Dravidian puns, which have been among the main factors in the making of Hindu mythology, definitely *prove the Indian origin of this mythology.*

I have tried to explain the methods and sources that I have utilized in my recent studies on the Harappan religion, which I hope to publish soon as a monograph. Time prevents me from going more into the results of the study here, but I would like to sum up the major results. Basic facts about the language, religion, science structure and toponymy of the Harappan people begin to become known. In addition to many previously unclear myths, symbols and names, Hinduism can be understood as a coherent system, and its historical development can be followed from the neolithic times until the present day, including many branches both inside and outside India which have previously not been connected with it. The Indian civilization and its place in the history of mankind can be better understood.

VISHVA BANDU SHASTRI

Some Harmonising Tendencies in Ancient Hindu Culture

The religious vision of the ancient Vedic sages was marked by a living sense of harmony that should prevail in the midst of conflicting claims of the several aspects of human life with a view to evolve it into an integrated process. According to them, motivations from considerations of the flesh and the spirit, wordly progress and renunciation, and here and hereafter could be and should be treated as the fine strands of the one, well-knit string of life—singly taken, weak and useless, but if taken along with the rest to be worked into a beautiful composite, very strong and useful.

Strange though it may seem, the Hindus of yore achieved this harmonisation by abstaining from professing allegiance to what, after the pattern of organised churches, could be designated as Hinduism. On the other hand, they evolved a system of life-conduct, spiritual conversion and social adjustment based on the establishment of norms of right functioning of the physical, the intellectual and the emotional aspects of human activity. Thousands upon thousands of divergent and, often, conflicting views and belief have appeared, through the ages, on the scene within the Hindu world but, unlike the modern credal organisations, the ancient Hindu cultural system refused to identify itself as a whole with any one particular credal phase. All of those creeds were contained in that systems which, of course, could not be contained in any one of them. And so, it went without one single church of its own. As ordinarily understood, a church could not be raised on the flowing Ganges. Besides the general form of morality, it needed the adamantine rock of a fixed ritual of uniform type and a set of unquestionably settled dogmas for its proper foundation. It seems that both these elements were missing in the Vedic system.

There was enough of ritual in the India of those days, but it was neither uniform nor obligatory. There were numerous priestly colleges and they taught more or less varying liturgies. The result was that there was sufficient diversity which would encourage individuality in the midst of the generally uniform background of the sacred fire, the Vedic hymns and sacrificial offerings. Moreover, the individualistic tendency would be reinforced by the system of gradation. Thus, no one ceremony was binding on every unit of that system. Differentiation proceeded as much on one's position and occupation (*varṇa*) as on one's particular stage in life (*asrama*). And, then, there was the recognised social order of those whom no desire, either for offspring or for wealth or for fame or even for any transcedental gain, could keep attached to the usual ceremonial routine. This gradation and varied application of ritual had been taught with a view to fit in with the different religious requirements of individuals based on the difference in their development as incident to their temperamental, educational and environmental reactions.

Similarly, people were conversant with all sorts of dogmas and doctrines which they freely discussed. Thanks to the healthy mentality which recognised the limitations of human mind, everybody was free to hold any views. Persecution for difference in views was yet an unfamiliar phenomenon. The cultural ideal of those days was to welcome every new orientation of the ever unsolved, eternal problems and assimilate it in so far as it seemed cogent. No distinction was made between the so-called unquestionable fundamentals and such things which, being of secondary nature, might be controverted. It was felt that what was solid as rock for one frame of mind might as well be but a merely tentative starting point for another and therefore, to be accepted or rejected as it tallied or not with other known data of reference. This might explain how the names of the highest authorities in the domain of Hindu ritualism and philosophy have come down to us as having sponsored apparently heretic views such as disbelief in the existence of one or many Gods, the efficacy of ritual, the existence of an eternal personal self, the law of *Karma* and cycle of rebirths and the theory of periodical creation and dissolution of the universe. But with all these differences, none has ever had the boldness to

stigmatise those illustrious leaders of thought as non-Hindus. On the other hand, they have ever been and still are respected by the Hindus as great sages (*ṛṣis*) and teachers (*ācāryas*).

The rich heritage of India's past might serve as an index to the friendly spirit that must have subsisted through long ages between intellectual workers on the one hand and guardians of priestcraft on the other. Indeed, the first inspiration towards cultural evolution came from the sacred Vedic lore which contained hymns in praise of cultured speech, developed intellect, profound learning and discriminating wisdom and raised these pillars of sound rationalism to the position of gods themselves. With the growth of ritualism, exigencies of right pronunciation and comprehension of the ancient texts created an entensive field for the gradual growth of Phonetics, Grammar, Etymology, Philology, Prosody, Rhetoric and canons of Textual Criticism. The need of ascertaining the right time for ritualistic performances combined with the love of our Vedic forefathers of an open air life under the canopy of the heavens in leading them to their high achievements in Astromony and Mathematics. Practice of medicine remained, for long, a part of the priestly profession. The *Atharva Veda* contain copious references to herbs and drugs and their use in many diseases. And, finally, the *Sāma Veda* is the recognised fountain-head of Indian music.

This association of religious writings and their priestly custodians in contributing to the general cultural advancement is eloquent enough to show how beautifully religion had adjusted itself to the rationalistic tendencies of that age. Indeed, in innumerable case, priests themselves were pioneers in the field of science and philosophy and in others, reputed scientists and philosophers were born in priestly families.

While studying this process of cultural harmonisation, one is struck with the entire absence in ancient India of the life-springs of organised church-religion, namely, narrowing down of loyalties to particular personages and texts. It is very significant that, whereas pre-Buddhistic India was not lacking in producing a great number of sages and teachers, none of them was raised to the position of *one above all others.* All of them were equally honoured and respected by the

people. There was no idea that the line of sages had come to a stop and, so, there was no scope for the later conception of textual finality. This spirit of uniform recognition of teachers combined with the tendency of assimilative accumulation was directly responsible for the emergance of one hundred and forty-four equally authoritative primary Vedic texts, as recorded, supplemented by corresponding variants of secondary and tertiary Vedic works.

Similarly, in the domain of philosophic conceptions, members of one and the same family could belong to different presuasions. So long as they did not interfere with the priestly organisation of ritual, they could say anything they liked and soar as high and dive as deep as they could. In this way, philosophic groupings cut through ritualistic divisions and prevented the growth of well-defined credal systems on anything like a religious basis. The first and foremost pre-requisite of a religious organisation is that its members should adhere to one definite line of belief and follow one common course of ritual. But the result of the aforesaid tendencies was practically this that there were distinct groupings on the basis of Vedic texts and ritual on the one hand and metaphysical and philosophic theories on the other. It seems that every individual was bound to the first as inherited from his forefathers, but he was free to make his own choice of the other. In this way, he would be in a position to invest his symbolical ritual with his own new meanings to satisfy his inner cravings and develop his inner centre of emotional inspiration. In a word, this much would be his true religion and under the circumstances, this would be nothing short of a purely private and independent but equally well-balanced functioning of his rational and emotional selves. Maintenance for a long period of this happy harmony between these two most important aspects of human life was, indeed, a very remarkable contribution of the Vedic system to the general growth of ideals of human culture.

D. C. Sircar

Rise of Kulinism in Mithila and Bengal

In the tradition of the *Kulapañjikās* i.e. the genealogical treatises of Bengal, two names are intimately associated with the rise of the peculiar social system known as Kulīnism. The two names are those of two kings, viz., Ādiśūra and Ballālasena.

Kulīnism primarily concerned the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas, the names of two groups associating them respectively with the territories of Rāḍha in south-west Bengal and Varendra in north Bengal. Gradually the system influenced the social organisation of some other communities, e.g., the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas who happen to occupy the front rank among non-Brāhmaṇa communities. Similar is the history of Kulīnism in Mithilā or north Bihār, and a close link between the social organisation of the Brāhmaṇa community in the two territories is offered by the apparent identity of the Gaṅgaulī *mūlagrāma* of Mithilā and the Gāṅgulī (Gaṅgopādhyāya) *gāñi* among the Rāḍhīyas of Bengal, both *mūlagrāma* and *gāñi* (*grāmin* from *grāma*) referring to the localities in which the families in question were originally settled.

Kulīnism, with all its evils, now belongs to the past history of the Bengalis, though it was the most dominant factor in their social life, especially of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas till the last century but its baneful effects did not totally disappear in the early years of the present century and, even now, certain families among the Brāhmaṇas and some other communities, e.g., the Mukhopādhyāya (Mukherjee), Vandyopadhyāya (Banerjee), Chaṭṭopādhyāya (Chatterjee) and Gaṅgopādhyāya (Gāṅgulī) among the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas and the Ghosha, Vasu, Guha and Mitra among the Kāyasthas, are regarded as endowed with some social prestige as Kulīna. Till the nineteenth century, the

community of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas, for instance, was divided primarily into the groups called Kulīna, Siddha-Śrotriya, Sādhya-Śrotriya and Kashṭa-or Kāshṭha-Śrotriya, and the rule was that a man of the Kulīna class could marry a woman of his own grade or of two higher Śrotriya groups, while a Siddha-Śrotriya could marry in his own class or in the Sādhya grade, though the Sādhya and Kashṭa-Śrotriyas could take wives only within the limits of their own groups. In the case of women, the Sādhya Śrotriya girls could marry in their own grade or the two groups above them and the Siddha-Śrotriya women in their own grade or in the Kulīna group, while the girls of the Kulīna and Kashṭa-Śrotriya classes at the two ends of the ladder could choose their husbands only from their own groups.

One of the most abominable results of the system was the development of polygamy among the Kulīna Brāhmanas, often middle aged Kulīnas having been found to have more than a hundred wives and to have lived on the earnings from an annual round of visits to those unfortunate women. Yogendra-nātha Gupta informed the author of these lines that Kṛishṇasundara Vandyopādhyāya, who flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century at the village of Vajrayoginī in the Munshiganj sub-division of Dacca district, married no less than 284 girls and this seems to be the highest number of Kulīna wives so far known. In the latter half of the same century, Abhayā Chandra Dās spoke of two aged Kulīna Brāhmaṇas, one of whom had about sixty wives and the other more than one hundred. Each of them are said to have possessed a note-book in which were written the names of the villages and their residents whose daughters he had married. During the winter, each gentleman would set out on a tour with his register and visit each wife in order to collect as much money from her as her father's pecuniary circumstances would allow.

But some Kulīna husbands visited their wives on rare occasions. It is, therefore, no wonder that often fathers and sons, as also husbands and wives, met as strangers to each other. There is a story about a Kulīna who, by mistake, visited the daughter of a certain Vaṁśaja (non-Kulīna) Brāhmaṇa who was his

father-in-law's namesake, the mistake being detected only when, after a few days, the real son-in-law paid his visit to the bewilderment of the father-in-law and the consternation of his daughter. There are numerous other scandalous tales of this kind and it can be easily imagined how this state of things led to deterioration in standards of morality.

According to the story of the *Kulapañjikās*, there being a dearth of Vedic scholars among the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal, king Ādiśūra brought from Kānyakubja, in the present Uttar Pradesh, or from Kolāñcha, no doubt in the same State, for the celebration of sacrifice five learned Brāhmaṇas together with their five Kāyastha servants who carried their masters' slippers and umbrellas. The Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas are said to be the descendants of these five U. P. Brāhmaṇas, while the Kāyastha servants were the ancestors of the Kulīna Kāyasthas, the descendants of the indigenous Bengali Brāhmaṇas being characterised as the Sātśatī (Saptaśati) or a group of seven hundred families.

There is, however, no Sātśatī Brāhmaṇa now, the members of all the 700 families having successfully passed themselves as belonging to the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra classes, particularly the former. The large number of Brāhmaṇas inhabiting the eastern and southern regions of Bengal, who may really be called Vaṅgaja, appear to have merged themselves in the Rāḍhīyas. According to the *Kulapañjikās*, which speak of 56 Rāḍhīya, 100 Vārendra and 40 Sātśatī *gañis*, five Sātśatīs were absorbed in the Vārendra and two in the Rāḍhīya *gañis*.

The above story of Ādiśūra bringing the progenitors of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmanas from U. P. has been criticised by historians. The conflicting evidence of the *Kulapañjikās* has been summarized as follows: "As regards Ādiśūra, different genealogies of his family are given in different texts: he is referred to as the grandfather (mother's father) of Ballālasena in some, and as that of a remote ancestor of Ballālasena in others. He is said to have been the ruler of Bengal and Orissa; but some authorities add Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Karṇāta, Kerala, Kāmarūpa, Saurāshṭra, Magadha, Mālava and Gurjara to his dominions. Some

say that the whole affair (of bringing the Brāhmaṇas) was peaceful, as Ādiśūra had married the daughter of the Kanauj king, while, according to other, he fought with him (the king of Kanauj); and his capital, where he received the Brāhmaṇas, is placed by some at Gauḍa and by others at Vikramapura. The reasons why the five Brāhmaṇas were brought by him are variously stated. Six different authorities put forward names of different religious ceremonies for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas were requisitioned. According to a seventh account, the king of Kāśī (not Kanauj, as we have in the other texts, though also in U.P.), being asked by Ādiśūra to pay tribute, refused to do so, and in reply tauntingly referred to Ādiśūra's dominions as bereft of Brāhmaṇas and Vedic sacrifies; whereupon Adiśura defeated him in a battle and brought the five Brāhmaṇas. The date of this event is also variously put as Śaka 654, 675, 804, 854, 864, 914, 954, 994 and 999, while three sets of names are given as those of the five Brāhmaṇas."

Besides, the Ādiśūra story in the *Kulapañjikās* raises certain important questions. In the first place, even though there is evidence regarding the rule of a Śura dynasty over a part of south-western Bengal, no ruler named Ādiśūra is known from the epigraphic and reliable literary records of the country. On the other hand, the only ruler, named Ādiśūra, known to the history of eastern India is referred to in the *Nyayakaṇika* of the Maithila scholar, Vāchaspatimiśra, as a contemporary of the author flourishing about the middle of the ninth century A. D. Most probably this Ādiśūra ruled over a small territory, covering parts of Mithilā and north Bengal, as a vassal of the contemporary Pāla monarch. As the Pālas were Buddhists, this Brahmanical ruler may have become important in the eyes of Brāhmaṇa authors like Vāchaspatimiśra, and it is possible that, owing to some of his activities, he became famous in the legends as the settler of the Kānyakubja or Kolāñcha Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. This may be an argument in favour of the suggestion that the institution was partly borrowed from Mithilā.

Secondly, the persistent use of the Śaka era in Ādiśūra's account in the *Kulapañjikās* suggests a date later than the popularisation of the said reckoning in Bengal during the Sena regime about the twelfth century A. D.

Thirdly, the study of an inscription of the Chola king, Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A. D.), suggests that the Ādiśūra legend may have been imported into Bengal, in a slightly different form, by south Indians who settled there in large numbers during the rule of the Pālas and the Senas. The Senas of Bengal hailed from the Kannaḍa-speaking area of the south and must have patronised south Indians, as the Muslim rulers of India entertained Musalmans of other countries at their court. Whereas several Pāla kings had matrimonial relations with the rulers of the Karṇāṭa region, there was, since the days of Devapāla (c.910-50 A.D.) a Kannaḍa-speaking contingent in the Pāla army, to which a Chola regiment was added before the days of Madanapāla (1143-61 A. D.). Thus the importation of the legend about the bringing of U. P. Brāhmaṇas from south India into Bengal is not at all improbable.

The inscription of Kulottuṅga III says that a mythical king named Arindama imported a large number of learned and pious Brāhmaṇas together with their Śūdra servants from Antarvedi, i.e. the territory between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, which is the same as the Kanauj region. The Brāhmaṇas and their servants were settled in the Tamil country, the latter as bearers of the slippers and umbrellas of their masters, and received five villages in the present Tiruchirapalli district, being the ancestors of the modern Iḍaṅgai (left-hand) communities. There is indeed a remarkable similarity between the stories of Arindama and Ādiśūra and what is of special importance in this connection is that the *Kulapañjikā* account of Ādiśūra is several centuries later than the Tamil story of Arindama.

The names of the five U. P. Brāhmaṇas who settled in Bengal during Ādiśūra's reign are given differently in different lists in the *Kulapañjikās* as follows :

1. Kshitīśa of the Śāṇḍilya-gotra, Medhātithi or Tithimedhā of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, Vītarāga of the Kāśyapa-gotra, Sudhānidhi of the Vātsya-gotra and Saubhari of the Sāvarṇa-gotra;

2. Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa of the Śāṇḍilya-gotra, Śriharsha of the Kaśyapa-gotra, Chhāndaḍa of the Vātsya-gotra, Daksha of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and Vedagarbha of the Sāvarṇa-gotra; and.

3. Nārāyaṇa of the Śāṇḍilya-gotra, Dharādhara of the Vātsya-gotra, Susheṇa of the Kāśyapa-gotra, Gautama of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and Parāśara of the Sāvarṇa-gotra.

There are also other discrepancies. Thus, in some accounts, Vedagarbha is said to have belonged to the Vātsya-gotra. In any case, the Sena king, Ballāla (c. 1159-79 A.D.), is stated to have granted Kulīnism, meaning a higher social status, to some of the descendants of the above Brāhmaṇas belonging to the five *gotras*. It is said that nineteen Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas, out of their 56 *gāñis* were honoured by the king while, among the one hundred *gāñis* of the Vārendras, Ballāla is reported to have made eight Kulīna, eight Sat- Śrotriya and 84 Kashṭa-Śrotriya. To the 19 Rāḍhīyas, Ballāla's son Lakshmaṇasena, is said to have added two so that the number of Kulīnas became 21. Lakshmaṇa is also credited with the creation of 14 Gauṇa-Kulīnas.

Later on, king Danaujāmādhava divided 508 Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of the 56 *gāñis* into Kulīna, (Sādhya-Śrotriya, Siddha-Śrotriya, Susiddha-Śrotriya and Ari-or Kashṭa-Śrotriya. In Ballāla's system there seems to have been no restriction of marriage between Raḍhiya and Vārendra and between Kulīna and non Kulīna. According to Danaujā's rules, the Kulīna lost his social status by marrying a girl of the Ari or Kashṭa group. Among the Vārendras, Udayanācharya Bhāduḍī created the *Parivarta-maryadā* according to which a Kulīna lost his Kulīnism by marrying the daughter of a Śrotriya.

Udayana organised the Brāhmaṇas into eight groups called Paṭhīs and made the rules of matrimony stricter. According to his regulations, the Kulīna lost his social prestige even by a contact with water touched by a degraded Brāhmaṇa called Kāpa. Rājā Kaṁsanārāyaṇa, who reorganised, the Śrotriyas among Siddha, Sādhya and Kashṭa, made a rule that a Kulīna's marriage with a Kāpa girl would not lead to the loss of the former's social status under certain circumstances.

Devīvara's *Mela-bandhana* introduced among the Rāḍhīyas in the 15th century was similar to Udayana's *Parivarta-maryada* and confined the scope of the marriage of Kulīna girls among particular families known as the Pāḷī-ghara. One result of these restrictions was that exceptionally large numbers of Kulīna girls remained spinsters throughout their lives and created an unhealthy social atmosphere, the other result being the polygamy resorted to by the Kulīnas, the effect of which was equally baneful on the moral standards of society.

Historians have rejected the evidence of the *Kulapañjikā* literature as regards the introduction of Kulīnism by Ballālasena on the grounds that no inscription or literary record of the Sena age supports the theory. On the other hand, at least the Kulīnism of Vaidyas of Bengal clearly appears to have originated from such qualities as education, wealth, good deeds, etc., and to have been gradually standardised by the Samājapatis, Kulapañjikākāras and Ghaṭakas (prefessional match-makers who were the custodians of the family traditions of particular communities). This is suggested by the *Kulapañjikā* works known as the *Chandraprabhā* (1675 A. D.) by Bharata Mallika and the *Sadvaidya kulapañjikā* (1653 A. D,) by Kavikaṇṭhahāra (also called Rāmakānta's *Kavikaṇṭhahāra*) even though, as indicated above, the Vaidyas' Kulīnism must have been an imitation of the social institution of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas. In respect of Kulīnism in the Vaidya community, Bharata does not speak of Ballāla, but says that Kulīnism originates from good conduct, although he concedes that wealth, not unrelated to *sadachāra*, may also bring it :

āchār-ādaya eva hi santi yeshāṁ mahātmanāṁ |
tu eva hi Kulīnāḥ syur=na kulaṁ Paralaukikam ||
dhanena kulaṁ=ity=uktaṁ yad=ācharavatāṁ tu tat ||

The *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā* or *Kavikaṇṭhahāra*, however, specifically states that, according to the "ancient" authorities, Kulīnism results from good conduct and other qualities, but that, according to "recent" writers it was introduced among the Vaidyas by an early Vaidya king named Ballālasena :

ācharo vinayo vidyā pratishṭhā tirtha-darśanam |
nishṭhā vṛittus=tapo dānam navadhā kula-lakshaṇam ||
Prāchīna-matam=etad=dhi vadanty=Ādhunikāḥ punaḥ |
Purā Vaidya-kul-odbhūta-Ballalena mah-aujasā |
vyavasthāpi cha kaulīnyam Duhisen-ādi-vaṁśaje ||

The story of Ballalasena's association with the Kulīnism of the Vaidya community, thus, appears to have been fabricated not much earlier than the seventeenth century. It may be noted here that the family of Ballāla, who is claimed to have been a Vaidya in the above account and is likewise called a Kāyastha in the Kāyaotha*Kulapañjikas* was really a Kshatriya house claiming an admixture of Brāhmaṇa blood and hailing from the Karṇāṭa region of the Deccan.

To determine the origin of Kulīnism among the Brāhmaṇas, the development of the similar institution among the Vaidyas of Bengal has to be studied in comparison with the evidence recently supplied by the Bangāon copper plate inscription of the Pāla monarch, Vigrahapāla III (c. 1050-80 A. D.), on the growth of Kulīnism among the Brāhmaṇas of Mithilā (apparently also of Bengal) as well as on the allied custom of the compilation and preservation of genealogical accounts in works like the *Kulapañjikas* in both the countries.

The Bangāon plate, which has practically solved the problem of the growth of Kulīnism and of the *Kulapañjikā* literature, was discovered in Saharsa district of north Bihar (Mithilā or Tirbhukti). It was issued on the eighth day of the month of Āśvayuja (Āśvina) in the 17th regnal year of Vigrahapāla III, i. e. near about 1070 A. D., from his camp capital at Kāñchanapura on the Ganges, apparently in Bihār. The land granted by the charter was an area which yielded annually 500 of the standard coins and formed part of a locality called Vasukāvarta (or the *avarta* or village-group of the name of Vasuka) in the Hodreya *vishaya* (district) of Tirabhukti (modern Tīrhut or Mithilā). In the well-known style of Pāla copper plate grants, the record says that the specified portion of Vasukāvarta was granted in the name of Lord Buddha with such privileges as the right of enjoying *pratyayas* including *bhāga, bhoga, kara, hiranya,* etc., by the king for the increase of the religious merit of his parents and himself

in favour of a Brāhmaṇa, in accordance with the *bhūmichchhidra-nyāya*, i. e., the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of a piece of land by a person who brought it under cultivation for the first time. Like most other Pāla charters, this one was also made by the king after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the Vishuvat-saṅkrānti. The donee of the grant was Ghāṇṭūkaśarman who was an inhabitant of a locality called Iṭṭāhāka or Iṭuhoka, obviously in north Bihār. He was the son of Tuṅga and the grandson of Yogeśvara and the original home of his family was Kolāñcha. He was well versed in *mīmāṁsa*, *vyākaraṇa* and *tarka* and belonged to the Śāṇḍilya-gotra and the Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala *pravaras*. Ghāṇṭūkaśarman was a student of the Chhandoga-śākhā and was probably the pupil of a scholar named Narasiṁha.

An important feature of the Bangāon charter is the peculiar endorsement in two verses at the end of the document :

Kroḍāñchan=niriyāya Kāchchha iti yaḥ sad- Brāhmaṇānāṁ sthitis=
tasmād=Gohaṇako dvij-ottama-gṛihaṁ viśrāma-bhūr=yajvanām |
asmād=Iddhahal=eti yatra Vivado Yogeśvaro yat-sutaḥ
khyātas=Tuṅga ito='pi nirmala-yaśā Ghaṇṭīśa-nām-ātmajaḥ ||
yo Gauḍ-ādhipater=asīma-guṇa-bhā rājño vidheyo diśāṁ
bhūpāleshu vidhāya maitryam=asamam santushṭa-chitt-achitaḥ |
kṛitvā śāsanam=etad=ātma-halataḥ kām=apy=abandhya-sthitiṁ
viśrāmāya ha dīna-duḥkhita-janasy=ābhūd=ih=aiv=āśramam ||

According to the endorsement, the real donor of the grant was not the king, as stated in the charter proper, but one of the Pāla king's Maithila Brāhmaṇa officers. This officer, named Ghaṇṭīśa, is stated to have been a servant of the lord of Gauḍa (i. e. Vigrahapāla III) and to have had friendship with several rulers. He made the grant out of his own *hala* which was either his landed property or the *jā'gīr* in his possession.

Ghaṇṭīśa gives his ancestry as follows : (1) the Brāhmaṇa Kāchchha who came from Kroḍāñcha (Kolāñcha) and apparently settled in Tīrabhukti,

(2) his son Gohaṇaka, (3) his daughter Iddhahahā, (4) her son Vivada, (5) his son Yogeśvara, (6) his son Tuṅga, and (7) his son Ghaṇṭiśa.

The nature of the record is similar to others according to which persons received plots of land from the king (by purchase in most cases) and donated them in favour of learned Brāhmaṇas and religious institutions after arranging for creating them free holdings, no doubt, by payment of a compensation fee to the State exchequer. In such cases, the king really did not make the grant, but claimed religious merit by merely permitting and ratifying the creation of the rent-free holding, even though the royal charters were generally silent on these details which were not quite palatable to the State.

The Bangāon plate, thus, exhibits the great importance attached by the local Brāhmaṇas of Tīrabhukti to their relationship with the Brāhmaṇas of Kolāñcha or Kroḍāñcha. The Tīrabhukti Brāhmaṇa Ghaṇṭīśa is found to trace his ancestry to the Kolāñcha Brāhmaṇa Kāchchha through his great-great-grand mother. His partiality for the Brāhmaṇas of Kolāñcha is indicated by the endowment made by him out of his landed property or fief land in favour of another Kolāñcha Brāhmaṇa. The grant seems really to be the result of the arrangement of Ghāṇṭukaśarman's marriage in Ghaṇṭīśa's family, which was expected to enhance the latter's social prestige.

It is clear that this reverential attitude of the Brāhmaṇas of Eastern India towards the Brāhmaṇas of Kolāñcha, as evidenced by the Bangāon plate, was an exceptionally important factor in the growth of Kulīnism in North Bihār and, no doubt, also in Bengal. Likewise, the eagerness of the local Brahmaṇas to trace their descent from the high class Brāhmaṇas of Kolāñca and some other places in U. P., even if the relationship was distant and the chain passed through a female, must have necessitated the preservation of genealogical accounts which led, at a later date, to the compilation of the *Kulapañjikas*.

The Brāhmaṇa donees of the royal charters issued during the mediaeval period in different parts of India often hailed from Kolāñcha or Kroḍāñcha,

(also called Kolañcha, Kroḍañja, Kroḍañji, etc.,), Tarkāri, S'rāvasti, Muktāvastu and other centres of learned Brāhmaṇas in U.P. Of these places, S'rāvasti Muktāvastu and other centres of learned Brāhmaṇas in U. P. Of these places, Srāvasti stood at the site of modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts, while Muktāvastu and Tarkāri appear to have been situated in the vicinity of S'rāvasti and Kolāñcha or Kroḍāñca either near Śrāvasti or near Kānyakubja, modern Kanauj in Farrukhabad district. There is some evidence to show that learned Brāhmaṇas of these centres in U. P. migrated to northern Bengal in the early mediaeval period in large numbers so that their new settlements came to be known after their original habitations in U. P. Thus, the combined evidence of the Kudatini (971 A. D.) and Silimpur inscriptions suggests that the Hili-Bālurghāṭ region of northern Bengal was originally known as Pāhuṇiyojana, but became famous later under the name of Śrāvasti, while Tarkāri was the name of another locality in the same area of north Bengal. There are some other cases of similar nomenclature and a well-known instance is offered by Pāṭaliputtiram (Pāṭaliputra) in the present South Arcot district of Tamil Nadu, which was apparently so named after the settlement of some Brāhmaṇas there from the Bhaṭṭāgrahāra of Pāṭaliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha, near modern Pāṭnā in Bihār.

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M. SUNDAR RAJ

Rg Vedic Mythology

In this Foreward to Dr. Raghavan's work on *Sanskrit and Allied Indological Studies*, Prof. Louis Renou, commenting on the present state of these studies says, "The era of great discoveries is no doubt over (but, is it so sure?)..." It is fortunate that he has added those parentheic remarks of doubt, for otherwise the layman might gather the impression that there is little scope for fundamental work in Sanskritology. Whereas the fact is that what is perhaps the most important problem, namely, the interpretation of the Rg Veda still remains to be resolved. The nature of the Vedic Religion lies enshrouded in the doings of the Gods presented to us in the form of cryptic stories and description which constitute the *Rg Vedic mythology*. The origins of the religious and cultural history of India, and not only of India, are there and yet so closely guarded is the secret of the myths that all attempts to trace the continuous flows of this history have till now proved a failure. When, and if, these myths are satisfactorily unravelled it would indeed prove the greatest discovery of all in Indology. For nearly three thousand years, if not more, it has baffled the efforts of some of the greatest intellects and currently, for the last fifty years, there has been a state of languor in these studies, even in spite of the efforts of Prof. Louis Renou, himself the last in the chain of the brilliant scholars whose lives were dedicated to these studies.

There is something curious in the way that intellectual interest in Vedic literatue rises and falls away. The Brahmana literature which was the product of time far distant from the Rg Veda shows evidence of unsuccessful attempts at interpreting the *Rg Vedic mythology*. After that we have Yaska's *Nirukta*, equally unsuccessful, in spite of the aid available to him from the works of his many predecessors. That Yaska in spite of his sincere rationalism could not

reach a satisfactory solution perhaps seems to have so intimidated his successors that, till the fourteenth century and the coming of Sayana, no original work other than commentaries on his work, notably by Durga, was undertaken; and Sayana himself achieved a measure of success satisfying to his religious need by abandoning the rational criteria.

We may perhaps look upon the nineteenth century as a period of renaissance in the cultural histoy of Hinduism. But unlike the renaissance of Europe, the movement was dominated not by personalities within the culture but by great Western scholars from outside.

In the matter of Vedic studies, however, the stage has been almost entirely dominated by the Westerners. This neo-Vedism was of course motivated not so much by the religious spirit but by the intellectual approach. Nevertheless it must be conceded that the movement has had an effect on the religious outlook of the Western Christian groups. Though mostly this has been an imperceptible process, there have been some conscious efforts also towards absorbing some of the Hindu ideals by the Westerners, of whom Schopenhauer is but one of the many very well-known figures.

In the background of this the contemporary lack of interest in Vedic studies stands out very prominently. Neo-Vedism actually spilled over into the twentieth century and the last great work on the subject may fairly be considered to be that of Keith, namely, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and the Upanisads.* After that great piece of work there has been nothing comparable to the output of the period of neo-Vedism, and Louis Renou is perhaps the only great thinker of recent years comparable in rank to the intellectuals of the earlier period. But even he has not given us any original piece of work though he has provided us with masterly works of exegesis on the literature and religion of Vedism and Hinduism.

In comparison with the traditionalists, the Neo-Vedists, however, brought a different spirit of inquiry and different techniques to the subject. They brought complete rationalism, comparative religion, linguistics based indeed on Panini's

works, but made wider by a knowledge of developments in the other Aryan languages, and the contemporary cultural situation gleaned from archaeology.

All this might in the first instance create the impression that modern scholarship has attained a sound understanding of the Vedas. Unfortunately this is not so, especially in the case of the *Rg Veda*. The sphinx remains inscrutable. The *Rg Veda* has indeed been translated. Enormous commentaries have been written, not only on the hymns but also the Brahmanas. And yet we are no nearer the meaning of the *Rg Veda* than Yaska or the Brahmanas. And scholars in concealed despair have either settled down to new translations, or to minute etymological analysis or have sought refuge in traditional mystic esoterism.

When we compare the latest survey of our knowledge of the Vedic gods and their myths, as contained in Louis Renou's *Vedic India* with Macdonnel's *Vedic Mythology* of over fifty years back, we see how little progress has been made in these years.

To those who think that there is no mystery underlying the hymns it may be pointed out that there are many passages in the hymns themselves, which not only refer to the existence of a hidden meaning, but which seem to indicate that this has been a deliberate act of composition. This itself provides a sufficient challenge, and an invitation, to us. For this very reason, if not because of its very great bearing upon the solution of some of the basic problems in Indology, it is essential that efforts should be continued to be made to elucidate the mystery of these myths.

Some of the problems in Indology which await solution, and for which the unravelling of the *Rg Vedic myths* is an essential *sine qua non* may be briefly summarized. First of all, we have the problem of the Indus Valley Civilization. When archaeology first discovered this culture great hopes were entertained of settling the question of the origins of Hindu culture. But, alas! these hopes have not materialised, and the script has not yet been read. It is urgently necessary to ascertain not only the relationship between the Vedic and the Indus Valley

cultures—and their religions—but also the relationship between the Indus Valley civilization and the contemporary civilizations in the Middle east, in Babylon and Sumaria. This is also necessary if we are still to the controversy over the so-called Dravidian and Aryan questions, and of their mutual influence in linguistic and cultural developments. The third question that looms before us is concerned with the Avestan religion, its origin and the exact nature of its relationship with the Vedic religion. The fourth problem which awaits solution is the evolution of Hinduism from the Vedic religion. Has the process been a continuous one, or has there been a sharp break some time about the fourth and fifth centuries B. C. is a matter about which we have no definite knowledge mainly because of the mystery that surrounds the nature of the Vedic religious thought. There is, therefore, not only a difficulty in tracing a clear evolutionary development in the Hindu religion but a further difficulty, consequent thereon, is encountered in formulating the history of Hindu morals, and of determining the origin and nature of what may be called "the Hindu mind".

On these accounts, therefore, if not for the purely intellectual interest of the problems, it is urgently necessary to find a break—through in the efforts to elucidate the mystery of the *Rg Veda*. It is obvious that the principles on which the subject has been approached so far, have not, in spite of the exhaustive nature of the work carried out, yielded satisfactory results. Consequently further attempts on the same lines, namely, by minute analysis of the etymology of the words in dispute, and by means of new translations, are not likely to produce any better results. The great deal of scholarship which has gone into the works of Professors Velankar, Kunhan Raja, and even Louis Renou, illustrates this nor does much religious zeal, as evidenced in the works of A. C. Bose, or Shri Aurobindo and his followers, lead to any better result in the purely intellectual sphere. Merely because the literature is esoteric it is concluded that the cryptic passages given expression to "experiences which have been lived through at the culmination of a study of mystic exaltation conceived as revelation", (Louis Renou). That a certain amount of mysticism exists in the *Rg Veda* cannot be denied, but till we have broken through the mythological esoterism, it is well to suspend any conclusions of this nature.

A new approach is urgently called for, and in order to chalk out a programme, it may be worthwhile to examine critically some aspects of the methods so far adopted. A very good survey of the problem is found in the lectures of Louis Renou which have been published under the title *Religions of Ancient India*. We find therein certain basic assumptions the rationale of which it would pay to scrutinise. Firstly, it is the common opinion of all the authorities that the Vedas have originated, developed, and lived their life in isolation of other cultures and civilizations. Apparently, this view-point has gained ground because no connections have been traced between the cultural contents of the Vedas and other cultures. Louis Renou says that the source of Vedic inspiration is a single fountain-head. This seems to be the common opinion also of all scholars. But since we are not at all certain what the Vedic myths really signify, it appears to me that this assumption begs the question altogether.

Another factor which has considerably influenced the thinking, even at the outset, of scholars is the so-called Aryan and Dravidian question. In many cases the scholars seem to come with preformed and passionate attachment to one or the other side of the question, and the result of it is that their efforts are vitiated by their prejudices. Again it is taken as a self-evident point that considerable time should have elapsed between the periods of composition of the text, and its final redaction and transcription. All scholars seem to take it for granted that each one of the sections of the Vedic literature, viz. the *Rg Veda*, the *Yajur Veda*, the Brahmana literature, the *Aranyakas* and the *Upanisads*, were evolved in successive stages, and that each of this covered great periods lasting for centuries. So speculative is the basis for this opinion that some scholars have even assigned periods of one thousand years for each of these stages, thus putting back the origin of Vedas to 6000 B.C. or even earlier. The possibilities of a different type of evolution of this literature has not even been contemplated. Still others proceed on the assumption that the entire cultural content and linguistic aspects of the *Rg Veda* occurred after the entry of the Aryans into India. How little there is of reason and argument to support this view-point is seen in the fact that with equal emphasis the opposite opinion is put forward, namely, that the very concept of Aryan entry into India is untenable and that the original home of the Aryans is India itself. Not that the proponents of the latter theory

are in a better position to adduce better evidence; none of them have so far given a satisfactory explanation, on the basis of their theory, the course of the Aryan language and culture in countries outside India.

Another aspect of this problem is the so-called *Dasa* question. Two view-points are presented on this, namely, one that the Dasas are dark-skinned pre-Aryan people of a different and more primitive civilization altogether, and the other that the dispute between the two people is one of religious and cultural differences within the same civilization. Very valid arguments have been adduced for both view points, and a stalemate has been reached on that question also.

The Indus Valley civilization is another subject which has roused passions and which has clouded scholarship. Accepting the thesis that the Aryan tribes destroyed the civilization, and thereafter proceeded to build up an altogether new religion and culture, some scholars hold that the religion of the Indus Valley civilization was a very primitive one. Forgetting the fact that the evidence is insufficient for a positive conclusion they allow this bias to colour all their theses. An equally passionate and even more strident school has arisen for the opposite side.

It is taken for granted that the connection between the Vedic religion and the subsequent developments in Hinduism is very tenous. Renou says, "In richness of mythological invention and assured handling of mythical languages, the Rg Veda was destined to have no successor: Vedism is a mythology that has broken off abruptly." This view-point seems to have had so much influence on the scholars that there is a marked reluctance to utilize the material available even in the literature of the Brahmanas in interpreting *Rg Vedic mythology*. Considering that the latter still remains unravelled there seems to be little ground for this.

Another question which considerably affects the issue is the relationship between cult and myth. Based on general anthropological studies, religious myth is generally considered as a close associate of cult. The myth serves the purpose of providing an explanation for the mysteries of birth, life and death,

and the cult influences the invisible powers which govern these phenomena. Louis Renou, for example, says "Bergaigne showed that many of them (the hymns) were composed with the definite liturgical purpose in view...Vedic religion is first and foremost a liturgy, and only secondarily of mythological or speculative system; we must, therefore, investigate it as a liturgy". But this, in the present state of our knowledge of the myths would appear to be a prejudgement, which has unfortunately misled the various studies. The possibility of a large amount of secular thought underlying the myths seems to have thereby escaped notice. Generally it is conceded that "in the doings of the gods there are several levels of significance", (Louis Renou). Unfortunately, however, the extent to which "the transposition of natural phenomena to the mythical plane", which is accepted as one level of thought, has not been fully explored, and the attempts of such scholars as Hillebrandt, Oldenburg or Tilak have not been given the consideration that is due to them. Nor have any attempts been made to see whether improvements could be effected in the lines of arguments adopted by these scholars. While it is generally conceded that there is a certain amount of hypostatisation of abstract ideas the possibility that this mode of thought could have had even more influence in building up a mythology, whose terms do not more than merely describe such forces has not been fully examined. It seems to be the general opinion of scholars that the *Vedic mythology* lacks a system. If this were true then there would be even less hope of decoding the myths. But there seems to be no need to be dogmatic on this question at this stage. The possibility that apart form legendary lore the *Rg Veda* might carry within it a history of ideas has not escaped the attention of scholars. However, they have concentrated their attention generally on linguistic development, and have not explored the possibility that there is a history of religious *polemics* carried in the hymns.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

HARRY M. BUCK

Two Kraunca Birds

A Phenomenological and Form-Critical Study of the Opening S'lokas of the Vālmikirāmāyaṇa

It is typical of religious literatures throughout the world to incorporate claims for their own validation or to be supported by literature containing such claims. An abundance of secondary literature attests to the *Valmīki-rāmāyaṇa*, but four passages in the text itself carry heavier burdens of the validation task. Using methods that have proved successful in the study of other sacred books, this essay will examine four portions of Vālmīki's *kāvya*, concentrating finally on an incident placed deliberately near the beginning of the first book, the *Bālakāṇḍa*.

The received text of the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*, consisting of approximately 24,000 *ślokas*, is arranged in seven large books, but the central five contain the essential elements of the story. Successive editors have recast the *Rāmāyaṇa* to suit their needs and the needs of their ages, and it is in precisely those passages whose authenticity is in most doubt that the highest expressions of praise of the poem and the poet—the *ādikāvya* and the *ādikavi* are to be found. The seventh book, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, self-consciously designated a sequel (VII 3:1), serves to validate the entire *itihāsa*. At least the first four *sargas* of the first book, *Bālakāṇḍa*, require a similar classification.[1] Here, in *sarga* 2, the final poet describes the evocation of *rasa* in Vālmīki's heart, the gift of the story of Rāma to the poet, and the birth of a new literary form.

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1. Some arguments to substantiate this claim will be presented later. Reference may also be made to Arthur A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), p. 255, and G. H. Bhatt, *The Bālakāṇḍa: First Book of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960) pp. 424-431.

Interpretation of any passage from the *Ṛāmāyaṇa* must proceed on several levels at once because the narrative of Rāma and Sītā has served successively as an edifying tale, a hero story, and as the *ayana* of Rāma. *Ayan*—root *i* in its gunated form *e' ay*—is a "path", sometimes the path of the sun, and it should not be confused with *yāna*, which could be a vehicle traversing a path.[1] The present form of the *Valmīki Ṛāmāyaṇa* is not a simple treatise about Rāma but a path, the walking of which confers *puṇya*. Rāma and Sītā appear not so much as individuals but as idealized types, and even Rāvaṇa displays the qualities of an ideal enemy. Although a *kṣatriya* named Rāma may have experienced exile as the result of place intrigue, the *Rāmāyaṇa* presents its narrative as a description of the persistent struggle between *dharma* and *adharma* in which all men must engage.

In its present form the *Rāmāyaṇa* presents Rāma as an *avatar* of Viṣṇu, sent from heaven, while Sītā represent Lakṣmī, born from the earth (I 66). It is said that at the end of every *kalpa* ("cycle") of history, Viṣṇu who first exhaled the earth, will inhale it again so that he may exhale to begin a new *kalpa*. Within each *kalpa* are *yugas* ("eras") in each of which wickedness gradually triumphs over good, *adharma* over *dharma*. In these dark times, the Lord may appear, fulfilling Kṛṣṇa's promise to Arjuna,

Their task completed, Sītā returned to the earth (VII 97), and Rāma ascended to heaven (VII 110).

However prominent in the present *kavya*, the identification of Rāma with Viṣṇu may have been superimposed upon an earlier identification of Rāma with Indra. Indra is the divine champion, whose task it is to battle dark powers of evil, and the Rāma *carita* seems to have circulated in these terms, shaped in a pattern similar to that of the Indra-Vṛtra myth. In this enduring battle, the gods never wholly succeed.

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1. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (Oxford Clarendon Press. 1899), p. 89, cf. p. 849 on *yāna*. All derivations cited in this paper have involved consultation of this dictionary.

One may look to India's history to discern the "kernel" of the story of Rāma and Sītā, but it is more profitable to look to India's archetypal mythology for its meaningful origins. *Rāmāyaṇa* is scripture—*smṛti*—and scripture confronts its devotees in a dual role. It is the transmitter of a tradition, and it has been shaped by the very tradition it transmits. Scripture may be read for history—of men, of nations, of ideas—or it may be read for philosophy or for inspiration, but to miss its meaning for the worshipping community that enshrined it as "Bible" is to miss altogether its meaning *as scripture*. In many cases[1] a community can stamp the mark of its approval on its scriptures either by writing it into the text itself or by writing it into literature closely allied with it. Values expounded in such passages are not necessarily those intrinsic to the work itself. They represent a believing community's testimony and those outside the community will read the text for other purposes. Opening *sargas* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and the entire *Uttarakāṇḍa* fufill this purpose for *Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa*, but a testimony had already been incorporated into the conclusion of the last genuine book, the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.

I

The tale of Prince Rāma, recounted in the epic's five central books, depicts a *kṣatriya* in battle with *adharmic* forces. Two golden ages bracket the history. The *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* opens with a description of Daśaratha's noble kingdom, and the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* concludes with the description of *Rāmarājya*, the restoration of righteous rule following the age of ensuing conflicts. With the story completed, the concluding *ślokas* list the fruits to be obtained by reading, reciting, or copying the *Rāmāyaṇa*, employing a widely-used device of Indian literature, the *phalaśruti*. But the *phalaśruti*, with which the sixth book ends, looks back on an already old poem Twice it says *purā Vālmīkinā*

1. E.g. the Qur'ān proclaims its superiority to all other scriptures in surahs 10 : 38.39 ; 54 : 76-79 ; and 80 : 11-16. Hebrew scriptures acquired a validation story in II Esdras 14 and the legend of the Great Synagogue (*Aboth* 1 : 1).

kutam, in a way to suggest that *purā* must refer to something like "old story,"[1] perhaps even "the old, old story."

The *phalaśruti* provides one key to the extravagant language of the poem. Historical events—or at least those reputed to have taken place—are interpreted as having cosmic significance, and ordinary, historical language will not suffice to take them out of the realm of "mere history."

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, then, is not merely a story told. It provides a sanction for a way of life and a pattern for worship.

Typically, events believed to bear redemptive significance are transmitted through a narrative. Just as typically, the narrative itself becomes ultimately more important than the events it narrates. The *phalaśruti* of the *Ramayaṇa* can be offered as evidence of this same sort of development in the story of Rāma and Sītā.

For the devotee of the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is not the incidents that comprised Rāma's life—whether historical or not—but the story itself that brings the grace of God Rāma.

II

In a study of the *Dēvi Māhātmya*, Joanne Punzo has isolated three *caritas* inserted into a basic narrative and connected by editorial matter. To them also a *phalaśruti* has been appended, and when the ends extolled in the *phalaśruti* are ignored, the tales can be read for others ends. Underlying the entire work there is a battle tale that bears striking resemblance to the themes of the Indra-Vṛtra myth and to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

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1. C. V. Vaidya, *The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa*, (Bombay : Mrs. Radhabai Atmaram Sagood, and London : Kegan Paul, etc., 1906), p. 52. *Pura* is from the same stem from which *purāṇa* is derived.

> Applying her methods to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Punzo observes that the pattern in the *Rāmāyaṇa* no longer seems to serve primarily as an explanation of natural order but may describe the coming of social or religious order.....Rāvaṇa, like Vṛtra, disturbed nature but his primary offence was against men, particularly "religious" leaders.....(cf. I 16). Rāma, then, may be what Brown calls the "culture hero," the leader of the brahman religion, over against the unaryanized peoples.[1]

The opening sargas of the *Balakāṇḍa* and most of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* fulfill this function in ways not hard to discern when it is realized that this layer of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was written from the point of view of the ultimately dominant community.

The very name—Uttara—indicates that this *kāṇḍa* was intended to be understood as a concluding *sarga* a kind of addendum to the main body of the poem, and indeed, the conclusion is inescapable that most of it is of later origin.

> After the recasting of the *Mahabharata* it probably became the ambition of every great epic and Purāṇa to make it the depository of legends. And we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of today hundreds of legends told both in place and out of place. The largest additions in the form of legends are to be found in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.....The last editor, however, wished to bring in all or as many current legends as he could and put them in the month of one or another actor indiscriminately.[2]

But we can go beyond this observation. Despite the indiscriminate character of these legends, which Vaidya has noted, the dramatis personae of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* remain in character with their roles throughout the entire poem.

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1. Joanne M. Punzo, *The Devī Māhātmya : A Critical Study of a Devotional Text*, (Unpublished Hons. Thesis, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. 1967), p. 63.
2. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

The core of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, then, quite possibly goes back to Vālmīki after all, although "the Uttarakanda has unquestionably been the subject of the greatest number of additions and interpolations".[1] Addition and interpolation are not without art, and the *Uttarakāṇḍa* serves to complete both the story and the apotheosis of its central characters. It also validates the text of the poem in its final edition. A few example will suffice.

In Rāma's righteous reign, nothing but praise was heard for the good king, who, in his joy over his wife's pregnancy, promised her whatever she might desire. Her request was to visit again the forest hermitages they had known together in exile. The request was granted, but with a tragic consequence. To mitigate unfavourable gossip in his realm, Rāma felt compelled to order Sītā's abandonment at the hermitage, where, as the story has it, she came under the care of Vālmīki himself, who attended her when she gave birth to Rāma's twin sons, Kuśa and Lava.

Portions of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* probably came from professional rhapsodists, whose purposes the two sons of Rāma as here portrayed likely serve. By itself the name of either boy can be fitted with a suitable derivation. *Kuśa* is a kind of grass, and *Lava* may be related to the root *lū*, an act of cutting. The combination of the two names, however, can suggest the word *kuśīlava*, which means a "bard, herald, actor, or mime." The introduction of the two sons into the poem can be seen as an attempt to provide narrators for the story, or more accurately for the poem itself in its carefully contrived version. The *story* of Rama was certainly known before Vālmīki's time, but Kuśa and Lava validate and authenticate *this* version of it by obtaining the approval of the central character himself.

Other events recounted in the latter part of the last book serve to round off the tale and bring it to a suitable conclusion. After hearing the poem and learning the identity of the two sons, Rāma sent for Sītā, but when he required her to prove her chastity a second time, events took an unexpected turn.

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1. Vaidya, *op. cit.*,

The entire assembly witnessed Sītā's descent into the earth and, at that moment, a great tremor passed through the whole world. (VII 97)

Sītā, who emerged from a furrow in the earth, has now returned home. as Rāma, overcome with grief, vented his wrath on Vasudā ("earth goddess who provides treasure"). But Brahmā restrained him, using the episode to praise both Vālmīki and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. That Kuśa and Lava were only then called upon to recite the *Uttarakāṇḍa* provides additional support to the thesis that it was not considered a part of the original poem. For a mythical ten thousand years, during which Rāma reigned with a golden statue of Sītā at his side and the queens passed on to their reward, the city and the country abounded "in cheerful and satisfied people. None died prematurely nor was there any disease, and in Rāma's reign, none were destitute" (VII 9). In the same chapter it is also noted that "Raghava distributed gifts to the brahmins vowed to asceticism."

Lakṣmaṇa, true to his nature, was given another opportunity to deny himself on behalf of his brother. He was chosen to guard the door during a strictly private interview between Rāma and Death on the oath that his own life would be forfeit if he overheard any of the conversation. Death brought a message from Lord Brahmā, the Blessed Grandsire, inviting Rāma, now that his task on earth had been completed, to "return to us" (VII 104). Rāma had been sent into the world for a particular mission. His task accomplished, he spoke his *tetelestai*, "I came for the good of the worlds, this is the purpose of my being...I shall leave without delay" (VII 104).

Lakṣmaṇa, however, was forced to violate his vow in order to protect the kingdom from the curse of a sage. He interrupted the conversation and then offered up his life.

Rāma then decided to go the way of Lakṣmaṇa, and asked that Bharata receive the throne. True to himself, Bharata refused, and the kingdom was divided between Kuśa and Lava.

The story ends with Rāma's departure. In a scene not unlike ascension stories the world over, Rāma did not die but was assumed into heaven.

Rāma then ascended into heaven, dispensing boons on all those who waited at his feet, and Lord Brahmā echoed the approval of the life of Raghava, bestowing blessing on all those who waited on him. Rāma, whose exploits as a hero resembled those of Lord Indra, is now identified with Lord Viṣṇu.

After Macdonell concludes his summary of the "story line" of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he continues his discussion by saying,

> Such in bare outline is the main story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. By the addition of the first and last books, Vālmīkī's epic has been transformed into a poem meant to glorify the god Viṣṇu.[1]

The process is not quite so simple as Macdonell would seem to have believed, although history is regularly viewed mythically in religious systems, even in those pretending otherwise. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we can discern the description of Rāma according to the prototype of Indra, champion of *dharma*, as a strain different from the glorification of Rāma, the cosmic saviour, Lord Viṣṇu. It is significant that Nārada, who recites the older tale of Rāma to Vālmīki, says nothing about his participation in the Godhead.[2]

IV

We turn now to the episodes for which paper has been named, the well-known slaughter of the *krauñca* and the pun on *śloka* and *śoka*, followed by the appearance of Lord Brahmā. The first four *sargas* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* constitute a validation story par excellence.

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1. *Op. cit.*, p. 265.
2. This point is developed by Vaidya, who also points out that the theory of Vjṣṇu's ten avatars is derived from the puraṇas (*op. cit.*, pp. 28-29). I have isolated the various strains of mythicization in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in "Lord Rāma and the Faces of God in India," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, XXXVI/3 (Sept. 1968), 229-241.

The received text of the *ValmīkiRamayaṇa* begins with two significant words; *tapas*—the practice of austerities—and *svadhyaya*—the act of reciting the Vedas. The opening compound, *atapaḥsvādhyayaniratam*, stresses meditation and study, since as it is said, "both are necessary for the writing of poetry.[1] But it is not ordinary meditation or scholarship in a western sense; it is deep meditation in the style of penance and scholarship in the form of close attention to the recitation of the Vedas. Vālmīki's name appears in the last compound of the first *śloka*. Thus it can be said by the devoted community that through Vālmīki, the Vedas were incarnated as the *Rāmayaṇa*.

Vālmīki next inquired of Saga Nārada, who appears in purāṇic literature only when some great good is to be performed or some calamity averted.[2]

> In this world to-day, who is there endowed with excellent and heroic qualities, versed in all the duties of life, grateful, truthful, firm in his vows, an actor of many parts, benevolent to all beings, learned, eloquent, handsome, patient, slow to anger, one who is truly great, free from envy, and who, when excited to wrath, can strike terror into the hearts of Celestial Beings? (II)

Although Nārada replied with elaborate stanzas in praise of Rāma, likening his qualities to those of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, he says nothing about avatars. This section can hardly be as late in composition as those portions of the book that definitely equate Rāma with Viṣṇu.

The second *sarga* brings Vālmīki, now a worshipper of Rāma in his heart, to the banks of the River Tamasa ("dark coloured," related to *tamas*), where, "with his senses fully controlled.....[he] repeated the traditional prayers, offering libations of water to his ancestors and the gods" (I 2). In this state of anticipation he watched a pair of *krauñca* birds sporting with each other and witnessed a hunter slay the male.

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1. Rāmāyaṇa Ratnākara T. Srinivasa Raghavadharya, *Rāmāyaṇa Dynamo* (1965).
2. *Ibid.*

.....Touched by the cries of the female *krauñca* and incensed by the cruel act of the hunter, the holy sage uttered these words :—

"O Hunter, having slain this bird in the midst of enjoyment with its mate, mayest thou seek in vain for a resting place forever," (I 2)

Then, realizing the poetic quality of what he had just said, Vālmīki continued,

"Grieving for the dying bird, I have recited this verse of four feet, each of equal syllables, which can be sung to the Vīṇā ! Let it therefore be known as a *śloka*, arising as it does from my grief (*śoka*)."

That one bird out of a couple should be killed seems a trifling occurrence in the history of the world. Yet to one like Vālmīki who loved all life, the pain in one heart, thought it was the heart of a bird, became the symbol of all the pain in the world. [1]

The death of the *krauñca* evoked *rasa*, the quintessence of poetry and the sentiment necessary for an aesthetic or religious. His heart made sensitive, Vālmīki made a poem out of the story of Rāma, and the *Bālakāṇḍa* describes it as the primal poem, claiming that it was the gift of Brahmā, even as a similar legend shows Brahmā conferring the art of the dance.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is the work of an artist. The idea that the death of a *krauñca* marked the birth of *śloka* can be discounted, but it is impossible to ignore the following scene where Brahmā, the supposed father of archaic, Vedic Sanskrit, confers on Vālmīki the fatherhood of classical Sanskrit poetry. What is meant by this title? That until Vālmīki's time Sanskrit writers wrote only prose in

1. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, *The Poetry of Vālmiki, a Literary Appreciation of the parts of the Rāmāyaṇa*. (Bangalore : Bangalore Press, 1940), p. 177.

untenable. "It seems probable," Vaidya opines, "that Vālmīki was the first Rishi who adapted the Vedic Chhandas to the composition of poem in classical Sanskrit."[1] He is, however, unlikely the formulator of the form that came to be known as *sargabanda kavya*, the arrangement of poetry in *sargas*. Apparently he transformed the *chandas* to the more carefully regulated *anuṣṭubh* form.

The language of the *Valmiki Ramāyaṇa* is in strict accord neither with the *anuṣṭubh* nor with the grammatical dictums of Pāṇini, although it is reasonable to assume that the *kavya* is post-Pāṇinian.

> The work *is* written in an ornate classical style—it is a *kavya*—and at places contains fine poetry clothed in flawless expression. The exigency of metre too cannot be put forward as a plea for the occurrence of these forms, for it is unbelievable that the learned author of this work would find it difficult to express himself correctly in verse and that too in Anuṣṭubh which does not make an exacting demand on a poet. Even a far lesser poet can compose in this metre without being forced to turn and twist the language.[2]

On these grounds Satya Vrat concludes that it is "reasonable and probable to presume that the language in the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and, for that matter, of the *Mahābharata*, had not developed that rigidity and fixity which became its characteristic hallmark in later times."[3]

Great poetry, however, is never merely a gift; an artist must also be a craftsman. Following the evocation of *rasa* by the sight of the slain *krauñca*, Lord Brahmā himself appeared to Vālmīki, urging him to retell Rāma's story in this poetic form and making the oft-quoted promise that "as long as the

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1. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
3. Satya Vrat, *The Ramayaṇa—A Linguistic Study*, (Delhi: Munshi ram Manohar Lal., 1964), p. 177.

mountains and rivers remain on earth, so long will the story of Rāma endure" (I2). The third *sarga* contains the story in summary, the vision granted to the poet as a reward for his penances, and the fourth *sarga* is concerned with the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, including the appearance of Kuśa and Lava. The poem proper begins with *Sarga* Five, exhibiting a refreshingly different style of writing.

V

Successive layers of tradition in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reveal the motives of later editors. Jacobi is struck with the fact that "when a new view, as the conception of the identity of Viṣṇu with Rāma appears in the text, the same remains restricted to the interpolated portions and does not pervade the entire poem so much so that one cannot speak of revision of the text for selfish purposes."[1] But his conclusions do not necessarily follow from his evidence. To cite a parallel example: In the present edition of the *Book of Samuel* in the Hebrew scriptures, a similar phenomenon can be encountered where the first three chapters present the views of later editors. They are deliberately placed at the beginning of the book and so skillfully incorporated that many readers go through them without realizing that they are being prepared with a point of view that will contradict much that follows in the main body of the narrative.

Jacobi's later observations are more to the point, however:

> the *Bāla* and *Uttarakāṇḍa* provide evidence in support of the fact that a long period elapsed between the composition of the same and that of the original epic.
>
> Through this very work the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* became converted into the ethical hero of the people, and from the hero of a clan to a national hero. The honour, apportioned to him, raised him

1. *op. cit.*, p. 178.

> forthwith from the human to the divine sphere and brought about his identification with Viṣṇu exactly in the same manner as occurred with regard to Kṛṣṇa, another epic hero of Western India.....In the case of both Rāma and Kṛṣṇa a legendary hero has been mingled with a popular god...Rāma, the Rāghava with the national god Rāma, the conqueror of the demons. Just after this happened the so-conceived god was assumed as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. [1]

Some manuscript evidence also supports this view. Manuscripts D-1 (A.D 1455) and D—3 (A.D. 1717) call the *Bālakāṇḍa* the *Ayōdhyakāṇḍa*, suggesting that the *Bālakaṇḍa* was a later addition to an earlier version beginning with the *Ayōdhyakāṇḍa*. Equally interesting is the statement of the *Padma Purāṇa* (4 : 66) that there are six *kaṇḍas* in the *Rāmayaṇa*, beginning with the *Bāla* and ending with the *Uttara*.[2] The *Padma Purāṇa* includes the subject of the *Ayōdhyakāṇḍa* in its reference to the *Bālakaṇḍa*, perhaps to validate its claim.

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1. Hermann Jacobi, *The Rāmāyaṇa: Das Rāmāyaṇa of Dr. Hermann Jacobi*, trans. by S. N. Ghosal, (Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1960), p. 47.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 50-

B. Ch. Chhabra

Narayana : Author of Hitopadesa

The collection of fables in easy and idiomatic Sanskrit, that goes by the name of *Hitopadeśa*, meaning " Wholesome Advice ", is next to the *Pañchatantra* in fame and popularity. Very little is, however, known about its author or compiler, except that his name was Nārāyaṇa. In common with most Sanskrit writers of yore, this Nārāyaṇa has left very meagre data bearing on his own life-history. Nor do other sources throw much light on his biography. It is extremely tantalizing indeed not to be able to know even the birth-place or parentage of a writer whose literary work has won him world-wide renown and continues enjoying an ever-increasing popularity.

We ought to be thankful that we know at least the name of this author; for, the only stanza that contains his name had been lightly discarded by an early editor as a " worthless " interpolation. Luckily for us, its importance was duly recognized by a later editor, namely Peter Peterson, who gave us his edition of the *Hitopadeśa* in 1887. Commenting on the earlier incident, Peterson writes: " It is hardly credible, but it is the fact, that the verse treated in this contemptuous fashion contains, and has very naturally for sixty years concealed from us, the name of the author of the *Hitopadeśa*, as furnished by that author himself." The verse in question brings the work to a conclusion by wishing it a long life: *tavan = Nārāyaṇena pracharatu rachitaḥ saṁgrho = 'yaṁ kathanām*— " May this collection of stories, composed by Nārāyaṇa, remain popular for all time to come."

We are beholden to Peterson for yet another outstanding biographical detail concerning this Nārāyaṇa. In an old manuscript of the work, he discovered an additional couplet after the concluding verse just referred to. In this

couplet, the author showers blessings on his generous patron, a ruling chief, called Dhavalachandra, who helped him in publicising the work. The couplet reads as follows :

śrīmān Dhavalachandro='sau jīyan=māṇḍaliko ripūn |
yen=ayam saṁgraho yatnāl=lekhayitvā pracāritaḥ ||

"May that illustrious Dhavalachandra, the *Maṇḍalika*, attain victory over his enemies—the illustrious Dhavalachandra who has taken pains in having this collection of stories copied by the scribes and has thereby popularised it among the people".

As for this prince Dhavalachandra, we know precious little. His title *Maṇḍalika*, however, shows that he was a feudatory chief. Peterson was inclined to identify him with the Maurya prince Dhavala who figures in a stone inscription found at Kanaswa or Kaṇvāśrama, a few miles to the east of Kotah in Rajasthan. The town of Kotah, it may be pointed out, is mentioned more than once in the *Hitopadeśa* itself. The inscription just referred to is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 795, corresponding to A.D. 738. Its object is to record the erection of a Śiva temple. It may be recalled that our author Nārāyaṇa was a devotee of Lord Śiva as is clearly indicated by the invocatory verses in the beginning as well as at the close of every chapter of the *Hitopadeśa*. The invocation in the beginning is an oft-quoted melodious couplet which reads :

siddhiḥ sādhye satām astu prasādāt tasya Dhūrjaṭeḥ |
Jāhnavi-phena-lekh=eva yan-mūrdhni śaśinaḥ kalā ||

"May the good people achieve success in their undertakings through the grace of that Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) on whose forehead the cresent of moon appears like a streak of foam of Jāhnavī (the celestial river Ganges) !"

It is significant here that, both in this couplet and in the Kanaswa inscription, the specific appellation used for Lord Śiva is Dhūrjaṭi. In the light of all this, it may not be altogether unreasonable to suppose that Nārāyaṇa, the author

of the Hitopadeśa, originally belonged to, or at least had something to do with, Kotah. Yet, considering that the book is specially popular in Bengal and that in one of its tales it refers to the worship of Gauri as a *tantrika* practice, many scholars believe that Nārāyaṇa was a native of Bengal. As to the time when this author flourished, it has not yet been possible to determine his date precisely. All that can be said at present is that he lived before A.D. 1373, which happens to be the date of the earliest manuscript so far discovered of the *Hitopadeśa*.

As regards the sources drawn upon by Nārāyaṇa for his *Hitopadeśa*, he himself informs us that he utilised such books as the *Pañchatantra*. It has been further ascertained that he largely drew upon Kamandaki's *Nītisāra* as well. Besides, he seems to have freely borrowed from the Buddhist *Jātaka* stories. By mentioning the *Pañchatantra* alone by name, Nārāyaṇa shows his special indebtedness to it; for, he has not only modelled his *Hitopadeśa* on it, but has also taken over 25 of its 43 fables.

As a mater of fact, the *Hitopadeśa* passes as an abridged and simplified form of the *Pañchatantra* itself. Its entertaining and instructive stories have likewise travelled far and wide and have become the common property of the world nursery. By reason of its lucid style as also of its pithy and wise sayings couched in simple and sweet verse, the *Hitopadeśa* has found favour with the Sanskritists all over the world. It is prescribed as a most suitable text-book for beginners in learning Sanskrit. On analysis, it has been found that Nārāyaṇa, in abridging the *Pañchatantra* narratives, has in several instances spoiled the charm of the original, while in some cases he has brought in a definite improvement and even innovation. Some of the fables are supposed to be Nārāyaṇa's own invention. For a typical example, we may cite here the fable of the Ass and the Dog. It illustrates how, instead of minding one's own business, if one meddles with somebody else's in one's zeal to prove one's loyalty, one makes a perfect ass of oneself. The story runs as follows: Once there lived a washerman in Vāranāsi. One day he went to bed very late and soon fell fast asleep. Now, a thief entered the compound of his house to rob him of his valuables. The

washerman's dog and donkey were both there. On observing the thief steal in, the donkey said to the dog: "It is your duty now to do the needful. Why are you keeping quiet ? Why don't you bark and awaken the master?" The dog said in reply: "You mind your own business. You need not bother about my duty. You know what treatment I am receiving at the hands of our master for all the devotion with which I have been watching his house all the time. He does not even give me enough food. He must be taught a lesson. He must be made to realise my worth." The donkey got angry and said: "How wretched of you! You are neglecting your duty and are going to put the master to so much loss. All right; if you don't bark, I'll bray and wake up the master." The donkey did bray and the washerman was disturbed in his sleep. He was so enraged that he gave a sound thrashing to the donkey for his unwanted alarm, while the dog kept quiet and thief had already taken to his heels.

ALBERTINE GAUR

Early Missionaries as Manuscript Collectors

The Christian missionaries who reached India during the 17th and 18th century soon realised that without some knowledge of the vernacular languages they could not hope to preach their faith successfully. Such a knowledge was essential to them in more than one way. It enabled them to translate the Bible into a medium intelligible to their prospective converts, and it also provided them with an opportunity to study the indigenous literature if only "to use their own books against them.....to prove the absurdity of their religion;" (as one missionary wrote in 1706[1]). In South India this task was somewhat easier. Though Tamil is by no means an easy language its study was at least not hampered by the many taboos which surrounded the knowledge of Sanskrit. In the two main centres of mission work in Tamilnadu—the Catholic Madurai established by Roberto de Nobili in 1606 and the Lutheran Tranquebar founded by Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg in 1709—libraries grew up which contained a great many Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts. Our knowledge of the exact contents of these collections is somewhat scanty. The missionaries themselves mentioned them only with caution, always stressing the fact that they were only part of their working library. Too much interest in these *heathenish books* was often the cause for severe criticism from anxious mother churches in Europe who at times might well have wondered who was actually converting whom.

In 1708, two years after his arrival in Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg (1663—1719) composed a little manuscript entitled *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher* [i.e., *Catalogue of Malabari books*] in which he listed and described, some

1. B. Ziegenbalg; *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, Third edition. London, 1718.

times at great length, 112 Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts which he had acquired for his library. For over 200 years this catalogue was in the possession of the British Museum[1] without anybody realising its identity and importance. It has now been described and translated from the original German in an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*[2].

The title in the catalogue are given in Ziegenbalg's German influenced spelling. Wherever an identification was possible I have added the correct Tamil spelling. The titles are :

1. *Tolkabiam* தொல்காப்பியம்.
2. *Karigei* கரிகை
3. *Nannul* நன்னூல்
4. *Diwagaram* திவாகரம்
5. *Negendu* நிகண்டு
6. *Diruwaschagom* திருவாசகம்
7. *Diruvalluwer* i.e., the குறள்
8. *Diruwalluweurei* i.e., a commentary to the குறள்
9. *Tschintamani* சிந்தாமணி
10. *Paradum* பாரதம்
11. *Paradaurei*, i.e., a commentary to பாரதம்
12. *Randsburanaurei*, i.e., a commentary to கந்த புராணம்
13. *Aritschandiren Kadei* அரிச்சந்திரன் கதை
14. *Aritschandira Puranam* அரிச்சந்திர புராணம்
15. *Wetalakadei* வேதாள கதை
16. *Balagnana Tschori* பாலஞான ஜோதி
17. *Tschinendira malei* சினேந்திர மாலை
18. *Parada ammanar* Ziegenbalg names அம்பிகாபதி as Author.
19. *Kalingaddubarani* கலிங்கத்துப் பரணி

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1. *Sloan* 3014. Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, London.
2. Albertine Gaur; *Bartholomaeusu Ziegenbalg's Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher.* In *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* London, 1967. p.p. 63–95.

20. *Alankara uduranum* அலங்கார உதாரணம்
21. *Dirubugel* திருப்புகழ்
22. *Wadurpuranam* வட புராணம்
23. *Agambaranderula*, i.e., the story of a seven years old girl who fall in love with an ideal.
24. *Kandenanupudi* கந்தரநுபூதி
25. *Abiramiantadi* அபிராமி அந்தாதி
26. *Gnanpohtagam*, Probably a Christian work.
27. *Karanei wurubba tareien Walamandel* கருணை உருவத்தரையின் வளமாடல்
28. *Koilkalambagam* கோவில் கலம்பகம்
29. *Dewarum* தேவாரம்
30. *Banschadandira kadei* பஞ்சதந்திரக் கதை
31. *Naga pascha badalam* நாகப்பாசப் படலம்
32. *Walliammei wenpa* வள்ளியம்மை வெண்பா
33. *Tschidambaru malei* சிதம்பர மாலை
34. *Wenkida malai* வேங்கட மாலை
35. *Nilinadagam* நீலி நாடகம்
36. *Walliamanar*, a work about the goddess வள்ளியம்ம கார்
37. *Diruwarurula* திருவாரூருலா
38. *Bullei dammul* பிள்ளைத்தமிழ்
39. *Komarer bulleidirunamum* குமரர் பிள்ளைத் திருநாமம்
40. *Kanschen ammanar* கஞ்சன் அம்மநார்
41. *Perumal ammanar* பெருமான் அம்மநார்
42. *Kombakarana padalam* கும்பகர்ண படலம்
43. *Anumar ammanar* அனுமார் அம்மநார்
44. *Ascharakowei*, Religious work by local author.
45. *Kaiaronerula* காயாரோணெருலா
46. *Kilwelur Kalambagam* கீழ்வேளூர் கலம்பகம்
47. *Nidischarum* நீதி சாரம்
48. *Janawenba* ஞான வெண்பா
49. *Manei Sastiram*, a work on architecture.
50. *Uddirapodagam* உத்தரபோதகம்

51. *Tschiwapaikkiam*, 48 stanzas on ethics.
52. *Tschiwapaikkiam*, Similar work by same author.
53. *Tschiwapaikkiam*, ibid.
54. *Kumarerperil wannam* குமரர் பேரில் வண்ணம்
55. *Wischtnumele wannam* விஷ்ணு மேல் வண்ணம்
56. *Annamaleinader wannam*, Hymns to Śiva.
57. *Udelkuddu wannam* உடல் குரு வண்ணம்
58. *Schawamiperil wannam* சுவாமி பேரில் வண்ணம்
59. *Dadduwawilakkam* தத்துவ விளக்கம்
60. *Nalenkadei* நளன் கதை
61. *Wanen kowei* வாணன் கோவை
62. *Indira Tscheiddu badalam* இந்திரசித்துபடலம்
63. *Ambigeimalei* அம்பிகை மாலை
64. *Baramaraschiamalei* பரமரகசியமாலை
65. *Kuschalawen kadei* குசலவன் கதை
66. *Tschamanda bullei dirunamum* சம்பந்தப் பிள்ளைத் திருநாமம்
67. *Egateschipuranam* ஏகாதசிப் புராணம்
68. *Keruda banschatscharam* கருட பஞ்சாட்சரம்
69. *Tschirankareier ammanei* சிரங்காசா அம்மானை
70. *Kischten Tudu* கிருஷ்ணன் தூதுச் சுருக்கம்
71. *Nellemalei* நெல்லை மாலை
72. *Keschendira motschum* கசேந்திர மோட்சம்
73. *Tscharanul* சாரநூல்
74. *Madanul* மதநூல்
75. *Uullamudeiar* உலமுடையர்
76. *Nimidda tschutamani* நிமிடச் சூடாமணி
77. *Torundawaschanam* சோழ ராஜ வசனம்
78. *Barada Sastiram* பாரத சாஸ்திரம்
79. *Madumei malei* மாதுமை மாலை
80. *Banscha patschi* பஞ்சப் பகி
81. *Nawakkiraga Tschintamani* நவக்கிரகச் சிந்தாமணி
82. *Kewulikadei* கெவ்விக் கடல்
83. *Arunagiri antati* அருணகிரியந்தாதி

84. *Schawandara tayari* சுந்தரத் தாயாரி
85. *Naraiana tschadagom* நாராயணச் சதகம்
86. *Naten wenpa* நாடென் வெண்பா
87. *Tscheru dunda kadei* சேர தந்தைக் கதை
88. *Markanda puranum* மார்கண்டப் புராணம்
89. *Warunakuladidden* வருணக்குலாதித்தன்
90. *Diagarascha pallu* தியாகராசப் பள்ளு
91. *Warukka kowei* வருக்கைக் கோவை
92. *Tschiwakam, Schawundirimalai* ? சாவித்திரி மாலை
93. *Nenschu Wurutudu* நெஞ்சு விடு தூது
94. *Wirali wurutudu* விரலி விடு தூது
95. *Tschiwaraddirei Puranam* சிவராத்திரிப் புராணம்
96. *Kurandei antadi* குடந்தை அந்தாதி
97. *Kawileragawel* கபிலரகவல்
98. *Agawel* அகவல்
99. *Arelkuru daddawam* அந்தக் குரு தத்துவம்
100. *Ulaganidi* உலக நீதி
101. *Nalwari* நல்வழி
102. *Konneiwehnten* கொன்றைவேந்தன்
103. *Ati tschudi* ஆத்திசூடி
104. *Mudirei* மூதுரை
105. *Nidiwenpa* நீதிவெண்பா
106. *Arubaddunalu Diruwileiadel Puranam* அறுபத்துமூவர் திருவிளையாடல் புராணம்
107. *Arubaddu diruwileiadelurei* அறுபத்து திருவிளையாடல் உரை
108. *Damulariwal* தமிழறிவான்
109. *Tschiddira buddirakadei* சித்திர புத்திரக் கதை
110. *Dirigala Sakkaram* திரிகாலச் சக்கரம்
111. *Buwana Sakkaram* புவனச் சக்கரம்
112. *Waguda Tschuwadi* வகுச்சுவடி

In 1731 a similar handwritten catalogue was produced by another German speaking member of the Tranquebar mission. The catalogue which is now in the

Royal Library at Copenhagen[1] gives an up-to-date account of the mission's manuscript collection. It seems that between 1708 and 1719, the year of his premature death, Ziegenbalg had enlarged the collection by 40 further items. The *Copenhagen manuscript* is divided into five sections with the following headings :

Section one: The titles of the 40 manuscripts Ziegenbalg purchased before his death.

Section two: A Catalogue of Moorish and Islamic books [13 titles].

Section three: A review of Malabari-Roman books; i. e. manuscripts written by Roman Catholics and probably acquired from Madurai [29 titles].

Section four: A review of olah books, written by the missionaries [of Tranquebar] some small, some large [52 titles].

Section five: A review of Malabari books written on paper, also of manuscripts written in other languages [than Tamil] which bear relation to Malabari literature, religion and philosophy [14 titles][2].

It thus seems that in 1731 about 200 rare and valuable manuscripts were kept in the library of the Tranquebar mission. What has happened to them ? They are no longer in Tranquebar. Some have no doubt found their way into various European libraries where they might still await discovery. The *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher* in the British Museum did not give any indication as to its author or place of origin. It was indeed wrongly catalogued even as far as the date of composition was concerned. It was sheer chance and a good deal of research which brought about an identification. But the majority of those manuscripts which had been collected with so much pain by some of the

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1. *Bibliotheca Tamulica consistens in recensione librorum nostr orum, mscr..torum, ad cognoscendum et linguam & res Tamulica concruientium; anno MDCCXXXI.* Royal Library, Copenhagen.

2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* London, 1967. pp. 63-95.

early missionaries—not only in Tranquebar but also in other centres—have no doubt been lost. The unknown writer of the *Copenhagen manuscripts* states, rather sadly, in his introduction: "……with great difficulties and under severe financial strain the late Ziegenbalg had been able to build up a good collection of Malabari books. Yet no proper care was taken to preserve them and most of those mentioned in his catalogue [i. e. the *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher* have again been lost. Our present school master tells us that when he was still a pupil, one day during the rainy season he and his friends found a case of olah books. To warm themselves they took a number of those books and made a huge fire. When an inventory was made in 1726 only a few of the original books were left, as can be seen from a list given at the beginning of this manuscript. They were arranged in a more orderly fashion, entered in a catalogue, and locked away in a special case in the library. But at the next inventory taken in 1731 again several books were missing. More-over, since the books had been so closely packed together [many of them were badly damaged……"

EDWIN GEROW

Present Condition of Sanskrit College

Since Indian independence, nearly mortal changes have occurred in the traditional system of Sanskrit education. It is not necessary to detail the distinguished contributions of this system of education to the historical culture of India. The traditional ideal of the learned man is one with the ideal product of this institution—the *paṇḍita*—through whose efforts, and embodied in whom, the intellectual culture of India has come down to the present generation of men. What the anthropologists have recently termed the Great Tradition has been the chief concern of Sanskritic education for centuries and has achieved its present sophisticated formulation in those very terms which, to a great extent, define the goals, methods, and techniques of Sanskritic education.

The system itself, as distinguished from its literary product, has surprisingly never received much attention in Western academic circles, even among Sanskritists, though most Western Sanskritists, from Jones onward, have by the very nature of things, been obliged to refer, and to defer, to the *paṇḍita* on many issues touching their own formation and scholarship.[1] The British government did make a policy of encouraging Sanskrit education; but even those administrators most knowledgeable did not describe the institution itself, apart from a few brief surveys which are almost wholly statistical;[2] actual teaching methods,

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1. Notable American Sanskritists who have expressed their debt to traditional teachers include Daniel H. H. Ingalls, (*Materials for the Study of Navya nyāya Logic* Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 40). Acknowledgments Franklin Edgert on :-*The Mīmāṃsanyāya-prakāśa of Āpadeva*, New Haven, 1929, preface, p. iii.

2. Notably "Mr Cowell's Report on the Toles of Nuddea" (viz. E. B. Cowell, late Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta), reproduced in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic*

internal arrangements, recruitment, social function, patronage and the like are hardly touched upon. Still, the local administration of the schools, and particularly their dharmic character, was at most rationalized under new patronage.[1]

What information we have, known for the most part as a kind of ideal projection of the classical (viz. textual) ideal itself. has been since Independence subject to profound alteration. I think it timely to report here (in very succinct terms) on the present crisis in traditional education;[2] the institution is in grave danger of extinction within a generation and must be described now, if at all.[3] But also, we ought not to participate by neglect in the demise of an intellectual ideal and an intellectual method priceless as an aspect of humanistic culture generally—one which has contributed and still does contribute to our own cultural training and distinction. With the death of this tradition, there will pass into unintelligibility a good proportion, possibly even a majority, of the written records of a great civilization: those *śastraic* and erudite mediaeval commentaries which are the chief business and substance of the modern Sanskrit school, which in turn cultivates the rigorous training and style of thought needed to master, and implied by that tradition.

Transition to Secular Administration

Traditionally, patronage of the educational apparatus has been the responsibility of the ruler, be he Victory or Indian prince. Mysore Sanskrit

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(Contd.)—*Society of Bengal*, June 1867, pp. 86–102—wherein is also quoted an extract from an earlier report by H. H. Wilson, (1830), to which I have not been able to find other reference. Also, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal*, by William Adam (1835 and 1838), new edition by A. Basu, Calcutta, 1941, esp. pp. 75.82, 253.77.

1. For example, the Sanskrit College, Mysore, chief locale of the present study, founded by H. H. Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar in 1868.

2. The problems of Sanskrit Education have been amply and eloquently documented in the *Report of the Sanskrit Commission*, New Delhi, 1958; however, few of the Commission's recommendations have been implemented, and conditions appear to have grown steadily worse.

   This paper, based on fieldwork done in Mysore and elsewhere in 1967.8, was first presented in draft to a meeting of the American Oriental Society in 1969.

3. Cassandras were heard throughout the British period. Kielhorn (1874), in a moving

College was in effect a private benefaction of H. H. the Mahārāja of Mysore. With the end of traditional rule (in Mysore, 1947), the institutions which tended to support and justify traditional rule inevitably found their social roles subject to disjunction. Sanskrit education was one of these, in so far as it trained, not only the *paṇḍita*, but also priests and other specialists whose function was of immediate relevence to the dharmic image and administration of the State.[1]

By its very nature, Sanskritic education has been a preserve of the élite castes—not always closed, but certainly difficult of access to others. Even with the immense changes that economic modernization has induced on the high castes, modifying and diluting their traditional preoccupation with learning and priest-craft, it is my feeling that, left to themselves, the more orthodox would contrive to preserve and justify the style of education which has so determined their role. Their love for Sanskrit and its culture—and it should always be remembered that it is a culture and not just a language—is deep and their desperation is nowhere more acute than where the peril to Sanskrit is perceived.

The control of the constitutionally secular Indian State over the administration and curriculum of the Sanskrit schools itself has produced many changes: general admission to certain schools or sections which were formerly closed; in the best schools—those under State control for the most part—it is no longer possible to live and teach according to the *śāstraic* prescriptions concerning study, and this strikes at the very heart of the cultural identity of Sanskrit, for it is a *sacred* obligation to know and to teach the tradition. Secularization would be justifiable

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(*Contd.*)—tribute to traditional learning, gave it a life expectancy of only fifty years. Pp. XXIV-XXV of the Preface to the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgojibhaṭṭa*, part II; second edition by K. V. Abhyankar, BORI, Poona, 1960. Kielhorn's plea, though too pessimistic for its day, seems now even more a *propos*.

1. Such as the *dharmādhikārīs* in the Mysore Palace. It is interesting to speculate, from this point of view, on the motive of the British in encouraging Sanskrit study. It is indubitable that British policy did provoke a major renaissance in Sanskrit learning and scholarship, both qualitatively and quantitatively—the pessimism of Kielhorn notwith standing. It is that renaissance, indeed, of which we are now contemplating the decline.

if there were any great interest among the less orthodox in Sanskrit education, but in this day and age it is rare enough to find even a Brahmin voluntarily cultivating Sanskrit. In Mysore, the only group to take advantage of the relaxation in admission has been the Lingayats, who consider themselves Brahmins; not a single non-Brahmin and non-Lingayat has proceeded since Independence to a higher degree through *M.S.C.* Moreover, the serious students are still almost entirely high caste. In this perspective, secularization of Sanskrit study would seem to be the extension of an alien principle, whose chief effects are not to democratize Sanskrit study, but to demoralize the orthodox and to lower standards of scholarship.

Unimaginative bureaucratic influence is seen also in other administrative details: the principals of the Colleges are more often than not simply higher officials of the State educational services temporarily posted there.[1] The very furniture of the College has been "modernized": desks and chairs have been introduced (though not in Veda classes).[2]

Social and Intellectual Role of the Sanskrit College

No system of education will long survive if its products are deemed to have no social utility, expressed in the form of gainful employment. In general the graduates of Sanskrit colleges have tended to fill one of three roles: priest,

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1. Since 1947, the average tenure of principals at Mysore Sanskrit College has been less than three years. Many had not been trained as Sanskritists, still the official language of instruction. A distinguished exception to this rule was in the chair during my studentship however—not only a *vidvān*, but also a University Ph.D. in Philosophy. His tenure was less than two years.

2. It is perhaps needless to emphasize on many of these points that wide local variations are present. In Vāraṇāsi, desks and chairs are not used; in Baroda, they appear always to have been in use. We repeat that the primary locale of these remarks is Mysore; other local studies might well severly modify the force of the conclusions here suggested. It appears, for example, that the plight of Sanskrit may not be as acute in the North as it is in the South; it has been suggested by my colleague Professor Paul R. Brass, that the emphasis on Sanskritized Hindi in U. P. may actually be redounding to the *benefit* of traditional Sanskrit study there. In Orissa, Government have decided (1968) to establish a Sanskrit School in every District.

Vaidika or *śastri*. The Sanskrit colleges do to some extent continue to train priests, and in this their importance has not seriously been compromised; but priests to a large extent, escape the rigorous advanced training which is given in the *śastra* courses, and hence give no effective numerical support to the latter. The Mysore Government—laudably—have recently made requirements for priests —both students and those practicing—somewhat more rigorous.

Vedic scholars, on the other hand, have lost their last surviving patronage with the few royal families who could (or would) support the expensive public sacrifices that Vedic training gives mastery of. The Vedic curriculum in Mysore, still intact, suffers more than other branches of the school from want of students; Vedic specialists seem to have been reduced to the condition of giving occasional public recitals of chanting at temples or at largely secular events (such as the visit of an American scholar). Whatever one may think of Vedic ritual, it would be indeed remarkable in this age of vastly expanding horizons, if this unique historical link with the very origins of human culture were allowed to wither away, after 3500 years of sometimes difficult preservation. Looked upon as a irreplaceable cultural specialist, the Vaidika would seem to merit preservation in his own right, perhaps in a Government-sponsored Institute which has no other function than to keep the various *śākhas* alive.[1]

The *śastra* portions of the curriculum alone really compete with the imported English style education now so widely available, as intellectual culture and advanced training for teaching and public service. But *śastris* have suffered more in their already unequal competition with B.A.'s and M.A.'s because of two Central Government reforms having the consequence of severely limiting employment opportunities for traditionally trained teachers.[2]

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1. Cf. the Keraliyakalāmandalam, so successful in the preservation of Kathakali, and now performing abroad before enthusiastic audiences (and even in my own city, Seattle, in 1970!).

2. I regard this as *the* central issue affecting the future of Sanskrit study in India. If the chief deterrents to Sanskrit study are in effect the result (though certainly not the intended result) of relatively recent policy decisions, then remedies, or at least, mitigations, are equally available. As long as the problem is not seen as beyond human intervention, there is a basis for hope.

The first is the three language formula, which has reduced Sanskrit from the status of second language to that of fourth language in the high schools. Under British rule and the early years of Independence doubtless the chief employment opportunity for a traditional graduate was high school teaching of Sanskrit; the renaissance of the Sanskrit College during the 19th Century was in part related to the increasing number of such posts, for which its training was judged relevant. Now, however, few high schools can afford to maintain a full-time appointment in a fourth language, which few students (however greatly motivated) have time or energy to take. And since the Sanskrit *paṇḍita* is judged (I think quite erroneously) to be able to teach only Sanskrit, he has been in effect eliminated from the High School.

It has also become common for the Indian administrative services, and even the educational services themselves, to prefer the B.A.'s and M.A.'s to the *vidvāns* and *śāstris*—even in those positions where a traditionally trained person would suffer no disadvantage or would even enjoy an advantage. Civil service rules now restrict higher grades to those holding B.A. or M.A.[1] and even in the teaching of Sanskrit, policy now prefers the "modern" degree, ostensibly because the teacher is more "versatile"; possibly as some believe because the now well-established University departments of Sanskrit are at a competitive disadvantage in respect of the actual learning and erudition of their trainees, and must therefore

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1. A consequence of the Mudaliar Committee Report (Ministry of Education, Public Services (Qualification of Recruitment) Committee, *Report*, Delhi, 1956.) Effects discussed in general V. A. Pai Panandiker, *Personnel System for Development Administration*, Bombay, 1966, pp. 108-9. This restriction to *University* graduates has anticipatory analogues in earlier I. C. S. decisions: the Islington Commission in 1922 recommended a University degree in Arts or Pure Sciences as an essential qualification of European officers (M. A. Muttalib, *Union Public Service Commission*, IAPA, New Delhi, 1967, p. 100), and in 1939 Indians taking the I.C.S. competitive examination *in England* were "required to possess an Honours Degree of an approved British university or to have passed an equivalent examination of an approved institution of university rank..." (G. P. Srivastava, *The Indian Civil Service*, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 88-9). These reforms of course have as their main purpose upgrading performance in the higher civil service ranks, and appear to have been considered and discussed only in those terms. I can find no reference anywhere to the dispiriting side effect these otherwise laudable initiatives have had on Sanskrit education.

be protected. These restrictive rules, certainly of great merit and intended to upgrade the quality of Administrative and other services, need desperately to be modified so as not needlessly to stifle what ambition and energy remains in the traditional system of education. In fact, in those posts where traditional training in Sanskrit is a positive advantage, such training should be *encouraged*.

It would appear that the recruitment of students from those groups who traditionally cultivated Sanskrit has largely ceased. Given the present situation a *paṇḍita* will go to any length to assure that his son *not* take up Sanskrit, which would condemn him to a life of idleness. In Mysore, the serious students are now recruited largely from rural areas where the Brahmin still is economically dominant, but had not heretofore been educated beyond *prayoga*. Upward mobility—achieved here, too, via education—is still seen in traditional terms: the acquisition of the sacred language which enables enlightened performance of duty.

Within the school, the reluctance to admit that the system is moribund has led to the admission of more and more poorly qualified students in order to keep enrollment figures respectable (in Mysore the number has increased recently to 400); these students are increasingly not even studying in the Sanskrit college, but are simply taking advantage of its convenient and often gratis living arrangements in order to pursue B.A.'s and M.A.'s in the University Colleges. Not surprisingly, the élan of the teachers has suffered; many are simply putting in time, feeling that they have no one worth teaching. The *guru-śiṣya* relationship, now celebrated as a prototype of commitment to learning and as an ideal of personal responsibility (both virtues notably lacking in the competing Anglo-Indian system), has become so relaxed that students pay only the most formal respect to their teacher, who has in any case become just another office-holder.

Only in the central core of the system—its curriculum and modes of instruction—does tradition survive largely unscathed; when these go, the system will cease to be identifiable in any sense. Instruction still proceeds by classical

stages: memorization (3 years, elementary, learning of rules, primarily of grammar and composition, but incidentally, of conduct; *Amara Laghusiddhanta, Raguvaṁśa*), practice (*prakriya*; 2 years, intermediate, application of the rules to forms), *pariṣhāra*; 3 years, advanced: refinement and testing of the rules themselves), and finally college-level work in a strictly specialized *śastra*, aimed at the complete interiorization of the articulated tradition which alone suffices to make a teacher for the next generation of students.

The training at the lower levels is primarily an *alaṁkāra* (including *kavya*) and *vyākaraṇa*, since literature and its language are crucial in the formation of the liberally educated man. Progressively one becomes responsible for a particular *śastra*, after being introduced to its main features at the end of the secondary school curriculam. The Mysore system has not suffered any great admixture of foreign elements (though English is permitted at the secondary level— as an option to *purāṇa*). Most proposals to revivify Sanskrit education would add modern subjects taught through modern languages in an effort to save the system by making it more contemporary and relevant. The Sanskrit curriculum has modernized itself constantly up to the period of British rule (the bulk of authorities now read in the *śastraic* curricula were writers of the 14th and 18th centuries, and not the so-called "*ācāryas*" of antediluvian time), It is far from unthinkable that modern śāstris, given proper encouragement, would continue to incorporate new subjects and ideas into their teaching.[1] The only way to preserve the institution of Sanskrit education by broadening it, is to base that broadening on the *strength* of the—existing methodology which involves above all dedication to Sanskrit. There is no reason whatever why Sanskrit students cannot be taught Geography, Mathematics and the rest, provided that Geography (*bhūgola śāstra*) is subjected to the same exacting instructional methods and refinements as the other *śastras*, and is taught through Sanskrit. Secular subjects have always been a part of Sanskrit study.

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1. Where encouragement has been given, evidence of this tendency is clear: compare the recent publications emanating from the Vāraṇāsīya Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, such as Pt. B. P. Tripāṭhī's *Taddhitāntaḥ Kecanaḥ Śabdāḥ*.

Policies and Prognoses

The picture of course is not entirely bleak. In fact, there is so much expressed concern for Sanskrit on the part of officials and others that the present virtual collapse of Sanskrit study would almost appear to be an accident, due to oversight: the effect of policies meritorious in themselves, but of unforeseeably disastrous consequence to Sanskrit. The central government shows its concern in several effective ways. National competitions open to *paṇḍits* and students discern and honour those representatives of the tradition most able in their fields. A section of the Ministry of Education is concerned with Sanskrit education, and its able Director administers various fellowship and grant programs designed to stimulate Sanskrit study, among them a scheme of national research fellowships for Sanskrit graduate students. It is also concerned in setting standards for Sanskrit study on a national basis—though here its authority is considerably by the Constitution's reservation of educational administration to the States.

Among the orthodox, also, concern for Sanskrit is acute. Those castes (by no means all of them Brahmin) among whom Sanskrit has been cultivated for ritual and other purposes are more expecting of their spiritual leaders a renewed expression of commitment to support Sanskrit study. Many of these leaders are active in Sanskrit education and in fact are doing more than anyone else to revivify the system and raise its standards. Sanskrit under such auspicious continues to be studied in ways and in situations consistent with its own historical formulation. But of course, the subjects and methods tend to exclude any innovations, however justified.

What then is to be done if India is not forever to lose this crucial link with her own intellectural past? And I think the question should be put in such radical terms: for it concerns not so much the rescue of a vestigial archaism, as the conservation, in the truest sense of the term, of certain of those human and cultural values that have made and continue to make Indian civilization unique and influential in the world. What can be done? As a principle of orientation

I would suggest that the character of Sanskrit education must be based on the strengths of that system, and must not simply promote further dilutions of them.

(a) *curriculum reform*—As suggested, Sanskrit medium must be preserved and new subjects (when judged necessary) must be taught in that medium. A scheme of national prizes for textbooks in Sanskrit would be welcome. Many lovers of Sanskrit have made their careers in "modern" Indian education and would be more than capable of undertaking of collaborating in the effort [1] Important subjects worth incorporating are in fact few: Mathematics, History and English perhaps being among them. Above all the Sanskritist must be thought of as a *culture specialist*, and not simply as another (and less well qualified) graduate whose degree is a kind of poor substitute for the M. A. and B. A.

(b) *Admission policy*—The dharmic character of certain branches of Sanskrit study must be recognized. While it would be ridiculous to restrict admission in this day and in publicly supported schools, to members of certain castes, it should still be asked that those admitted conform to the standards of ritual cleanliness and behaviour which are prerequisites of Vedic study and its allied subjects, such as *Mīmāṃsā*, *Prayoga*, *Dharma-śastra*, and the like. Secular subjects should be recognized as such (even if this bruises certain sensibilities) : *vyākaraṇa*, *poetics*, *jyautiṣa*. The case of Vedānta is peculiar. Students rarely study any but their own Vedānta on the higher levels ; this aspect of Vedāntic study should perhaps be considered dharmic, while introductory and comparative study (which would be welcome) should not.

(c) *Fellowships and other public support*—I think it is not so important to consider allocating vast new resources to Sanskrit education, as it is to make full

1. Cf. the beautifully written contributions of the great R. S'amas'āstri (Shamashastry) to the *Traimāsikī Patrikā*, published by the Mysore Sanskrit College. His article on Comparative Philology, particularly, serves as a model of what could be done creatively to incorporate Western notions into Indian patterns of scholarship. "Bhāṣātantram", TP, vol 2, no 4, pp 168-89, October 1926. The importance of translations cannot be minimized: cf. the translation of Macdonell's *History of Vedic Literature* by the well-known Tuḷuva Paṇḍita K. L. Vyāsarāya Sāstri, Palghat, 1927, which for many years was used in the curriculum of Sanskrit schools in South India.

use of those already allocated and in existence. The main thing is to free the energies of those most concerned from the political and other restraints which have hindered the development of Sanskrit. Facilities exist everywhere, and teachers are still numerous, especially at the elementary level. Nowhere in the world will one meet such a store-house of unselfish good-will as that which motivates the lovers of Sanskrit in India. The system of Government support for schools—which already exist in most States and which even extends to private schools, might be to some extent broadened, and the Government, in encouraging Sanskrit study will find that it gets an extraordinary bargain in terms of resource allocation. A lively educational system, culminating in post-graduate work, would of course produce novel and original scholarship, which would be published and disseminated. But here too, the framework already exists in the numerous oriental societies and publications series. Their work of finding and publishing the many largely unknown manuscripts from the huge remains of the pre-modern period, would be much facilitated by the encouragement of Sanskrit study. It is perhaps even not impossible to consider bringing the Sanskrit colleges under the authority and control of the Oriental research facilities which exist. A symbiotic relationship already exists between the two, and each would be strengthened by formalizing the relationship.

(d) *Graduates.*—The crux of the question, and the issue implied by every proposal to "rescue" Sanskrit, is simply *what is to be done with the graduates of the system?* While it is not sensible to expect the abandonment of the three-language formula, it is certainly incumbent upon the Government to relax the restrictions on *panditas* obtaining employment in the Civil services. The *śāstraic* degrees must be taken seriously as qualifications for all high-level positions, subject only to further examination to test the suitability of the applicant to the specific position and to ascertain his language competence, if need be. In the High Schools, possession of a traditional degree should be made prerequisite for anyone teaching Sanskrit, and anyone teaching any Indian language should have some proficiency in Sanskrit. There is no reason whatever why the teacher of Hindi, for example should not also be qualified as a *śāstri*, and good linguistic reasons why he should be. At the University level,

requirements should be reformulated so as to facilitate, not hinder those who wish to obtain both the *śāstraic* degree and the B.A. or M.A. Those seeking graduate degrees in Sanskrit at the University level should be required to have the corresponding *śastraic* degree as well (but the reverse is not necessary unless University teaching is the goal of the student.) In these ways, it is felt the Sanskrit system will regain some of the prestige which is its due.

The thorny question of educational method, particularly at the elementary and intermediate levels, is slowly being solved as more and more traditional students in fact follow the modern curriculum as well. Whatever be one's opinion regarding the educational importance of memorization it is recognized by all that the peculiar intellectual and cultural formation which defines the *paṇḍita's* excellence depends to a great extent in developing this skill. This emphasis cannot therefore be removed from the elementary and intermediate levels without at the same time compromising the quality of the *śāstraic* graduates. Modern subjects, if they be taught in Sanskrit, will probably provide the needed breadth, while not compromising the depth of the present method. At the advanced levels, it has been observed that able *paṇḍits* have little trouble with B.A. and M.A. degree programs - when they are able to gain admission to them - which suggests that memorization, when developed by higher-level traditional methods, is a more universal preparation for advanced work than had been thought.[1]

In presenting these suggestions, which emerge from my own research in Mysore, it is my hope to stimulate debate, which in turn will lead others to assess the accuracy of several points presented here in outline. So little is known scientifically about the comparative advantages and dis-advantages of Sanskrit education, that there is urgent need for such investigation. Everyone observes that the system is moribund, and most lament this fact, but no one seems quite sore why this is the case. Even if, as some suggest, the case for reanimation is hopeless, at least, as researches in educational theory, we have much to learn from the study of the vestiges of the remaining system, which represents and continues, to an amazing degree of fidelity, the inheritance of the great historical culture of which present day Indians are justly proud.

1. Cf. the remarkable achievements of S. Joshi and A. Aklujkar at Harvard.

J. GONDA

Balinese hymns addressed to god Akasa

It is a well-known fact that many Old Javanese religious and philosophical doctrines impregnated with Indian ideas were preserved in the isle of Bali to have a development of their own in the form of specifically Javanese-Balinese views of life and the world.[1] Whereas the laity probably was always one sidedly interested in the mythical and narrative elements of these traditions rather than speculations about the nature of the unseen and ritual technicalities, the priests took, intelligibly enough, much interest in ritual and ceremonial observances. That is why Javanese-Balinese religious literature is more explicit on ritual than the Old Javanese documents extant. Texts on various ceremonies (including the disposal of the dead and ancestor worship), devotion, adoration, pollution, purification, divination, mantras—mainly of the short 'tantric' variety—, hymns, prayers, exorcisms, incantations, temple ritual etc, etc. are very numerous. However, between these 'subjects' no hard and fast line can be drawn. For instance, many incantations have a religious background. It is, generally speaking, even impossible clearly to distinguish between Śivaite and Buddhist texts. The hymns and formulas used by the priests of both denominations—often comprehensibly called Veda, although this term is in a more limited sense applied to the mantras are not identical. Part of these texts may go back to the Old-Javanese period (i.e. to pre-Islamic Java before ± 1500 A.D.) or constitute recasts of older works, other texts were in the course of time

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1. The reader may be referred to a contribution by the present author (The Indian religions in pre-Islamic Indonesia and their survival in Bali) to the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (III Indonesia, Volume Religions). Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, which is to appear before long.

composed by means of more or less traditional material in Bali[1]. The priests themselves, knowing their own ritual and the texts belonging to it by heart, do not seem to have been much interested in a systematic arrangement of this material. Thanks to the indefatigable efforts of the Dutch scholar Dr. C. Hooykaas, who was greatly assisted by Balinese priests and scholars, recently some attempts have been made to put these texts into order.[2]

To the same scholar we now owe also a large collection (more than three hundred)[3] of shorter or longer texts[4] in Sanskrit as well as so-called Archipelago Sanskrit[5] In contradistinction to the older collection compiled by Sylvain Lévi, this new volume contains many very valuable observations on the ritual situations in which these hymns of praise are used. In nearly all cases this 'ritual environment' could be noted from ritualistic manuscripts. This new collection presents, not only hitherto unknown data to the students of Balinese religion or even of religion in general, but also important subjects for discussion to those interested in the spread of Indian religions in the Archipelago and in the problem of how the Javanese and Balinese had adopted, assimilated and developed elements of these religions. A continued study of these texts as well as the ritual texts of the Indian Śivaites will, I am convinced, lead, on the one hand to a more thorough knowledge of the history of Śivaism in general and

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1. For a Survey and an attempt to distinguish between older and younger texts see Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, I, The Hague-1967, p. 47 ff.

2. C. Hooykaas, *Āgama Tirtha*, Five studies in Balinese religion, Amsterdam Academy 1964; the same, *Sūrya-sevana*, the way to god of a Balinese Śiva priest, Amsterdam Academy 1966. Other books are in course of preparation.

3. At the time the French scholar Sylvain Lévi published some fifty of them: S. Lévi *Sanskrit texts from Bali*, Baroda 1933.

4. T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas, *Stuti and stava*, Amsterdam Academy 1971.

5. Although the number of syllables of a śloka written in Archipelago Sanskrit usually remains intact, there is no grammatical construction extending over more than one pāda. The style mostly consists of a series of compounds, epithets, statements, some of which are difficult to interpret. Flexional endings are as a rule omitted; if they occur, they are sometimes meaningless. Meaningless but impressively sounding syllables (e.g. — *aṃ*) are on the other hand frequently added.

on the other to the insight that there were closer connections between India proper and Indonesia than scholars in former times were inclined to assume.

Now among the many interesting stutis contained in this large collection there are three (numbered 40, 43, 46, p. 39-45) which may attract our special attention because they are addressed to Ākāśa[1]. In a comparatively long hymn (n° 40) of 16 stanzas, composed in conventional Archipelago Sanskrit, God Ākāśa is said to be "of divine appearance" (St. 1; 2), and "spotless" (similarly, n° 43,1) and "to reside in the firmament" (*vyoman*, st. 1). He "is identical with the syllable Oṃ" (st. 2; cf. in the shorter n° 43, st. 1; 4) and "possesses the energy (*vīryaṇam*) of seven syllables Oṃ" (st. 2[2]); "he is a sevenfold bindu" (st. 2; cf. n° 43, 4)[3], that is, in Śivaite philosophy the material cause of the pure worlds, materialized also in the dot of the sacred syllable Oṃ, and as such "he is also the three-fold universe (*trilokanam*) which is Śiva" (st. 2). This statement recurs, in a somewhat extended form, in n° 40, st. 15 "(I) worship God Ākāśa, whose sevenfold self consists of seven bindus; who possesses the energy of seven syllables Oṃ, the sevenfold god (*devayam*) who (stands) above the gods".

In Bali the Śivātmā is ritually conducted downward by the Sapta-Oṃkāra-ātma mantra, through the Śiva-door, i. e. the fontanelle, toward the heart of the priest where it is to stay, and conduct upwards by means of the Sapta-Oṃkāra-mantra [4]; the formulas are, moreover, to accompany other ritual acts [5]. "(He is) Ananta" (Sarvadevanam which seems to mean "equal to all the gods"), i. e. the first of the eight Vidyeśvara, active regents residing in the Īśvaratattva [6],

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1. Quotations from the stutis are between inverted commas, explanations by the present author are introduced by "that is", "as to" or are otherwise recognizable.
2. Cf. Hooykaas, *Sūrya.sevana*, p. 38 ff. etc.
3. Hooykaas, *Sūrya sevana*, p. 138.
4. Hooykaas, *Sūrya.sevana*, p. 38 ff.
5. Hooykaas, *Sūrya-Sevana*, p. 215.
6. Hooykaas, *Agama Tirtha*, p. 123.

who, according to the Śivaite doctrine, were initiated by Śiva himself; he was one of the seven Gurus to whom Śiva gave the knowledge of the Āgamas and is often mentioned as being worthy of homage [1].

Ākāśa is, intelligibly enough, said to be "the teacher (Guru) of the world" (st. 2; also n° 43, 1). It is not surprising that this aspect of the Highest has not been forgotten because it is a prominent feature of ancient Javnese Śivaism, which prefers the name Bhaṭṭara Guru to other names of God [2].

Ākāśa is of course, also identified with Śiva himself (n° 40, st. 1; 3), as well as with Sadāśiva and Paramaśiva, i. e. God's aspect that is intimately connected with his five functions (*sṛṣṭi, sthiti, saṃhāra, tirobhava* and *anugraha*), the fulfilment of which he entrusts, as far as the impure worlds are concerned, to the Vidyeśvaras; Paramaśiva [3] is God's highest, transcendent and absolute, aspect, well-known also in ancient Javanese and Balinese theology [4]. Ākāśa is further stated to be "the Void (*Śūnya*) of spotless body" (also n° 43, 4), i. e. the name given to the Supreme Spirit by those who proclaim the doctrine of the Void [5] (cf. n° 43, 1 *ākāśaṃ nirmalaṃ śūnyaṃ*). The terms Śūnya is, also in other contexts, still known to the Balinese priests [6].

The identity of Ākāśa and Śiva is of course very important and is hence again emphasized in stanza 5 of hymn n° 40: "(He is) Śiva in the firmament, the lord of the world, an embodiment of god Paramaśiva". The idea of Vyoma-Śiva occurs also in Old Javanese formulas used in the Balinese ritual.

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1. See e. g. *Somaśambhupaddhati*, 4, 66 (ed. H. Brunner-Lachaux, Somaśambhupaddhati I, Pondichery 1963).
2. See J. Gonda, Śiva in Indonesien, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 14 (1970), p. 8 ff.
3. See e. g. J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, Stuttgart 1963, P. 228 f.; 245.
4. Cf. e. g. R. Goris, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Ja.vaansche en Balineesche theologie*, *Thesis* Leiden 1956, p. 32 etc.
5. *Yogavāsistha-Rāmāyaṇa*, 3, 1, 12.
6. Cf. Hooykaas, *Śūrya-sevana*, p. 219.

In 40, st. 5.13 Ākāśa is said to be "embodied in the eight gods", i.e., in the deities of the eight quarters of the universe, and that in the following remarkable order without any indication of the points of the compass : Agni; Vāyu, Āditya, the Sun; Yama; Indra; Vasundharī; Mahādeva; Vaiśravaṇa.

The text gives some particulars in connection with Ākāśa's embodiment in these eight gods which are not altogether clear. For instance, he is said to be "embodied in Agni's body, present in the navel, the base of the gods, having all the gods as his body" (st. 6): as to the navel, it should be recalled that the fire which is Śiva is believed to exist in that part of the body.[1] It is not surprising that Ākāśa as Vāyu[2] is said to be "the embodiment of pure life" (st. 7), because the god of wind is often said to be a purifier. The addition *puruṣamūrtiṇam* "in the shape of a human male" remainds us of the *bayu puruṣa* of present—day Balinese theology[3].

That Ākāśa is (n° 40, 12; n° 43, 5 b) identified with the Sun is not surprising, because the Sun and Śiva are one and the same deity. The name or epithet *bhāskara* "diffusing radiance" occurs, in Bali, also in another context[4]: in a text to pay homage to the Lord it reads: *Oṃ praṇamya bhāskaraṃ devaṃ sarvakleśavināśanam*. The poet of n° 43 expatiates upon this identity in st. 6: "Lofty, diffusing radiance, flaming upwards, the god residing in the interior of Śiva who is the firmament" (?, *vyomaśivantaradevam*: I suppose the author rather to mean something like "next to", or "not different from, Vyomaśiva"). "The wind in his impetuous conveyance": in Bali the god Bāyu has not fallen into oblivion. "He is immeasurable and permeates the threefold world". The Sun is (n° 40, 8 bc) called "the flaming eye of Indra", "the eye which oversees the threefold bhūrloka": as to the idea that the Sun is an all-seeing eye no

1. For a ritual explanation see Brunner-Lachaux, o.c., I, p. 222.
2. For other Balinese occurrences of this god see Hooykaas, *Sūrya-sevana*, p. 137.
3. Hooykaas, *Sūrya-sevana*, p. 137.
4. Hooykaas, *Sūrya-sevana*, p. 94.

comment is needed[1]; as a rule however, this luminary is, in the Veda, the eye of Varuṇa or of Varuṇa-and-Mitra, but Indra is "thousand-eyed" (*sahasrākṣa*)[2].

Ākāśa is said to be "embodied in god Yama, resting in his position in the mouth" (st. 9): this statement must be viewed in the light of the Balinese *Sūryasevana* rite : nine powers are to be "assigned" at the roots of the petals of the lotus[3], viz. Indra to the right eye, Agni to the left eye, Yama to the mouth etc., the pertinent formula running as follows: *Oṃ rūṃ*, homage to Jayā South, Mouth, Yama, *vṛṣadamudrā*":[4] *navaśaktinyāsa* by which the priest invites the cosmic forces to come into his immediate neighbourhood or into himself.

At stanza 10 of hymn n° 40 the deity is said to be *indraṇaṃ devasaṃhāram* which may mean "Indra who dissolves the gods" as well as "Indra (and) the collection of the gods" or "Indra (who represents) the totality of the gods" which may seem preferable.

These statements are of course not to exclude that Ākāśa is at the same time "the embodiment of all the gods" *Sarvadevaśarīraṇam* : hymn n° 40, 6c). It may be recalled that Sarvadeva "All gods" occurs as the last of a group of nine divinities in some ritual texts of the Indian Śivaites[5]. The expression is still known in Balinese ritual[6]: *Oṃ āṃ sarvadevebhyo namaḥ svāhā*, e. g. in the assignment of the Holy Spirits etc. in the four points of the compass.

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1. See e.g., R. Pettazzoni, The all-knowing god, London 1956, p. 121.
2. Cf. also *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*, 8, 61, 15.
3. Cf. e.g., *Mṛgendragama* (ed. N. R. Bhatt, Pondichery 1969), 1, 5, 7.
4. Hooykaas, *Sūrya-sevana*, p. 73.
5. See *Somaśambhupaddhati*, Pav. 14 and compare H. Brunner-Lachaux, o.c., II, p. 22 (and n. 1); p, 102, n. 2.
6. Hooykas, *Agama Tirtha*, p. 166 ; *Sūrya-sevana*, p. 76.

The description of Ākāśa's embodiments in the eight lokapālas is in hymn n° 40 introduced by stanza 4: "All manifold dying [1] (has come to an end), bhūtas and piśācas are annihilated; all diseases are rendered powerless; the obstacles in the world are destroyed". This thought the main theme of the central part of the hymn, is, with variation, repeated in the stanzas 6 ff.: 6 d = 4 a; 8 d "all enemies are destroyed"; 9 c "all (hostile) rites are destroyed", etc. Compare also hymn n° 43, st. 9 and 10. This prospect of relief from anxiety alternates with statements that "all afflictions (*kleśa*) (now) become eternally pure" (10 c); "He (Ākāśa) is Vasundharī..., the firm foundation of a pure life (pratiṣṭhaṃ śuddhajīvitam)" (11 ab); "(He is) Mahadeva, embodied in the world, the embodiment of pure life" (12 ab). In stanza 13 it reads: "(He is) embodied as god Vaiśravaṇa of Kubera; (he is) the base of Nirvāṇa, viz. the liṅga". I would not consider the compound *nirvāṇa-pratiṣṭham* and *liṅgam* to be oppositions explaining the name of Kubera, but rather regard pāda b as a new characterization: God's presence in, or identity with the liṅga is a well-known Śivaite tenet [2]. "His self is purified by a shower of the water of life (*amṛta*), the foundation of the whole world". After this affirmation, at the end of the enumeration of Ākāśa's embodiments in the eight lokapālas, stanza 14 holds out a prospect of general purification: The whole world becomes eternally pure, all men obtain the full amount of life; the brahmans (effect) their final purpose (*siddhāntam*) by (holy) ashes, proficiency in yoga and worship leading to victory (*jayapūjam*)".

After the affirmation (st. 15) "(I) worship god Ākāśa" the last stanza again repeats the god's identity with Śiva: "Nirvāṇa, the god Antara, whose embodiment is Non-being" (here the Old-Javanese word *Tayā* is used), "within the firmament (also n° 43, 1; 3; 4); Paramaśiva in the zenith, Nirvāṇa, *bindu*, the threefold world (*triloka*)". It may be asked whether Antara is not an

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1. The reading of the text is *sarvamaraṇavicitram*, the editor (Goudriaan) surmising, instead of the last element, *vikṣiptam* and translating: "All pestilence is thrown away".

2. Cf. *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, p. 84.

abbreviated form of Anantara which, in India, is a designation of Brahman as being of one entire essence.

As already observed, several characteristics of Ākāśa return in the shorter hymn n° 43.

Thus the identity of Ākāśa and Śiva–nirvāṇa is also explicitly stated in n° 43, st. 1. To the other identifications mentioned in this text belongs, in st. 2 the statement that Ākāśa is "(around) the top of Mt. Meru, the lunar world (also st. 3 c), the abode of S'iva, energy embodied (cf. st. 5 a)". As is well known Mount Meru, the centre of the universe, plays an important part in the Old Javanese views of the world[1]. The term *S'ivālaya* for S'iva's heaven was not unknown to the ancient Javanese ; it occurs in the poem Śivarātrikalpa (probably ± 1480 A.D.), 37, 9 [2].)

Ākāśa is (n° 43, 3) also said to be "the god of gods (*devadeva*), whose outward form is the world (*mūrtibhvanam*)"; "of unimaginable form" (st. 4). He is also *girimūrti* (st. 5) "embodied in the Mountain": S'iva is also in Bali known as the "Mountain-lord": Giripati, Girinātha. Ākāśa is explicitly identified with S'ivāditya (n° 43, 3), the well known and oft mentioned High God of the Balinese, Śiva as the Sun [3].

The purificatory and evil-destroying activity of the god is also emphasized in the shorter hymn : st. 7 "showering amṛta by his grace, a spotless foundation of the world, destroying all evil"; 9 "Gracious to the whole, granting life by *amṛta*, eternally pure; destroying all impurities of the Kali age, granting release from Durgā and from the *bhūcaris*". Here it may be remembered that in Bali Umā is the benevolent White Goddess of the East and Durgā the malevolent Yellow Goddess who belongs to the West. The *bhūcaris* (or, rather *bhūcaris*) must be female demons who wander on the earth.

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1. I refer to my article S'iva in Indonesie n, p. 15 ff.
2. Edited, translated into English etc., by A. Teeuw and others, The Hague 1969, p. 142.
3. P. Zoetmulder, Die Hochreligionen Indonesiens, in W. Stöhr and P. Zoetmulder, Die Religionen Indonesiens, Stuttgart 1965, p. 322.

Stanza 8 of the shorter hymn is interesting in that the poet identifies Ākāśa accompanied by his liṅga with Śiva's son Gaṇa, i. e. Gaṇesa (the clumsy quarter of the stanza being *gaṇamūrtiputro śivam* and with " Haruchi, the lofty, god, the unimaginable god with the great liṅga ". In Java and Bali Gaṇa is not rarely used instead of Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati [1]. As to the other name, the Old-Javanese commentary substitutes Navaruci (which would not suit the metre). Navaruci is one of the principal figures of a group of texts which, being very popular in Java and Bali, deal with Bhīma's quest for the water of life ; after experiencing various difficulties he meets Navaruchi who imparts him instructions in philosophy and gives him the *amṛta* [2]. The Navaruci tale is decidedly Śivaite in character and the figure of Navaruci is no other than Śiva himself [3].

It is worth noticing that n° 43 is used during the ceremony of Ekādaśa-Rudra, which is performed in honour of the Eleven Rudras, i. e. the Supreme Being in his malignant form conceived as eleven directions of space (that is, in addition to the eight directions of the compass, one on high, one below, one in the centre.)

It would be interesting to possess a complete survey of all occurrences of *ākāśa* in Old Javanese and Balinese. As long as only part of the relevant texts have been edited this is a pious wish.

Yet, there is room for some observations. In n° 426 of the same collection of stutis Śiva is glorified in his eight forms or embodiments (*aṣṭamūrti*) [4]; each of the eight ślokas of the hymn is addressed to one of these manifestations, but Śiva himself is always honoured in the last pāda. In translation stanza 7 runs as follows : " Ākāśa, spotless and void, conquering the senses with regard to a evil (*sarvapāpajitendriyam*. or does *jitendriyam* simply mean " conquering " ?),

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1. See e.g., Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantra Panggelaran*, Thesis Leiden 1924, p. 244; Hooykaas, *Āgama Tirtha*, p. 206.
2. Compare Prijohoetomo, *Nawaruci*, Thesis Utrecht 1934.
3. Prijohoetomo, o.c., p. 8.
4. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, p. 35 ff.; 40 ff.

the nirvāṇa for all beings; homage to thee, O thou that art embodied in the Vyoman". The stanza is to a large extent reminiscent of the above hymns.

The term *akaśa* was well-known to the ancient Javanese and Balinese theologians who had become acquainted with the widespread Sāṃkhya theories on the five *indriyas*, the five *tanmatras*, the five *mahābhūtas* etc. [1] which formed part of their Śivaite philosophical and cosmological doctrines. Being the last of the series of which the earth is the first *ākaśa* could be regarded as the opposite of the earth [2]. In the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (probably Xth century A. D.) Ākāśa is among the names and forms of Parameśvara (p. 56, 33) [3].

On the other hand references to Ākāśa as an individual god do not seem to be very frequent in Indian religious literature. In describing the squares on the site plan of a house the author of Matsya-Purāṇa 253, 24 mentions, among the *vastu-devatas*, also Īśāna, Parjanya, Indra, Sūrya, Ākāśa and other heavenly powers. In ch. 265 the same authority, dealing with those priests who are charged with the consecration and worship of images in temples, states that eight *kuṇḍas* were used for offering oblations to the eight forms of Śiva Aṣṭamūrti (st. 39...*jalaṃ vāyus tathā soma ākaśaś cāṣṭamaḥ smṛtaḥ*). In this connection *ākaśa* is a well-known concept[4]: as Aṣṭamurti Śiva fulfils all functions which belong to the eight realities or constituents of his being. The world consists of, and is a product of, his eight forms; it can only exist and fulfil its

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1. I refer to Goris, o.c., p. 66 f.; 83 f.; 98; 102 ff.; A Zieseniss, studien zur Geschichte des Civaismus, I, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal—*, Land.en Volkenkunde, 98 (The Hague 1939), p. 75 ff.; esp. p. 95; 99; 114 etc., p. 137 ff. dealing with the syllable Oṃ, the *bindu* etc.; p. 122; 140; 146; 163 etc., with *bindu*, with Śūnya and nirvāṇa, and *nada* etc.; p. 165 ff.

2. Cf. Pratasti bhuvana, 27 quoted by Pigeaud, Tantu Panggelaran, p. 295.

3. This text exhibits the word also 105, 9 (as a proper name), and 165, 6 ff. (contrary to the Indian parallel texts).

4. See e.g., *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, p. 35 ff.; 40 ff.

task because these forms co-operate. Although sometimes explained as "etheriality"[1] *ākāśa* properly speaking is the wide expanse or space spreading in all directions and making all space or *locale* possible; for all practical purposes and as realized in experience it is a mere "nothing" or the "(principle of) vacuity"[2]. It is no doubt this 'component' of Śiva's being which came to be honoured as a separate divine being in the Balinese hymn of praise.

In connection with the question whether this worship had its roots in India, it might perhaps be of interest to recall that the five most famous liṅgas of Lord Śiva in five great temples in South India are distributed over, or associated with, the five elements: as Earth Śiva's liṅga is worshipped in Kāñci, as Ākāśa in Chidambaram[3]. In the temple hall of Chidambaram which was identified with *ākāśa* the worshipper moreover experiences the fundamental unity of brahman and ātman in the *ākāśa* of his own heart[4]. Now in the Xth-XIIIth centuries Chidambaram was a capital of the Cola kings who maintained manifold relations with Indonesia[5]. It is highly probable that these relations between the south of India and the kingdoms of East Java continued also in the Vijayanagara era. It has for instance recently been supposed that the Javanese author of the poem Śivarātrikalpa[6] somehow found his

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1. See e.g., J. Ch. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, Srinagar (1914) 1962, p. 141.
2. See Chatterji, o.c., p. 135 f
3. See e g, J. M. Nallasvami Pillai, *Studies in Śaiva-Siddhānta*, Madras 1911, p. 103; H. Kulke, Chidambaramāhātmya, Wiesbaden 1970, p. 139 f.
4. Cf. Chānd. Up. 8, 1, 1; Kulke o.c., p. 142 f.; J. E. Carpenter, *Theism in medieval India*, London 1921. p. 174, n. 1 etc.
5. N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis*, The Hague 2 1931, p. 249 ff.; R. Sathianathaier. in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The History and culture of the Indian people*. V, Bombay 1957, p. 236; 250.
6. See above.

inspiration in the XVth century Vijayanagara[1] and that Javanese students visiting that kingdom were inspired by the current religious and cultural situation prevalent in that country. Is it too bold a conjecture that the worship of Ākāśa as an individual god who is a manifestation of Śiva attested to by the Balinese hymns has something to do with historical relations between Java or Bali and the famous temple of Chidambaram ?

1. Teeuw and others, o.c., p. 22. Cf. also H. Bh. Sarkar, *South-India in Old-Javanese and Sanskrit inscriptions*, Bijdragen Taal—, Land-en Volkenkunde 125 (The Hague 1969), p. 193 ff.

SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

Palai Poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit

In two papers which at present are passing through the press I have pointed out that a series of very interesting correspondences can be traced between the *akam* poetry in Tamil and the predominantly erotic *muktaka* of the Prākrit and Sanskrit literature. The parallels represent, a matter of the utmost importance for a study of the poetic tradition of ancient and mediaeval India.

The conformities existing between the Tamil poetry of the Caṅkams and the one stanza poem (*muktaka*) in Prākrit and Sanskrit are rather numerous.[1] Most important are doubtless those parallels that can be traced within the domain of what I, in agreement with the term "Wortfeld" in German linguistics, should like to call the field of poetic associations. Closely related to the notion of poetic imagery, a very frequently used, but often vaguely defined term, the field of associations represents the sum total of all the ideas and suggestions belonging to a certain type of poem, though only one or two or more of its elements will be realized in practice.

In the Caṅkam literature occur, five principal forms of the *akam*, the famous *akantiṇai*, each which is built up by parts of a characteristic, more or less well-delimitated field of associations. The features that are most important for the *kuriñci* poem are mountains, winter, night and love-enjoyment, for the *mullai* forest and pasture land, the rainy season, the evening and the waiting of the beloved for the lover's arrival, for the *marutam* agricultural land, daybreak and the love quarrel, for the *neytal* the seashore, late afternoon

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1. *Akapporu and Sanskrit muktaka Poetry*—to be published in the *Proceedings of the Third International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies.*

(or early evening) and pangs of separation of the beloved lady, and for the *palai* desert (or landscape parched by the heat of the sun), summer, noon-time and traveller (s). Taken as a whole, the fields of associations are part of the "unpoetized", the material stored by convention and tradition, which at the same time serves as an organizing system, whilst the individual poem, the "poetized", always constitutes a certain choice of elements made by the poet and the realization of only one possibility among many.

The erotic *muktaka* poetry in Prākrit and Sanskrit literature discloses distinct traces of these divers fields of associations excepting only those of the *neytal* - and thus betrays that at least some of its poets made use of the poetic technique which is characteristic of the Tamil *akam*. Above all, there exist in Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan numerous one-stanza poems which, by their poets, seem to have been modelled on the pattern of the *mullai*, *pālai* and, as I have shown with full particulars in my article *"Bauern, Berge, Nacht and Winter"* (Peasants, Mountains, Night and Winter)[1], on the pattern of the *kuṟiñci*. Whereas the *kuṟiñci*, as far as Prākrit and Sanskrit are concerned, can be called the poem of love enjoyment (*saṃbhoga*) or, which is to be preferred, the "winter poem", *pālai* represents the typical "summer poem". Its principal associations are, as previously mentioned: traveller (s), separation from the beloved, summer, noon-time (or, at least, day time), the desert (or any arid tract parched by the heat), dust, and dryness. Out of these and similar elements at the very least one, but as a rule two or more, will be met with in the summer-poem, the *grīṣmamuktaka*.

In the following the structure of the summer poem will be described by means of a few characteristic verses from the *Ṛtusaṃhāra*, Hāla's *Sattasaī* and Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*. Many further examples could quite easily be given from the works of other poets and other anthologies. I wish, however, to avoid repetitions and, therefore, I restrict myself solely to some gleanings. It also has seemed appropriate only to quote the respective associations utilized by the poet instead of rendering the whole stanzas here.

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1. To be published in the *E. Sluszkiewicz Commemoration Volume*.

Ṛtusaṃhāra[1] I, 1: whirls of dust (*reṇumaṇḍala*), earth parched by the violent heat of the sun (*pracaṇḍasūryatapatāpitāmahī*), travellers (*pravāsin*), separation from the beloved mistress (*priyāviyoga*);

Sattasai[2] 399: noon-time (*majjaṇha*), travaller (*pahia*), pain (of separation) (*saṃtāva*), (beloved) wife (*jāā*);

Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa[3] 9,3[4] enormously increased heat of the day (*pravṛddhatāpo divaso' timātram*);

Subh. 9, 4[5] the month of Jyeṣṭha (*jyeṣṭhe māsi*), which dries up the rivers (*śuṣyacchrotasi*), which heats the dust of the soil (*taptabhūmirajasi*), whose sky is flaming (*jvalayamānambhasi*) and the heat of whose sun is intense (*kharārkatejasi*) travellers (*pāntha*);

Subh. 9, 14[6] dust on the carriage-road (*gantrīpathe pāṃśu*), wayfarer (*pāntha*), (remnants of) water left in the depth of the pond (*kāsārodaraśesam ambu*);

Subh. 9, 16[7] ponds (*ādharā*) the water of which has been heated at the surface (*agre taptajala*), exhausted cisterns (*vyāmathyoparataprapā*), travellers (*pathika*), midday (*madhyaṃdina*);

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1. My edition is: *mahākaviśrī-Kālidāsa-viracitaṃ Ṛtusaṃhāram. Bharadvajagotrotpanna-Maṇirāma-viracitayā Candrikākhyayā sametam. Śṛṅgāratilakaṃ ca=The Ṛtusaṃhāra of Kālidāsa. With the Commentary (the Chandrikā) of Maṇirāma and The Śṛṅgāratilaka.* Ed. by W. L. Sastri Paṇsikar, 'Nirnaya Sagar' Press, Bombay 1922.
2. Quoted from A. Weber's edition, Abhandlungen f.d., Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. VII. 4. Leipzig 1881.
3. *The Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa. Compiled by Vidyākara.* Edited by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale, Cambridge, Mass. (=Harvard Oriental Series 42) 1957. See also *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry, Vidyākara's Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, translated by Daniel H. H. Ingalls, Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Oriental Series 44) 1965 (in the following always referred to as Ingalls).
4. Ingalls 193.
5. Ingalls 194.
6. Ingalls 204.
7. Ingalls 206.

Subh. 23, 5[1] also you have been separated—(like myself, a wayfarer)—by destiny from your beloved (*daivenāntaritapriyo'si...tvaṃ*), you roam about (*bhramyasi*) ;

Subh. 23, 9[2] distressed wayfarer (*panthas tapasvī*) ;

Subh. 23, 14[3] beloved (wife) separated by (many) countries, hundreds of rivers and mountains and by (many) forests (*daśair antaritā śataiś ca saritām vrībhṛtaṃ kānanair...kāntā*), a traveller (*pathika*) looks with tearful eyes in the direction (of his beloved wife) *kṛtvāśrupūrṇāṃ dṛśam tām aśam...vīkṣate*) ;

Subh. 23, 31[4] deserted forest (*śūnyam araṇyam*), water-courses having grown thin (*tanutaṃ gatāni toyāni*), hot days (*divasā...taptāḥ*) ;

Subh. 23, 38[5] (wayfarers) separated (*virahin*) (from their lovers) ;

Subh. 23, 41[6] sky covered with new clouds[7] (*sthagitaṃ navāmbuvāhair... vyoma*), (weeping) traveller (*pathika*) ;

Subh. 23, 44[8] separated (*viyogin*) (wayfarer remembering his beloved) ;

Subh. 31, 11[9] intense sun-shine (*paṭujyotis*), dust (*dhūli*), dried-up dūrvā-grass (*nirdagdhadūrvā*) wayfarer (*pāntha*) ;

Subh. 31, 12[10] travellers (*pantha*), heated water (*prataptaṃpayaḥ*).

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1. Ingalls 756.
2. Ingalls 760.
3. Identical with Amarus'. 99 ; Ingalls 765.
4. Ingalls 782.
5. Ingalls 789.
6. Ingalls 792.
7. The appearance of new clouds on the sky indicates, of course, the transition from summer to the rainy season.
8. Ingalls 795.
9. Ingalls 991.
10. Ingalls 992.

It is of no little consequence that the first of my examples given above appears in *Ṛtusaṃhāra* I, which is the chapter describing summer (*grīṣma*), and that the verses quoted from the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* have been distributed by its compiler over the sections "Summer" (*grīṣmavrajyā*)[1], "Separated Lover" (*virahivrajyā*)[2] and "Midday" (*madhyāhnavrajyā*)[3], i. e. sections corresponding directly to the most indespensable associations prescribed for a stanza of the *palai* pattern.

It is, of course, not to be expected that each individual prākrit or Sanskrit summer poem necessarily must contain the features I have been pointing out. In reality the vast majority of summer poems, also those of *Ṛtusaṃhāra* I, are pure descriptions of nature in the sense of a *svabhāvokti*. The examples analysed above seem, however, to prove that, from the point of view of the inner structure, *muktakas* composed in the *śṛṅgārarasa* and thematically connected with summer surprisingly often follow the rules of Tamil poetics. In the same measure as the *sambho-gaśṛṅgāramuktaka* or winter poem corresponds to the Tamil *kuṟiñci*, so the summer poem which at the same time is a *virahamuktaka* or *vipralaṃbhaśṛṅgāramuktaka* agrees with the Tamil *palati*. Ordinary *svabhāvokti* verses differ from such stanzas by the complete absence of any erotic association. Thus the union of the lovers during the winter night, which otherwise is one of the prerequisites for poems modelled on the *kuṟiñci* pattern, will be missing in ordinary verses describing winter, just as no longing wayfarer or similar elements will be met with in a common type poem illustrating the torments of an Indian midsummer day.

As mentioned previously, it appears possible to discover through a careful study of the *muktaka* literature even two more kinds of the one stanza poem. One of them conforms with the *mullai*, the other with the *marutam* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Of the greatest importance is, as we know, the poem composed in accordance with the *mullai*, the characteristic associations of which are rainy

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1. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 9.
2. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 23.
3. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 31.

season and evening. Since a simple and clear terminology always is conducive to elucidation, I term the Sanskrit and Prākrit stanza created on the *kuṟiñci* model the winter poem, the stanza constructed according to the Tamil rules for the *pālai* the summer poem and, finally, the *muktaka* corresponding to the *mullai* the rain poem.

If we now compare the summer poem with the rain poem, the fact strikes us that both of them—in contradistinction to the winter poem—are governed by a strong sentiment of love-separation. Very nice is the differentiation in Tamil poetics: a certain clearly defined phase of love (*uripporuḷ*) is attributed to each of the five principal forms of the *akam*, and whilst the *Tolkāppiyam* prescribes for the *mullai* the waiting of the beloved for the lover's arrival (*iruttaḷ*), the same work fixes as the *uripporuḷ* of the *pālai* the separation of the lovers, because the lover is travelling by land (*pirivu*). Instead of the different aspects of separation laid down in the *Tolkāppiyam*, namely *iruttaḷ*, *pirivu* and *iraṅkal*[1], the poetic practice of the Sanskrit and Prākrit poets recognizes but one conception, that of *viraha*, which gradually was to become the poetically most effective and, for that very reason, also poetically most productive erotic sentiment. Even later Sanskrit theoreticians admit its importance: distinguishing between *Saṃbhogaśṛṅgāra* and *vipralaṃbhaśṛṅgāra*, they unmistakably tend to give preference to the latter, i.e. love in separation. Thus separation (*viraha*) characterizes the summer poem as well as the rain poem. There exists, however, one essential difference in as much as the summer poem always has as its central figure the lover, the *nayakā*, who here is presented in the shape of the lonely wayfarer (*virahin*, *pathika*), whereas the rain-poem focuses upon the solitary beloved, the *nāyikā* depicted as *virahiṇī*. It stands to reason that also this differentiation had been called forth by the aforesaid South-Indian convention.

The above has demonstrated that the poetic practice of the *muktaka* writer sometimes most perfectly coincides with that of the *akam* poet of the Caṅkams. As I set down elsewhere, *muktaka* poetry is undoubtedly

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1: A third type of separation belongs to the *neytal* which, however, does not seem to

based on its own history and tradition and it is more than probable that *muktaka* and *mahākāvya* (or *sarga-bandha*) at the very outset represented two in respect of structure and purpose basically different forms of poetic composition[1]. If the *mahākāvya* in conformity with its essence and nature belongs to the domain of the epic, the *muktaka* composed in the *śṛṅgārarasa* constitutes lyrical poetry *par excellence*.

From what I said, results as an, incontrovertible fact that, at a certain period, close relations must have been maintained between the Tamil grammar of poetry and Sanskrit poetics or between the *akam* poets and the *muktaka* writers. The features I have been discussing do occur in both great traditions, the Dravidian as well as the Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, but they are, as we have seen, less often and less consistently to be found in the latter. We have reasons to assume that South Indian elements won their way into Prākrit and Sanskrit *muktaka* writing.

(Contd.)— have inspired Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan writing. The *uripporul* ascribed to it is *iraṅkal*, that is, the beloved lady's grief about the separation from her lover who is travelling by sea.

1. The fact that even long portions of the classical *mahākāvya* actually prove to be series of *muktakas* is decidedly the result of a later development. Its stages can for the time being only be guessed, as too little poetry is preserved from the time before Kālidāsa.

V. V. MIRASHI

The Udayasundarikatha of Soddhala

The Udayasundarīkathā of Soḍḍhala was edited by Krishnamacharya from a single manuscript found in the pārśva-nātha Bhāṇḍāra at pāṭan in the former Baroda State, in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in 1920. It can be reckoned among the best *Champū Kāvyas* in Sanskrit and contains much valuable information for the history of Sanskrit literature. Still, it does not seem to have attracted the attention of Scholars it deserves. Historians of Sanskrit literature have given no information about it beyond mentioning its author and determining its date.[1] Some have not even mentioned its name.[2] It is, therefore, proposed to give here some detailed information about it.

Several *Champūs* with imaginary themes are still extant, the earliest example of the type being the *Nalachampū* of Trivikramabhaṭṭa. Several of these *Champūkāvyas* were written by Jainpoets, some of them being mentioned in Soḍḍhala's present work.

Sanskrit authors rarely give any information about their family, date and place. But Soḍḍhala is, fortunately, an exception. He has written the present work partly on the model of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*. As Bāṇa has done in the *Harshacharita*, Soḍḍhala has given considerable information about himself in the beginning and at the end of the *Udayasundarīkathā*. He was born in a Kāyastha family of Valabhī. This place (now known as Valā in Saurāshṭra) was the famous capital of the Maitraka dynasty for several centuries in the mediaeval

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1. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, P. 336.

2. S. K. De has not referred to the *Udayasundarikathā* in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*.

age. Soḍḍhala gives the following traditionary or rather imaginary account of his family.

There ruled in Valabhī a king named Śīlāditya. He had a brave and learned younger brother name Kalāditya. He defeated the king's enemy, Dharmapāla by name, and made him submit to him. Once upon a time the Rājalakshmi (Goddess of Royal Fortune) appeared in a dream before the king, who was greatly worried on receiving a report from his spies that his ministers and other officers were scheming against him, and told him as follows:— "A gaṇa (attendant of Śiva) known as Kāyastha, as he always resided in water which is the *kāya* (body) of Śiva, lifted me up as I was sinking in the water of the ocean, having come out of it when it was churned by gods and demons with the help of the Mandara mountain. He then made me over to the gods. In the Kshatriya family descended from that Kāyastha Gaṇa, your younger brother Kalāditya has been born. Give him this Garuḍa-seal and entrust him with the administration of your realm." The king did as he was instructed. From that Gaṇa of Śiva, the Kāyastha family of Valabhī has descended.

We know of several such imaginary stories about the origin of the Kāyastha caste.[1] There were, however, as many as seven kings of the name Śīlāditya in the Maitraka family of Valabhī, who ruled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. No king of this name was, of course, ruling at Valabhī in the time of Soḍḍhala, who, as shown below, flourished in the eleventh century A.D., but the poet evidently knew about them from tradition and so he has connected his family with them.

Soḍḍhala has given considerable information about his ancestors, fellow-students, friends and contempararies in the present work. His family originally belonged to Lāṭa (Southern Gujarat). It held the important office of the *Dhruva* (Revenue-collector like the *Mālguzār* of modern times) of the following

1. Another imaginary story about the origin of the Kayastha caste occurs in the Rewa stone inscription of Kalachuri Karṇa (dated A.D. 1148-49). See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV. pp. 266 f.

among other divisions - Sikkarahārīya-72 Vāhirihāra-70 and Annāpalīya 70.[1] Soḍḍhala mentions his ancestors - Chaṇḍapati, his son Sollapeya, and his son Sūra.[2] To Sūra Soḍḍhala was born from his wife Padmāvatī. This family enjoyed the patronage of the royal family of the Chaulukyas of Lāṭa. Soḍḍhala lost his father in his boyhood. Then Gaṅgādhara, son of the then reigning king Goggirāja of Lāṭa, brought him up. Goggirāja [3] was succeeded by his son Kīrtirāja. His son Siṁharāja was a fellow-student of Soḍḍhala. They studied under a teacher named Chandra. Soḍḍhala gave evidence of poetic talent even in his student life. Later, as political conditions in Lāṭa changed, Soḍḍhala migrated to Sthānaka (modern Ṭhāṇā near Bombay), the capital of the Northern Śilāhāras. He became the court-poet of the Śilāhāra king Chhittarāja. Once upon a time Soḍḍhala composed a beautiful verse containing the word *pradīpa*. Being charmed with it, Chhittarāja gave him the title of *Kavi-pradīpa*. Similar soubriquets (e.g. Dīpaśikā-Kālidāsa, Chhatra-Bhāravi)[4] are known to have been borne by some other Sanskrit poets. Chhittarāja's brothers Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇirāja, who succeeded him one after the other, also treated Soḍḍhala with great respect.[5]

At Sthānaka Soḍḍhala received a cordial invitation to come back to Lāṭa from Vatsarāja, the successor of the aforementioned Kīrtirāja, who was a

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1. These localities have been kindly identified for me by Dr. H. G. Shastri of Ahamedabad. Annāpliya is probably identical with Anāvala in the Surat District. It was the original home of the Anāvala Brāhmaṇas of South Gujarat. Vāhirihāra may be the same as Vihārā in the Olpāḍ tālukā of the Surat District or Vahāra in the Mangrol tālukā of the same district. Sikkarahāri may be Siker in the Valodā Mahal of the Surat District. The numbers following the name of these localities probably indicate the numbers of villages comprised in them.

2. *Udayasundarikathā*, p. 12.

3. This name is given in the edition of the *Udayasundarikathā* as *Goggiraja* (see Errata at the end), but it occurs in the form *Goggirāja* in inscriptions. See Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos. 1088 and 1092.

4. Kālidāsa received the soubriquet *Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa* on account of the verse *Sañchariṇī dīpa-śikheva* etc. in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (VI, 67) and Bhāravi that of *Chhatra-Bhāravi* on account of his verse Utphullasthala-nalini in the *Kirātārjuniya* (V, 39).

5. *Udayasundarikathā*, p. 12.

dear friend of the Śilāhāra king. So he returned to Lāṭa. Once upon a time while Vatsarāja was sitting in his *Sabhā* with his courtiers and poets around him, a merchant showed him a collection of pearls. The king then uttered the following significant verse.

एकैकशः प्रकीर्णैर्मुक्तामणिभिः किमेभिरेभिस्तु ।
यं सृजसि हन्त हारं तस्यान्यः कोऽपि परिभोगः ॥

(What is the use of these strey pearls? If you make a necklace of these, it will give us rare pleasure.)

Soḍḍhala at once understood the suggested sense of the verse. But he kept quiet. When he came home, he said to himself, "The king has indeed rebuked me. He wants to suggest to me that instead of wasting my energy in composing stray verses of the *muktaka* type, I should compose a great *kāvya*. If such a *kāvya* is to be composed, it should rather be of the *champū* type than of the *gadya* or *padya* type." For the composition of such a work he repaired to one of his villages, where he could get the necessary facilities and tranquility. He completed the composition in a few days. Thereafter, he started for the capital of Lāṭa with the *kāvya* tied in a piece of cloth. On his way through a dense forest he noticed a very white shrine of Goddess Sarasvatī.[1] He entered it and praised the goddess with an extempore verse. As it was then evening and his fellow-travellars had gone ahead, he sat down in a *matta-vāraṇaka*[2] aisle of the *maṇḍapa* of the shrine for rest. He then noticed two beautiful statues of door-keepers, one on each side of the *garbha-gṛiha*. At night there arose a bright flame of light, not fed by oil. Immediately there-after, there issued from the statues two heavenly beings, wearing the sacred thread. They praised the

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1. This shrine is described as having been built by Bhārgava. So it may not have been distant from Bāṛigukachchha.

2. Soḍḍhala has used this word in many places. *Mattavāraṇī*, from which it was apparently derived, denoted a wing in Bharata's *Naṭyaśāstra* as shown by me elsewhere. *Mattavāraṇa* used here see, to denote 'an aisle' separated from the middle portion of the hall by a row of pillars. Later, *mattavāraṇa* came to denote 'a verandah'.

goddess with an extempore verse and sat in the opposite *matta-vāraṇaka*. They then asked the poet about the book on his bed. The poet also felt curious at this surprising incident and said, "I shall tell you about it. But first tell me who you are." Then one of them replied, "This noble companion of mine is Tilaka and I am Tālaka. Being always with the Goddess Sarasvatī, we have attained poetic talent. But tell us what your book is about." The poet then said, "This is my own *kavya*. It will remain tied like this until I find a good poet willing to listen to its recitation." On this they both pressed him to read it out to them. Then the poet said, "I have sent my attendants' to fetch some fuel-sticks for lighting a fire, but now it is not necessary. I shall arrange my bed in the attached shrine of the Kshetrapāla and then coming here, I shall read it out to you. That being done, he came back to the *matta-Vāraṇaka* and taking the book out of the bundle, began to read it aloud (*unchchvāsa* 1).

After reading out this story of Udayasundarī, Soḍḍhala again tied the book in the piece of cloth. Then Tālaka praised it very much. He said, "We have listened to your *prabandha*. It has all the merits which the former rhetoricians expected in a *kavya*. Its story has an attractive beginning. The *sandhis* of the plot are well connected. Its *rasas* (sentiments) are quite clear. Its composition is charming to the ear. You have very cleverly woven in it practical wisdom. In short, it has a proper combination of all the three styles *viz.* the Vaidarbhī or Cuckoo *rīti* and the Pāñchālī or Swan *rīti*." He then recited an example of each. Soḍḍhala felt greatly surprised at this and, with becomimg modesty, inquired who they were and how they came to be there in the form of statues. Then Tālaka said, "This is Bāṇa, the *Kavīndra-tilaka* (ornament of great poets), the world-famous author of the *Kādambarī* and the *Harshacharita*, who belongs to the Vātsyāyana *gotra* and is disciple of Sarasvatī. I am a humble Devarshi (divine sage) named Tālaka, a member of God Brahmā's assembly. Once when I had gone to that assembly, I recited the following verse in praise of God Brahmā :-

ब्रह्मं स्त्वां स्तौमि तं यस्य पुप्पलिडभिः प्रलक्षितम् ।
पाण्डुभं वल्गु सुष्टुव्जं जन्माघिप्ण्यं च विष्टरम् ॥

(O God Brahman, I praise you who have a beautiful white lotus surrounded by bees both for your birth-place and your seat.)

Being delighted at this composition of mine, I went to the assembly of Sarasvatī, where under the presidentship of poet Bāṇa several great poets such as Kālidasa, kings like Vikramāditya, Śrī-Harsha, Muñja and Bhoja, and Sāmantās like Vākpatirāja, Māyurāja and Viśākhadeva were engaged in poetic discussions. There I recited this verse. They all welcomed me and praised my composition. Only Bāṇa arrogantly pointed out the fault of harsh wording (a *sravyapada*) in it.[1] Then I got angry and cursed him as follows, not minding that he was a dear disciple of Goddess Sarasvatī :- "O poetaster ! As you remained dumb like a stone-pillar, while I recited my verse here, you will have to stay for some time as a stone-statue in a temple of Sarasvatī. "There was then a great commotion there. The poets gathered there entreated me to revoke the curse." Then I said, "This poet Bāṇa will become, by the light in the temple of Sarasvatī, proficient in all śāstras and a connoisseur of poetry. At night he will be able to shed off his stony form and become happy. When he will listen to the reading of Soḍḍhala's *Udaya-sundarikathā* he will be restored to his original form. When "Goddess Sarasvatī saw that her dear disciple Bāṇa was cursed, she gave me a similar way". She said "You will remain in Bāṇas company and will be restored to your orignal form along with him."[2] Since then we both have been staying here. At night the sylvan deity here arranges to provide us with a divine light. We know all about you. Saying so, he told Soḍḍhala all particulars about him such as his family, his royal patronage and so forth and said, "Not only we but all great sages in heaven know about you." Bāṇa also praised his work and said, "Do not read out this work to all, but only to good people. You have attained the position of *Kavindra* (Great Poet)". Then they bowed to the position of

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1. See the expressions *pushpaliḍbhiḥ*, *paṇḍv-ābhaṁ*, *sushṭvabjaṁ* and *dhishṇyaṁ* in the verse.

2. Here also some portion of the text is lost.

Kavindra (Great Poet) Then they bowed to Goddess Sarasvatī and reprayed to the world of Brahmā.

Then Soḍḍhala spent the night in that *mattavāraṇaka*, using the book as a pillow. In a dream at night he noticed that his name was written in a genealogy of poets, commencing from Vālmīki. In the morning he obtained the instruments of engraving from his attendants and inscribed a *kaviprasasti* (eulogy of poets) on the emerald wall of the temple. The *praśasti* included a *maṅgala-śloka* in praise of S'iva and then verses in eulogy of great poets of the past like Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Guṇāḍhya, Bharṭṛimeṇṭha, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti, Vākpatirāja, Abhinanda, Yāyāvara, and Kumāradāsa. Thereafter, he ascribed the following verses about himself :—

तस्मिन्सुवंशे कविमौक्तिकाना मुत्पत्तिभूमौ कचिदेकदेशे ।
कश्चित्कविः सोड्ढल इत्यजातनिप्पत्तिरासीज्जलाविन्दुरेव ॥
यो वत्सराजेन वरेणराज्ञां लाटावनी मण्डलनायकेन ।
सूक्ष्माद्दढस्तोक गुणाश्रितोऽपि मित्रीकृतो भानुमतेव पद्मः ॥
जडेन तेनोदयसुन्दरीति कथा दुरालोकिनि काव्यमार्गे ।
सारस्वतालोकलवैकदृष्टा सृष्टा कविंमन्य मनोरथेन ॥
सा चात्र देवीभवने निवृत्तशापार्तिना बाणकपीश्वरेण ।
कविश्रमोद्भूतकृपेण सम्यक् श्रुता धृता ह्यभिनन्दिता च ॥

In that good bamboo-like family, which has produced excellent pearl-like poets, there was born in a certain place a poet named Soḍḍhala like a drop of water that has not yet attained the shape of a pearl.

Vatsarāja, the best of kings and the lord of the Lāṭa country, regarded him as a friend, not withstanding his insignificant, infirm and slight merits, even as the sun treats a lotus. That dull-witted Soḍḍhala, with the ambition of becoming a poet, has composed this *Udayasundarikathā*, which, by its insignificant merit has obtained a place in the inaccessible realm of poetry. In this

temple of Sarasvatī Bāṇa, the foremost among poets, listened to it out of sympathy for the poet's labour, when he was freed from the anguish of a curse, and bestowed his praise on it.

After praising and worshipping the Goddess Sarasvatī, Soḍḍhala returned to the capital. There his *prabandha* was read and praised by poets such as the Śvetāmbara Jaina Mahakavi Chandanāchārya, the author of the *kathā Aśokavati*, the *Śīghrakavi* Vijayasiṁhāchārya, the author of the *Khaḍgakavya*, who had been honoured with the title of Khaḍgāchārya by (the Śilāhāra king) Nāgārjuna, the Digambarāchārya Mahākirti, who was conversant with three languages, and Indra, the author of the Campūkathā *Ratnamañjarī*.[1] Some days after, King Mummuṇi of Koṅkaṇa, sent his poet-friend Madhurasāhara, who was brave and proficient in three languages, to call Soḍḍhala to his court. He met Soḍḍhala and told him, "King Mummuṇi has heard that you have composed *Kathā* named *Udayasundarī*, which you read out to Bāṇa in a temple of Sarasvatī in a lonely forest and that it was praised by him. King Mummuṇi's friend Vatsarāja, king of Lāṭa, saw the *praśasti* written by you in the temple of Sarasvatī while on his way from Śūrpāraka.[2] He thought that you had written the Kathā with reference to the Āryā he had uttered in his court, and called you to meet him and read your work. He told king Mummuṇi about it and about the praise bestowed on it by Bāṇa. Having heard that surprising account, King Mummuṇi has sent me to fetch you." When Soḍḍhala accompanied him to the court of Mummuṇi, the latter asked him to read out the work to him. Soḍḍhala took it out from its cloth wrapper and first praised the Goddess Sarasvatī and then the following great predecessors of his :—

वागीश्वरं हन्ते भजेऽभिनन्दमर्थेश्वरं वाक्पतिराजमीडे ।
रसेश्वरं स्तौमि च कालिदासं बाणं तु सर्वेश्वरभानतोऽस्मि ॥

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1. These authors and their works are not known from any other source.

2. Śūrpāraka is modern Sopārā in the Ṭhāṇā District. It was the ancient capital of North Koṅkaṇ. Some edicts of Aśoka have been found there.

(I bow to Abhinanda who is a master of words, to Vākpatirāja, who is a lord of sense, to Kālidāsa, who is proficient in the delineation of sentiments, and to Bāṇa who excels in all these.)

All these poets are wel-known. Abhinanda, a poet of Gauḍa, who is the author of the *Rāmacharita*, flourished in the second half of the ninth century A.D. Several of his *subha shitās* have been included in the earliest known anthology, the *Subhashitaratnakosha* of Vidyākara. Vākpatirāja is the Prakrit poet of that name, the author of the *Gaüḍavaho* and the *Madhu mathanavijaya*. Kālidāsa and Bāṇa are too well-known to need any note.

King Mummuṇi honoured him with munificent gifts. All the courtiers congratulated him. His poet-friends embraced him. All this gave him more joy than the overlordship of the three worlds. Soḍḍhala has ended his work with a S'loka in praise of God S'iva.

The date of Soḍḍhala does not present any difficulty. He enjoyed the patronage of the following three Śilāhāra kings of Sthānaka in North Koṅkaṇ :—

Chhittarāja (known years 1026, 1034 A.D.)[1]
|
(brother)
Nāgārjuna
|
(brother)
Mummuṇirāja (known years 1049 and 1060 A.D.)[2]

So Soḍḍhala may have stayed at the court of the Śilāhāras from *circa* A.D. 1030 to 1055. He had also the support of the Chaulukya kings of Lāṭa. The following three princes of this family have been named in the *Udayasundarikathā* :—

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1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 f. *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. XC, pp. 26 f.
2. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Old Series), Vol. XII, pp. 2329 f.

Goggirāja
|
Kīrtirāja (A.D. 1018)[1]
|
Vatsarāja
[Trilochanapāla (A.D. 1051)][2]

Goggirāja's son Gaṅgādhara and Kīrtirāja's son Siṁharāja have also been mentioned in the *Udayasundarīkathā*, but they did not come to the throne. No inscriptions of Vatsarāja have yet been discovered, but from the grants of his father and his son, he seems to have flourished in the period *circa*. A.D. 1030-1050. As described by Soḍḍhala, he was a contemporary of the Śilāhāra king Mummuṇirāja. His date has thus corroborated the date of Soḍḍhala fixed above.

Soḍḍhala's, *Udayasundarīkathā* is modelled on Bāṇa's *Kadambari*. Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and *Kādambari* are well known. As in the *Harshacharita*, Soḍḍhala has given in the beginning of his work, an imaginary story about the origin of his family and furnished information about himself and his patron. But Bāṇa's *Kādambari* seems to have influenced his work more. Both these works are of the *kathā* type *i.e.* their stories are invented. The themes of both are very much complicated. The *Kādambari* describes incidents which occurred on the earth and in heaven, but the *Udayasundarikathā* narrates some that happened in the *pātāla* (nether world) also. Both describe than some of their characters had, as a result of curses, to go through the lives of the parrot and the horse. In both, the parrots are learned and proficient in the Purāṇas and śāstras and the horses as swift as wind. Both the works are full of long compounds. Unlike Bāṇa, Soḍḍhala has not, however, used *ślesha* and other alaṅkāras in his work to any appreciable extent. He relies mainly on the *utpreksha* for effect. His imagination does not take as high flights as Bāṇa's. In many places his description is of the stereotype. His story has more characters and is more

1. Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1088.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 1092. He is not mentioned in the *Udayasundarikathā*.

complicated than that of the *Kadambari*. Still, he has unravelled all the threads in the end.

Soḍḍhala had before him Bāṇa's *Kadambari* as a model. So he has not only praised Bāṇa above all other poets, but has also brought him on the earth and made him praise his *Udayasundarīkatha*.

Soḍḍhala has used all the three *ritis* (styles) *viz. Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī* and *Pañchalī* in his work. He calls them *Kaukilī* (of the cuckoo), *Mayuri* (of the peacock) and *Marali* (of the swan) respectively. He generally uses the *Vaidarbhī* in verses and the *Gauḍī* in prose passages. His compounds in prose sometimes cover several pages at a time, but as he has not generally used *ślesha* (or *double entendre*) his style has not become difficult to understand. He has developed different *rasas* (sentiments) in his work. See *e.g.* the *Vipralambha śṛingara* in the description of the pining Malayavāhana and Udayasundarī *Bhayanaka* in that of the Kāpālika and the Rākshasa, *Bibhatsa* in that of the cemetary, and *Adbhuta* in that of the flying aeroplane. He has shown his love of nature and keen observation in the description of gardens, forests and lakes. As an instance of his style, we may point to the following description of a journey through the air :—

आरूढे मयि झागेत्येचोत्पत्य हरगलगरलकज्जलमलीमसं सुदूरमन्तरशिरोभागमारुरोह । ततः परमुपक्रान्तं प्रयातुम्, अनन्तरमारचितगुरुवेगनिर्गमप्रसरं परितो विस्फुरन्तीभिरतिधवलवैजयन्तीभिर्गगनगङ्गाडिण्डीरवल्लरीपटलमिव मरुता नीयमानम्, अनणुमणिकर्मनिर्मलोद्योतडम्बरेण प्रदीपतन्त्रमिवतिमिरविग्रहेणोच्चाक्तितम्, उच्छलत्किंकिणीरणत्कारनिः स्वनैर्वेगोज्झित सभीरमिवारब्धविजयकोलाहलम्, उल्लसद्ध्वजपटफटत्कारितोपकण्ठकनकदण्डिकादारितनभस्तलम्, उल्लोहिताध्वजलधरम्, उत्सारिताग्रतारकम्, स्वरूपमविकृत्य त्वरितमन्तरिक्षेण गच्छतस्तस्य तिमिरपटलोन्मूलितालोकवृत्तिरहमन्येन नयिमानोऽन्ध इव, क एव ककुभो विभागः कियदतिक्रान्तं पश्चात्, अग्रेऽपि कियद्गन्तव्यम्, कीदृशी चासौ वसुमती, कीदृशा हि गिरिसरित्कान्तारपरिगताः पन्थानः, कीदृशोऽप्यसौ जनपदप्रचार इति न जानामि, केवलं चरणचंक्रमणपीडाभिरुज्झितः पदे पदे मृदुसभीरलहरीनिवेशशीतलोचनो यानेन गतिसुखमनुभूतवानास्मि ।

"As soon as I boarded the aeroplane at night, it flew up and rose high in the dense darkness resembling the collyriumlike poison in the throat of Śiva. Then it began its flight. As it flew with great speed it appeared owing to its very white flags, as if a mass of the foam of the *ākāśa-gaṅgā* (milky way) was being wafted by strong wind. By bright light of its large jewels it looked as if darkness was lifting up a large number of lights. With the jingling of the small bells attached to it, it seemed as if it was indulging in cries of victory as it surpassed even wind in its speed. With the goldenstaffs of its fluttering flags, it was, as it were, tearing the sky, driving the clouds away on its way and pushing the stars upwards. As it sped through the sky without altering its form, I could not notice any thing, my sight being clouded by darkness. Like a blind man led by another blind one, I did not know where I was, how much distance I had flown, how much more I had to go, what sort of country I was flying on, what were the paths of mountains, rivers and forests and the countries through which I was going. I only enjoyed the pleasure of travelling by the plane without experiencing any fatigue of going on foot, with my eyes feeling the cool touch of gentle breezes."

Soḍḍhala had not, indeed, travelled by a plane, but this imaginary description given by him agrees with the 'experience of modern air passengers. This well exemplifies the flight of his imagination and his power of description.

Soḍḍhala has described or mentioned by name several of his predecessors and contemporaries. As his date is certain the lower limit of the dates of these authors can be determined. Among his predecessors, Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Guṇāḍhya, Bhartṛimeṇtha, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti, Vākpatirāja, Māyurāja and Viśākhadeva are well known. Soḍḍhala, however, gives us the additional information that Vākpatirāja, Māyurāja and Viśākhadeva were *sāmantas* or feudatories. From a *subhāshita* we know, of course, that Māyurāja was a prince of the Kalachuri family,[1] but the information here given about Vākpatirāja[2] and

1. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Introduction, p. clxxiii. 24. Author of the *Gauḍavaho*.

2. In the *Mudrārākshasa* he is described as the grandson of *Sāmanta* Vaṭeśvaradatta and the son of *Mahārāja* Bhāskaradeva. In one Ms. his name occurs as *Viśākhadeva*.

Viśākhadeva is new. Viśākhadeva is probably identical with Viśākhadatta, the author of the Sanskrit play, the *Mudrārakshasa* and *Devī-Chandragupta.*

Soḍḍhala has mentioned some of his Jaina contemporaries, both of the Digambara and the Svetambara sect, and their works, from which it appears that the Lāṭa (South Gujarat) country was the famous for Jaina literature. Unfortunately, none of the works of any of these Jaina authors has come down to us. Soḍḍhala's *Udayasundarīkathā* is *Champū* work of early times. Some *Champū Kavyas* of an earlier age such as the *Nalachampū* (or *Damayantī-kathā*) of Trivikrama and the *Yasastilakachampū* of Somadeva are still extant, but they find no mention in Soḍḍhala's work. He has mentioned two Champūkāvyas viz. the *Aśokavatī* of chandnāchārya and *Ratnamañjarī* of Indrakavi, but both of them have now been lost. Later, several *champūs* such as the *Ramāyaṇachampū*, the *Bharatachampū* and the *Bhāgavatachampū* were composed, but they have no intricate themes as in Soḍḍhala's work. In course of time the style of the *Champūs* became more and more obscure on account of the profuse use of *ślesha.* The *Udayasundarīkathā* of Soḍḍhala, being of an early age, has its own importance in the history of Sanskrit literature.

C. B. Pandey

The Date of Harisvamin, the Commentator of Satapatha Brahmana

Dr. Mangala Deva Shastri, once the Librarian of Sanskrit Bhavana Library, Benaras brought to light a unique MS of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* containing valuable information about Harisvāmin. The introductory stanzas of the MS are follows :

श्री गणेशाय नमः

मातामहमहाशैवं महस्तदपि तामहं ।
आमातृमातृकं वन्दे यन्मत्तद्विरदाननं ॥ १ ॥
अभिध्याय विवस्वंतं भगवन्तं त्रयीमयं ।
श्रुतार्थं विवृतिं वक्ष्ये प्रमाणपदनिश्चितं ॥ २ ॥
याज्ञवल्क्यं मुनिं शश्वत्सिदध्यै कात्यायनं गुरुम् ।
प्रणिपत्य करिष्येहं व्याख्यां शतपथश्रुतेः ॥ ३ ॥
श्रूयते पक्षिलस्वामी प्रवक्ता पदवाक्यया ।
प्रसिद्धो जगतीपीठे मीमांसोय[प]ज्ञमानकृत् ॥ ४ ॥
नागस्वामी च तन्नप्ता श्रीगुहस्वामिनन्दनः ।
तत्र याजी प्रमाणज्ञः आढयो लक्ष्म्या समेधितः ॥ ५ ॥
तन्नन्दनो हरिस्वामी प्रस्फुरद्वेदवेदिमान् ।
त्रयीव्याख्यानधौरेयोऽधीततन्त्रो गुरोर्मुखात् ॥ ६ ॥
यः सम्राट् कृतवान्सप्त सोमसंस्थास्तथक्श्रुतिं ।
व्याख्यां कृत्वाध्यापयन्मां श्रीस्कन्दस्वाम्यस्ति मे गुरुः ॥ ७ ॥

ततोऽधीतमहातन्त्रो विश्वोपकृतिहेतवे ।
व्याचिख्यासुः श्रुतेरर्थं हरिस्वामी नतो गुरुं ॥ ८ ॥
श्रीमतोऽवंतिनाथस्य विक्रमस्य क्षितीशितुः ।
धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्यां कुर्वे यथामति ॥ ९ ॥

These verses furnish invaluable information about Harisvāmin. It will not be out of place to quote *verbatim* Dr. Shastri's observations based on the above verses. "It is clear from this introduction that Harisvāmin was a pupil of Skandasvāmin, the famous commentator of Ṛgveda and the Nirukta. As regards Pakṣilasvāmi, the famous writer on (or teacher of) *pada* and *vakya* (i.e., Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṁsā) who was the grandfather (on the father's or mother's side, it is not clear) of Nāgasvāmi, the father of Harisvāmi, as yet nothing is known. Apparently he is different from Vātsyāyana, the commentator of *Nyāyasūtras*, who is also referred to by this very name by Vacaspati Misra in the beginning of his *Nyāyasūtra-Tatparya-ṭika*, because he is not so far known to have written anything on Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṁsā. As regards Nāgasvāmi and Guhasvāmi, I have not even come across these names, so far anywhere else".[1]

The important verse from the point of view of deciding the date of Harisvāmin is

श्रीमतोऽवंतिनाथस्य विक्रमस्य क्षितीशितुः ।
धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्यां कुर्वे यथामति ॥

i.e. I, Harisvami, the head of the Department of justice (धर्माध्यक्षः) of His Majesty, the Emperor Vikramāditya, the Lord of Avanti, am going to comment (the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*) (व्याख्यां कुर्वे) to the best of intellectual capability (यथामति)."

More important are the verses which occur in the Colophon of 8th Chapter on folio 208 of the aforesaid MS, quoted by Dr. M.D. Shastri. श्री आचार्यहरिहर-स्वामिनः कृतौ शतपथभाष्ये हविर्यज्ञेषु अष्टमोध्यायः, समाप्तः, समाप्तमिदं काण्डं

1. *Sarasvati Bhawana Studies*, Vol. VIII, P. 173.

नागस्वामिसुतोऽवन्त्यां पाराशर्योवसन् हरिः ।
श्रुत्यर्थं दर्शयामास शक्तितः पौष्करीयकः ॥ १ ॥
यदादीनां कलेर्जग्मुः सप्तत्रिंशच्छतानि वै ।
चत्वारिंशत्समाश्चान्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतम् ॥

The second verse यदादीनां etc. is important in so far it gives in Kali era, the date of Harisvāmin, and also as a matter of fact of his patron His Majesty, the Emperor, Vikramāditya, the Lord of Avanti. This important verse has been interpreted and Vikramāditya of Avanti identified by Dr. Mangala Deva Shastri, who brought to light these verses and also by Dr. Lakshmana Sarupa.

INTERPRETATION GIVEN BY DR. MANGALA DEVA SHASTRI.

Dr. Shastri reads यदान्दानां for यदादीनां and interpreted that Harisvāmin wrote his commentary when 3700 and 40 years of Kali had passed in the reign of Vikramāditya of Avanti. Taking 3101 B.C. as the start of the Kali era he arrives at 638 A.D. as the date of the writing of the commentary on *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the one Vikramāditya, the Lord of Avanti.

According to Dr. Shastri, the Vikrama referred to by Harisvāmin is either (a) some local king by the name of Vikramāditya, subordinate to Harṣa or (b) Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulakeśin II, who defeated Harṣa, and was reigning at Avanti as a Governor and not as a king. As regards the date of Harisvāmin, the opinion of Dr. Shastri is in favour of 638 A. D. on the basis of the verse referred to above. He tried to substantiate his stand by giving references to Harisvāmin's citations of the ancient works.

ANALYSIS OF DR. SHASTRI'S VIEWS :

(A) *Vikramāditya a local king* :— No doubt, that there is no conclusive evidence thatt he region of Avanti ever formed part of Harṣa's empire, or even Pulakeśin II; and there are evidences to show that this region for some time enjoyed

independence. But unfortunately no local king of the name of Vikramāditya has come to the notice of historians so far, ruling in the area of Avanti in this period.

(*B*) *Vikramāditya I, son and successor of Pulakeśin II* :—As regards Dr. Shastri's second assumption no positive evidence has been brought to light in favour of Vikramāditya I, who was never a *Lord* of Avanti. Thus there is nothing in Dr. Shastri's two assumptions to warrant our support either in favour of Vikramāditya a local king or Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakeśin II, the Chālukyan emperor. We have to look for some other Vikramāditya who could be clearly associated with Avanti region.

The views of Dr. Lakshmana Sarup :—There are two stages in which Dr. Sarup tried to interpret the verse and give the date of Skandasvāmin, the teacher of Harisvāmin, first in his edition of *Nirukta* in 1929 and later in [MM Pt. *Ganganath*] *Jha Commemoration Volume.*

(a) After quoting the relevant verses from the above mentioned MS of Harisvāmin's commentary on ŚB dated Saṁvat 1849 at Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Varanasi, he says: "The verses found in the published commentary of Harisvāmin on the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* edited by Samasrami in *Bib. Indica* are the following :

नागस्वामिसुतोऽवन्त्यां पाराशार्यो वसन् हरिः
श्रुत्यर्थं दर्शयामास शक्तितः पौष्करीयकः ॥
श्रीमतोऽवन्तिनाथस्य विक्रमार्कस्य भूपतेः ।
धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्यच्छतपतीं श्रुतिम् ॥

the stanza giving the date of Harisvāmin is not found in the edition of Samasrami[1]." Dr. Sarup did not question the genuineness of the said MS and

1. Dr. Lakshman Sarup, *Indices and Appendices of Nirukta* (Punjab University, Lahore, 1929), pp. 29-30.

concludes: "The commentary of Harisvāmin was composed when 3740 years of the Kali era had passed. This gives 538 A.D. as the date of the commentary of Harisvamin, for the Kali era began on the 18th February 3202 B.C. The Vikrama mentioned in verse 9 was evidently Yośodharman of Mālwā who defeated Mihiragula in 528 A.D. and assumed the title of Vikramāditya."[1]

(b) Later Dr. Sarup in the anxiety to find out and identify Vikramāditya of patron of Harisvāmin with Yośodharman of Mālwā, gave the historical circumstances and says: The only obstacle which stands in the way of this identification is the date given by Harisvāmin himself." But he argues "now the text is corrupt and has not been properly preserved. I therefore propose our amendation of the text and read the verse as follows:

यदादी[=व्दा]नां कलेर्जुग्मुः षट्त्रिंशछतकानि वै ।
चत्वारिंशत्समाश्चान्या तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतम् ॥ [sic]

= I wrote this commentary when 3600 and another 40 years of Kali age has passed away." Obviously he reads षट्त्रिंशच्छतकानि वै (3600 years) instead of Avanti, the सप्तत्रिंशच्छतानि (= 3700 years) to get a difference of 100 years to suit his, according convenience of the identification of Vikramāditya with Yośodharman as "this to him, will give the date of the composition of the commentary of Harisvāmin as 538 A.D. Yośodharman consolidated his kingdom after his great victory over the Huns in 528 A.D. and could thus be patron of Harisvāmin in 538 A.D.[2]" The amendment of the text is the only solution according to him.

Thus Dr. Sarup has reached the date 538 A.D. as the date of commentary of *Satapatha Brahmana* by Harisvāmin by interpretting the *verse* in terms of (1) 3202 B.C. as the start of the Kali era, without anybasis or anysubstantiation, (2) secondly amending the text of the *verse* without any substantial reason.

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1. *Ibid*, p. 29.
2. *Ibid.*

We have to look for some other interpretation to find out a Vikramāditya of Avanti (or Ujjaini) and interpret his date.

यदादी(=ब्दा)नां कलेर्जग्मुः सप्तत्रिंशच्छतकानि वै ।
चत्वारिंशत्समाश्चान्यास्तदाभाष्यमिदं कृतम् ॥

The difficulty has arisen only because of the interpretation of सप्तत्रिंशच्छतानि as one word. If we take सप्तभिंशच्छतानि वै चत्वारिंशत्समाः च as सप्त+भिंशच्छतानि+चत्वारिंशत्समाः च then the meaning will be quite clear i.e. 7 + 3000 + 40 = 3047 years. The translation of the verse will be:

"This commentary was written when seven and three thousands and forty years (3047) of Kali age had passed away."

Now for the sake of calculation we may take 3101 B.C. as the start of Kali era. Though there is a keen controversy about the start of Kali era. But traditionally 3102 B.C. or 3101 B.C. has been regarded as its start. Elsewhere the present author has hinted to this fact. Now calculating the date, we have 3101 = 3047 – 54 B.C. which seems to be the date of Harisvāmin, the famous commentator of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. As regards his contemporaniety with Vikram (āditya) of Avanti, it may be pointed out that there is one Vikramāditya who ruled over Ujjaini and started the Kṛita era in 57 B.C. and which was later renamed as Vikrama era. As regards the historicity of Vikramāditya, much has been written. Suffice it here to make reference (1) *Gāthā Saptaśatī* of Hāla, the Sātavāhana monarch who makes reference to Vikramāditya, (ii) *Bṛihatkathā* also makes reference to Vikramāditya of Ujjaini. About the date of later there may be some who may favour his later date and for this, it will not be out of place to say a few words. Lacote pointed out that 5th Sarga of the *Bṛihatkathā* Śloka-saṁgrah contains a reference to artisans and craftsmen who could make flying machines. Winternitz suggested that if this goes back to the original *Bṛihatkathā*, it would point to the period when Gāndhāra art flourished in India as the period when *Bṛihatkathā* came into existence i. e. the first century B.C.; and held that a cycle of stories relating to Vikramāditya must have existed in the original *Bṛihatkathā*. K. V. Subramania Ayer also holds that the possibility of the original *Bṛihatkathā*

having contained a cycle of stories relating to Vikramāditya is not absolutely ruled out. Thus there is no doubt about the existence of one historical Vikramāditya of Ujjaini in the first century B.C. and there must not be any difficulty in identifying this Vikramāditya with Vikrama of Harisvāmin. This is supported in another way. The fact that the family of Harisvāmin migrated from Puṣkara and continued the vedic traditions like writing commentary on *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by Harisvāmin, *Nirukta* and *Ṛgveda* by his teacher Skandasvāmin, hint to the fact that this family found a patron with Brahmanical leanings, nay, the one who championed the cause of Brahmanism. .One may be reminded that the Śaka invasion which was overthrown by Vikramāditya of Ujjaini was caused and inspired through the exclusive instrumentality of Kālakacharya, the famous Jain ascetic and mathematician. It may also be noted that Gardabhilla, who was overthrown by this hero, professed Jain leanings. It is not unlikely that Vikramāditya was a champion of Brahmanism. This was the epoch of revival of Brahmanism and commentaries on *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Ṛgveda*, and *Nirukta*, fit in well in the spirit of the revolutionary epoch of the Hindu Revivalism of post Mauryan period.

Our stand is further supported by the fact that in the inscriptions of the few decades before and after the beginning of the Christian era, specially in the western Indian region almost invariably, dates are given quite similar to Harisvāmin's i.e. the dates are given by adding certain round numbers. This tradition continued even later. Without multiplying the references, only one example is enough here. The date of the Aihoḷe inscription is given as follows in Kali and also in Śaka era in verse 34 :

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारताहवादितः ।
सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥
पञ्चाशत्सु कलौकाले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च ।
समासु समतीतासु शाकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

i.e. in Kali era 30+3000+700+5=3735 years, or 50+6+500=556 Saka era both can be calculated to 634 A.D. Thus there is no harm interpreting in this way the date of Harisvāmin's reference.

HISTORY OF THE FAR-EAST

D. P. Ghosh

Impact of Indian art on the art of south-east Asia

The general influence of Indian culture and civilisation on south-east Asia is now admitted on all hands. The Jatakhas (circa fifth century B.C.) and the epics refer to Suvarnabhumi or Suvarnadwipa which may be identified with the easternmost peninsula of south-east Asia and the group of islands emanating from its tip.

The countries which are particularly interesting for tracing the influence of Indian art in south-east Asia are Champa (Vietnam), Kamboja (Cambodia known to ancient Chinese as Fou-nan). Siam (Thailand), Javadwip (Java etc.) not to speak of Brahma (Burma) and Sinhala (Ceylon.)

The history proper of the Indianisation of these regions can be said to date from about the first century A.D. From the very first the people who brought Indian traditions into south-east Asia were undeniably pacific. Primarily motivated by economic and adventerous impulses, merchants and princes, followed later on by Brahmins and Sramanas, not only found new homelands but also built many remarkable monuments some of which surpassed even the best creations of their forefathers in India, tempered by local artistic genius.

There was a time not very long ago when the four countries of the Mekong basin, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam could collectively be described as the Indo-Chinese peninsula. A mingling of the two principal streams, Indian and Chinese is still visible there. It was interesting to observe from a study of on the Traulan Museum in East Java that Chinese influence could make its presence in the cultural life of Java only after the 13th century A.D. i.e. when direct connection with India had ceased. On the other hand, the proto-historic

remains of Indo-China, specially the Javanese pre-historic bronze antiquities of the Dong-Song culture, preserved in the Djakarta Museum, betray undeniable Chinese influence penetrating through Indo-China before India emerged on the scene in the early historic period.

Indian cultural expansion to south-east Asia took place in successive waves. Five distinct waves had been shown reaching south-east Asia on the crest of the Amaravati, Gupta, Pallava, Pala and lastly the Chola school.

The art of Amaravati is an emanation mainly of the south Indian tradition. It left its impress on the earliest images of every region of south-east Asia, inevitably Buddhist. Similarly Gupta art in south-east Asia is mainly an emanation of the north Indian tradition. The importance of Amaravati and Gupta art in south-east Asia cannot be minimised because some peculiar manifestations fill up the blanks in the stylistic evolution in India itself.

In consonance with the general tendency of "colonial" art, all these trends and styles took about a century or more to express themselves abroad. Also they survived there for a much longer time than on the mainland. Gupta tradition abroad continued to flourish for about 500 years even in decadence, from the sixth to the tenth century, as evidenced specially by the Dvaravati school of Siam, Cham and Khmer and the Indonesian schools of Sumatra and Java. At the same time, the indigenous contribution of the Sinhalese, Thais, Khmers, Indonesian and the Malausias gradually began to take an increasing share in the evolution of distinct national styles in their respective regions.

In Burma, old Prome, the capital of the Pyus, is perhaps still the only site from which we have considerable archaeological evidence of the Gupta period. The sculptures of the East Zegur temple and the repoussee figure of the famous casket found in 1926 seem to be products of definite Gupta workmanship. The murals of 13th century Pagan temples specially Paya-thon-zu

and Nandmanna[1] distinctly echo the linear draughtmanship of Pala-sena idiom, specially visualised in the copper plate engraving of Dommanapala, dated 1106 A.D. from Sunderban[2] preserved in the Austosh Museum, Calcutta University.

Korat in Thailand has yielded a significant bronze Buddha of definite Amaravati lineage, clearly marked in the rigid pose, the right arm in *"Prachara Mudra"* the right shoulder bare and conventional folds of the drapery hanging loosely from the extended left hand.[3] Another statuette of Buddha but with a pronounced early Gupta affiliation, has been discovered at Pra Patorn.[4] In the fifth and first half of the sixth century central Siam seems to have formed most of the western half of the Fu-nan empire. It is from Si Tep (Sri Deva) that we find two Sanskrit inscriptions not later than the fifth to sixth century A. D. A superb torso of a Yaksini from Si Tep betrays a remarkable degree of naturalism and plasticity associated with Gupta sculptures.

In the Malay peninsula, the imitation of a Gupta model is evident from the Visnu from Chaiya. It shows a close resemblance, specially as regards head dress and huge ear-pendants, to the Kartikeya from Bhumara in central India. A standing Visnu, perhaps from the same region, on the other hand betrays pure Pallava style.[5]

Of Buddhist figures of pure Gupta style, examples are known from Wieng Sra, Kedah and Perak. One of the treasures of the National Museum, Bangkok, a splendid torso of Avalokitesvara from Chaiya, dating perhaps in the middle of

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1. Ray, N. Paintings at Pagan, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental art*, Calcutta 1938, Pl. XXXI, XXXIII.
2. Ghosh D.P.-A. Copperplate engraving from Bengal, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, December 1934, p. 33.
3. Coedes, G, *Indian Influences upon Siamese Art, Indian Art and Letters*, London vol. IV, No. 1, Pl. B.
4. Coedes, G. Ibid, Pl. A.
5. Le May, R, Buddhist Sculpture in Siam, *Marg*, Vol. IX No. 4, figs. 13, 14.

the ninth century, shows that the eastern school of Indian art, which flourished under the Pala and Sena dynasties had close relationship with the art of south east Asia even after this period.[1]

Except the little known antiquities from Oe-eo, which include some striking figures of the seated Buddha, the elephant of probable Kushana, Satavahana origin, associated with a Hellenistic seal inscribed in Brahmi characters of the first and second centuries A.D.,[2] the earliest Khmer sculptures from Cambodia are known to us from the VI to the VII centuries.

At the beginning of the sixth century, western Indo-china formed the kingdom of Funan under Rudravarman (514-539), a devout Vaisnavite, during whose reign sculpture appeared at Phnom Da which carried the elements of Gupta and post-Gupta Indian art.

I venture to disagree with the views of Pierre Dupont that the Buddhist sculpture of pre-Angkor is less homogeneous as it has, according to him, a great measure of variety, carrying traces of Amaravati, Ceylon, Gupta and post-Gupta art. In fact, the Gupta art of Sarnath appears to have visibly influenced the entire gamut of Pre-Khmer Buddhist images.[3] The Brahmanical sculptures, on the contrary embody harmonious blending of the Gupta and Pallava idioms.[4]

Strongly redolent of the classical Gupta style, of the north, the standing Buddha from Vat Romlok, whose head was found a few years after his body, is a tall aristocratic figure swaying out in a delicate curve and appearing almost naked under his smooth and clinging garments. The body, which is slim and

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1. Groslier, B.P., *Indochina* (Art of the World Series), London, 1962. pl. p. 88.
2. Groslier, op. cit p. 58.
3. Rawson, P., *The Art of South east Asia*, London, 1967, Fig. 24 Buddha of Toul Prah Theat (C. 7th-8th Cent.), See also, the delicate refined wooden statue of standing Buddha from the Plain of the Reeds "so like Gupta work that it can be dated to the end of the 4th century" (Groslier) in Luis Malleret's L'Archaesgie Du Delta Du Mekong, *EFDEO*, paris, 1968, Pl. XXI.
4. Rawson, Ibid, figs. 10-15, 21 and Boisselier, Op. cit., pl. 88A.

graceful, carries a noble head of extraordinarily frank expression, which, unlike the Gupta *Yogachitta* has open eyes, perhaps in continuation of the earlier Amaravati technique.

The other standing Buddha from Prei Krabas from the same museum and presumably belonging to the same age i.e. sixth century, is of a heavier build.

Echoing the peculiar Gupta treatment of sculptural surface and the curls of the head, the renowned krishna Govardhana (not Lokesvara) of the Stoclot collection, Brussels, has a wonderful athletic lightness and a feeling of resilent inner vitality. Betraying the same technical traits of Parasurama, the Kalki Avatara from Kuk Trap, also preserved in Musee Albert Sarrout, is another unique, though less familiar, masterpiece of the Vaisnavite art of Rudradaman; majestic, at the same time full of vital energy.

A different impression is gained, however, from the wonderful portrayal of Pallava spirit in the slim streamlined figure of the Prasat Andet Harihara (c. 700 A.D.), tense and compact. Undoubtedly one of the masterpieces of early Khmer art, it is an unique expression of a lithe athletic body with pent up energy, about to step out into a dance.[1]

A finished mastery in execution and serenity in expression is also conveyed by the of reproduced head of Buddha from Vat Romld in deep introspection, having a remarkable likeness to the Buddha head from Vijayapuri, near Amaravati, now in the Madras Museum.[2] It is reminiscent of the Gupta technique of soft rounded plasticity apparently modelled on an earlier femine torso from Sambor Preikuk with more opulent curves,[3] typically North Indian.

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1. Boisselier, Pl. 17.
2. *Ibid*, Pl. 86.
3. *Ibid*, Pls. 13, 14.

That the Indian tradition lingered till the transitional or early classical Khmer art of the 10th century is surprisingly underlined by the charming figures of Devas and Devis standing in floriated niches and by the massive grimacing guardian deities, completely in the round, of the Isvarapura temple at Banteay Srei[1]. Echoing the essential technical features of the Amaravati school, the standing bronze image of Buddha from Dong-Doung, in Hanoi Museum, of approximately third century A.D., is a well known example. Champa continued to retain the typical Indian plastic tradition till the eighth-ninth century A.D. This is envisaged in the striking dancing frieze plausibly of *Bharata Natyam* from Tra-Kieu in Central Vietnam in the style of Mison Ai.[2]

From a political point of view, Sumatra (the ancient kingdom of Malaya and Srivijaya) was for many centuries quite as important as Java, if not more so. It is not to be wondered at that, except the monumental headless stone Buddha image betraying undeniable Amaravati influence from Palembang[3], the earliest stone sculptures of the Djakarta Museum are from Sumatra. Two of them dominate the entrance hall both from Palembang. One is an almost life-size standing image of Buddha in stone, presumably of the sixth-seventh century A.D. The other is a striking Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, about eight feet high, monumental image visualised, on the other hand, strong Pallava leanings.

During my visit to Indonesia I was surprised to find a little noticed group of bronze icons of Brahma, Visnu and Siva from Palembang displayed in the Djakarta Museum upstairs. This show the continuing influence of Chola art as late as the 14th century A.D. in Sumatra.

Quite naturally, the earliest sculpture from Java is represented by a singularly beautiful standing bronze Buddha image from South Djember of

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1. Groslier, op. cit. Pl. on p. 114.
2. Groslier, *Ibid*, Pl. on p. 145.
3. Ghosh, D. P., Early Art of Srivijaya, and sources of the Art of Srivijaya, *Journ. Greater Indian Society*, Vol. No. 1, Pl. I and Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 50-55.

c. third century A.D., typically Amaravati in character, and close to similar early finds from Ceylon, Thailand, Indo-China, specially to the Dong-Doung Buddha [1]. Long taken to represent Kalki Avatara, according to Krom, a small low relief in blackstone, lying in a neglected condition in the backyard of the Djakarta Museum has been identified by myself as the scene of *Mahaviniskramana* or the great departure of the Buddha. Riding on his horse, the bent figure of the contemplative Siddharta, lotus stalk in hand, is closely followed behind by the faithful Chhandaka holding on the tail. This damaged but profoundly significant piece, so reminiscent of the linearism of the Ajanta paintings, appeared to me to be of early Gupta origin and as such the oldest relief sculpture from the entire south-east Asia region.

Although the gold and diamond rich country of Sambas in Borneo has yielded several gold and silver Buddha figures, some of Gupta lineage, the large walking Kota Bangun bronze Buddha from south east Borneo is obviously one of the finest sculptures in Asia.

Remote and far way, Celebes has yielded another outstanding specimen of the cultural contribution of India to Indonesia, now on view in the Djakarta Museum.[2] Clearly related to the art style of Amaravati, but closer to the Gupta idiom, is a large fragment of a bronze Buddha statue (80 cm. high), found in the little village of Sikending, western Celebes, which can be assigned to the period between the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The Visnu from Caiya, referred to above, is closely parallel or by another stone Visnu from Tjibuaja, W. Java, heavy and squat, reminiscent of Pallava workmanship, perhaps the earliest image from Java.[3]

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1. Seckel, D., *The Art of Buddhism*, London, 1964, Pl. 13 and Rowland, Op. Cit. Pl. 137 B.

2. Bernet Kempers, A.J. - *Ancient Indonesian Art*, 2959; Pl. 24.

3. Bernet Kempers, A.J. - Ibid. Pl. 41-42.

Presumably in the later part of the eighth century South Indian Saiva influence was overshadowed by northern Mahayana Buddhism in Indonesia through the agency of the Sailendras. The massive monumental Dhyani Buddhas of Borobudur, although expressive of the Gupta spiritual idiom of Sarnath[1] show superiority in the idealised abstraction of the flesh combined with perfect equilibrium.

Not far from Borobudur, Chandi Mondur, built in the second half of the eighth century, one of the most famous Buddhist shrines of Indonesia, is notable for its magnificent sculptures[2]. I was told by Indonesian archaeologists that the temple faces north-west i.e. towards the sacred country of India while other similar structures face east. Within the bare walls of the interior, the Buddhist Trinity with Buddha seated in *Pralambapadasana* with *Dharmachakra Mudra*, flanked by the Bodhisattva Padmapani and Vajrapani are characterised by unsurpassed charm. The colossal central Buddha, carved out of a single block of stone 18 feet high has got a strange solid structural feeling. Of the Trinity, Padmapani, largely imbued with Indian form and feeling, serene and elegent, compels attention because of its structural solidity. There are few, if any, groups of statues anywhere else in Buddhist countries, which can compete with them.

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1. Ghosh, D.P. iRelation between the Buddha images of Orissa and Java, *Modern Review*, Col. Vol. LIV, 500.

2. Bernet Kempers, A.J. op. cit., Pls. 58.61.

SACHCHIDANAND SAHAI

Indian Diplomatic Theories in Ancient Cambodia (600-1300 A.D.)

The foundation of an indianised kingdom by Kauṇḍinya in ancient Cambodia in *cir.* first century A.D. is an event of importance which determined the course of history in the Indochinese peninsula till the end of the thirteenth century. This event marks the beginning of the early period of the Khmer history (first century A.D. to the middle of the sixth century) when Cambodia was the centre of a hinduized kingdom which controlled a large part of the peninsula, and which the Chinese called Funan. In the middle of the sixth century, the vassal kingdom of Tchen-la, situated in the northern part of Funan, declared itself independent of the parent state. The rulers of this kingdom (Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman, Īśānavarman etc.) brought under their control the territories of the empire of Funan. The eighth century which witnessed the disintegration of the kingdom of Tchen-la marks also the end of the pre-Angkorian period of the history of Cambodia. In the beginning of the ninth century Jayavarman II founded the dynasty of Angkor which ruled up to the middle of the fifteenth century and laid the foundations of the greatness of the Khmer civilization.[1]

During the fourteen centuries of cultural contacts with India, the ancient Khmers enriched and developed the manifold aspects of their culture. The Khmer rulers studied carefully the principles of Hindu state craft and put into practice the theories of ancient Hindu political thinkers.

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1. Coedès, G. *Angkor*, London 1960, pp. 1-4.

The concept of the world ruler (*cakravartin*) appears to be the keystone of the Khmer monarchy. Jayavarman II instituted the cult of Devarāja in order that Cambodia might no longer be dependent on Java, and that the kingdom might be ruled by a *cakravartin.*[1] The Khmer rulers were consecrated to attain the status of a *cakravartin*[2].

The *cakravartin* is credited in Indian literature with a conventional list of 'seven jewels' (or treasures) constituting his imperial regalia: the list consists of the wheel treasure, the elephant treasure, the horse treasure, the treasure of a woman, the treasurer and the adviser.[3] The Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia allude to some of the jewels. A text of the reign period of Yaśovarman (889-900 A.D.) refers to the jewels "such as elephant, horse, woman and man."[4] Several texts underline the importance of the white elephant. Owner of a white elephant, the Khmer king, says a text, protects the earth like Indra who protects the heaven.[5]

Following the theory of *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa,* they describe the physical signs of *cakravartin rulers.*[6] One of the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII (1181-1219 A.D.) says that the king was created by the Brahman with all the good signs (*sulakṣaṇa*)[7]. We learn from another inscription that same king had the marks of the parasol and the banner on his feet[8]. Jayavarman V (968-1000 A.D.)

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1. *BEFEO*, XLIII, p. 87 1/72-73 (Inscription or Sdok Kok Thom) one of the text says that Bhavavarman I was the grandson of Sri Cakravartin. *IC* VII, p. 157 (K 978).

2. *ISOC*, XVII, B (Lovek) p. 131, st. XXII. *Mantribhis Cakravarttitve yo' bhyasicyata sattarāh.*

3. *Dīgha Nikāya* II, p. 176, III, p. 57.

4. *ISCC*, LIX, p. 485, st. XIV (D), *dvīpāśva lalanā puruṣādi ratnam.*

5. *BEFEO*, IV, p. 73, st. XXI.

6. *Matsya purāṇa*, 142. 71-72.

7. *BEFEO*, XLI, p. 287, st. XIX (Praḥ Khan).

8. *IC*, IV, p. 210 (prasat Cruṅ of Aṅgkor) *dhvajātapattrāṅkita pādayugma.*

had his feet marked with lotus (*kamalāṅkita*) and his hands with wheel (*cakracitacārukarah*)[1].

The Cambodian inscriptions are also familiar with the concept of the *sārvabhauma* ruler. An epigraphical record mentions the consecration of Rājendravarman (944-967 A. D.) as a ruler of this category.[2] Yet another text speaks of the attribute of the universal monarch (*sārvabhaumāṅka*).[3] The Khmer kings bear equally the epithets of *samrat* and *adhiraja*.[4]

In order to attain the status of *cakravartin* or *sārvabhauma*, the king in ancient India used to undertake the expeditions for the conquest of the quarters. The Cambodian panegyrists also describe the *digvijaya* of their patrons.[5]

The Hindu authors prescribe the policy of the righteous conquest (*dharmavijaya*). A righteous conqueror (*dharmavijayin*), they say, wages war not with a view to annexing the neighbouring kingdoms for territorial gains but in order to force the vanquished kings to accept his suzerainty.

The Cambodian texts say the expedition of the Khmer rulers against neighbouring kingdoms were not motivated by territorial desires. Like a just conqueror, they were satisfied with obeisance on the part of the vanquished kings. Thus, Īśānavarman I (611–635 A.D.) by his political wisdom based upon the three powers of a king, "rendered the foreign kings satisfied of their fall

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1. *IC*. I. p. 165, st. XXII, cf. *IC*, IV, p. 132, st. III.

2. *IC*, I, p. 124 st. CXXXVI (pre Rup). *abhisekāmbhasā yasya siktā katipayāpi bhūḥ sārvabhaumasya santāpaṃ sarvabhumer apāharat.*

3. *ISCC*, No. LVII, p. 449, st. XXV (c).

4. *BEFEO*, XLI, p. 286, st. XIX, (Prah Khan), *ISCC*, p. 88, st. XXIX, ibid, p. 137, st. IX.

5. *ICI*, p. 110. st., XXX, (Pre Rup) *Jity aikavīro diśam indraguptām yo dakṣiṇān dehabhṛtān didīpe prāccatasīñ cctasi sottarāñca na rājasūyāya tu jiṣṇur ekām*.cf. *Mahābhārata*.II. 24 (*Digvijayaparvan*).

though they were firmly implanted on the earth."[1] Similarly "when he (Yaśovarman) has forcibly dethroned a king for the sake of glory, he used to reinstal him on the throne, as Ananta, who put the mount Mandara to its original place after rooting it out in order to obtain nectar."[2]

According to an Indian diplomatic theory, instead of exterminating the dynasty of the enemy killed in the battlefield, the conqueror should instal on the throne one of the sions of that dynasty. This theory appears to have been followed by the Khmer kings. The fortune (śrī) of the enemies of the Khmer rulers, says an inscription, remained in possession of those members of the vanquished king's family who were loyal to the conqueror.[3]

To some extent, the policy of the righteous conquest seems to be put into practice by the Khmer rulers. In fact, the expeditions of the pre-Angkorian rulers did not always lead to the annexation of new territories. In several cases, the independent petty kingdoms were reduced to the condition of the vassal principality. This is how we can explain the existence of the feudatories during the period.[4]

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1. *IC*, IV, p. 7. st. XIV. *yasya śaktitrayavatā nayena parabhūbhṛtaḥ kṛtā rasajñā pātasya rūddhamūlāḥ kṣitav api.* The passage means that Iśānavarman forced the neighbouring kings to accept his suzerainty but he allowed them to rule their kingdoms. Thus they were rendered satisfied even after their defeat.

2. *ISCC*, No LVIII, p. 466, st. V, cf. Majumdar, No. 64, p. 108, st. 59. *balad Uddhṛtya yaśase bhūpaṃ punar atiṣṭhipat svasthāne amṛtalābhāya yo ananta iva mandaram.*

3. *ISCC*, No. LVII, st. 4(c), p. 436. cf, Majumdar, No. 62, p. 101, st. 58. *yenari śrīr api hṛtā bhaktair bhuktaiva tat kulaiḥ.*

4. The pre-Angkorian kingdom of Tchen-la had a number of vassal states under its control. A text of 627 A.D. mentions the lord of Tāmrapura who was vassal of Iśānavarman I. *ISCC*, No. VI, p. 38-44. cf. Majumdar No. 25, p. 29-30. Another inscription of the same epoch refers to this king as "suzerain of three kings and lord of three towns." Majumdar No. 19, p. 25, Yet another inscription mentions Narasiṃhagupta, vassal chief *(samanta nṛpati)* under the first three kings of the pre-Angkorian period (Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman and Iśānavarman I, who was the lord of Indrapura *BEFEO*, XLII, p. 5.

The sovereigns of Angkor made successful efforts to establish a strong administrative set-up, capable to control directly almost entire territory under the suzerainty of the empire. Keeping this in view, they transformed the former vassal kingdoms into providing or districts under the charge of the royal officers.[1]

The policy of the righteous conquest was not, however, entirely abandoned. Vassal states continued to exist on the peripheries of the Angkorian empire.[2] Capable of distinguishing between good and bad diplomacy (*sunayānayajñaḥ*),[3] the rulers of ancient Cambodia utilised the six types of foreign policy (*guṇa*) described by the Indian texts: peace (*sandhī*), war (*vigraha*), attacking the enemy (*yāna*), neutrality (*āsana*), seeking protection from a powerful king (*saṃśraya*), and the "dual policy" (*dvaidhibhāya*).[4] "In the milieu of the kings humbly inclined in all the continents, says an inscription, he carried the sceptre (*daṇḍa*), having the experience of the six types of foreign policy (*guṇa*)..."[5]

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1. Śreṣṭhapura, Śambhūpura, Vyādhapura, Vrāi Vyak, Indrapura, Malyāṅ, Ugrapura; Amoghapura, Bhimapura, Purandarapura etc. appear to be ruled by the vassal chiefs during the pre-Angkorian period. These territories were transformed into administrative units of *viṣaya* in the later period. Cf. Sachchidanand Sahai, *Les Institutions Politiques et l' Organisation Administrative du Cambodge Ancien*, chap. IV, Paris, 1370.

2. Before obtaining the independant status, the Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya was a vassal state under the Khmer empire. G. Coedes. *Les Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d' Indonésie*, pp. 356-57.

3. *ISCC*. No. XXXVIII, p. 315, st. VIII (D).
ṣāḍguṇyavit trividhaśaktiyu to jitātmā yo gān jugopa manuvat sunayanayajñaḥ, cf. Majumdar, No 57. p. 69. st. 8. A pre-Angkorian text praises the political wisdom of Īśānavarman I: (*BEFEO* XXVIII p. 45 st. III. cf. Majumdar. No. 16. p. 21 st. 3). *Prayukta nayamātreṇa kadācid avanibhujām pakṣa cchidāpa kartṛṇaṃ vajriyenaviseṣitaḥ*. Several other texts underline the importance of the political wisdom, which is considered to be one of the four pillars of the world, the three others being *utsāha, bala, pratāpa*. *ISCC*. No. LIX, p. 490. st. VII (B). cf. *BEFEO*, XLV (Prahkhan), p. 286. st. XX.

4. As. VII. 1. 2., Manu. VII. 160-168; Kāmandaka. XV. 32.

5. *ISCC*. No. LXV. p. 575. st. 70. cf. Majumdar, No. 191, p. 554. st. 70. *sarvadvīpeṣa adhiseṣu vinayenānateṣu yaḥ daṇḍandadhāra ṣaḍaguṇya vṛddhas sadguṇināṃ varaḥ*

The rulers of ancient Cambodia applied the four political expedients in order to conquer their enemies: conciliation, bribery, dissension, and force.[1] The three factors of power, the strength of prowess, the strength of materials resources and the strength of counsel mentioned in the works of Hindu statecraft[2] were well known to the Khmer kings since the pre-Angkorian times.[3] In several texts, the rulers of ancient Cambodia boast of their deep knowledge and right application of the theory of three powers. Thus we read in a text : "Only with one spear Skanda killed his maternal uncle who spoke the truth, but he (the king) had three powers which he employed not only to destroy his enemies but also to protect his race."[4]

(Contd.)-cf, Inscription of Tep Pranam (Yaśovarman), *J.A.* 1908 (2), 216. st. XXVII. cf. Majumdar No. 67. p. 128· st. XXVII, Inscription of Bat Cum (Rājendravarman). *JA.* 1908 (2), p. 230· st. VII (B). The texts however do not mention the six *guṇas* by name. The Javanese work *Nagarakertāgama* also mentions six types of foreign policy. (*purṇṇen ṣaḍaguṇa*), vol. III ch. V canto 45. st. 4. We learn from an inscription of Champa (1088 A D.) that Jaya Indravarman had a deep knowledge of the six types of foreign policy (*ṣaḍaguṇya bhiṗraya*). Louis Finot's rendering of this expression by the systems of philosophy is incorrect. *BEFEO.* IV. p. 947·950. n. 2.

1. *ICI.*p. 175. st. IX (Prasat Komphus Inscription of Jayavarman V): cf. Majumdar No. 112, p. 294.

   sāmādiyoga parivardhita diṅmukha s'riḥ.

   Suryavarma II (1113-1150 A.D.) is said to be an expert of four political expedients. *IC.* V. p. 261. st. XXXVI (K. 834). cf. Mebon Inscription of Rājendravarman, Majumdar, No. 93, p. 206, st. 81:

   sanmantra mūlaiś caturaś caturbhis
   samādibhiryo vividha prayogaiḥ
   apāya saṃrodhibhir abhupāyair
   vedaiś ca saṃsādhayatisma siddhim

   cf. L. Finot, The Inscriptions of Mison, *BEFEO.* IV. p. 935-971/A/3.
   cf. Manu VII. 107-109, 198-200. Yājñavalkya I. 346.

2. In the *Arthaśāstra* (VI. 2. 23), the three powers are explained respectively to mean the strength of knowledge, that of revenue and the army and that of prowess.

3. *IC.* IV. p. 7. st. XIV. (Is'anavarman I).

4. *ISOC.* LX. p. 520. st. XII (C). cf. Majumdar No. 65. p. 116. st. 66.

   śaktyaikayāvadhīt skando matulaṃ satyavādinam
   śaktitrayeṇa yo jñātin pālayitvādahad dviṣam

It is generally held by Hindu political thinkers that the strength of counsel (*mantra-śakti*) is superior to two other powers. The Cambodian inscriptions also attach great importance to *mantra-śakti*: "The maidens of each quarter conquered by the strength of his *mantra*...paid the tribute to him by their own accord."[1] The fundamental condition for the success of the foreign policy is the secrecy of deliberations. The king whose deliberations, says Manu are not known to the mortals shall enjoy the whole earth, even if he is deprived of treasure.[2] A Cambodian inscription alludes to the principle of the secrecy of counsel.

The success of foreign policy, observe the political thinkers of ancient India, depends upon a careful and systematic study of the weak points of the enemy[3]. To render the enemies helpless in their manoeuvres the Khmer kings struck at their weak points[4]. The fact that the Cambodian inscriptions reveal a thorough knowledge of the six types of foreign policy leads us to believe that the theory of inter-state relations was also well known to the Khmer rulers. In fact, the Hindu political thinkers hold that sixfold policy constitutes the main source of inter-state relations.

(*Contd.*)— cf. *ISCC.* LVIII. p. 464. st XIX (B), *BEFEO.* XXV. p. 354. st 45, cf. Majumdar No. 129 A.p. 330.
An inscription of Arkan (BSOAS. XI. p. 377 st. 42) and another of Champa (652 A.D., *BEFEO.* IV. p. 923. st. XX) mention equally the three powers (*śaktitraya*).

1. *IC.* I.p. 21. st. XXIV.
   yasovataṅsena sadā rañjitā yena digvadhūḥ
   vaśikṛtā mantravalais svayaṅdatta karābhavat.
   cf. Kamandaka. XVII. 58.

2. Manu. VII. 148.

3. "None of his enemies, says Kautilya, shall know his secret. but he shall know the weak points of his enemy, like a tortoise, he shall draw in his limbs that are stretched out." *AŚ.* 1.15.60.

4. *BEFEO.* XXV. p. 338. st. LXV (Mebon).

In the inscription of Mebon, the king is considered the *mūla prakṛti* : " always recognised as the fundamental element (or primordial matter), showing a great and admirable activity (or the varied action of *mahat*), only by the exercise of the sixfold *guṇa*, without having need of the parole, he proclaimed incomparable the triple *guṇa*."[1] This passage does not mention any of the twelve elements of the *maṇḍala*. It appears, however, that the king is considered here as a *vijigiṣu* and therefore, he receives the epithet of *mūla prakṛti*. In fact, the aggressor, after a careful study of the political situations, adopts one of the sixfold policy.

The epigraphical records mention the enemy and the ally of the king. His friends, says an inscription, prospered like the the liberalities made in view of either *dharma* or *artha*, while his enemies declined like the liberalities made for the attainment of pleasure.[2]

The mention of the friends and foes of the king does not, however, prove definitely that the theory of the *maṇḍala* was known in Cambodia. Nevertheless, an inscription of Champa (1088 A.D.) seems to refer to some of the elements of the *maṇḍala* system. Taking into account the parallel development of Sanskrit literature in Cambodia and Champa, this reference is of great importance. The text say that king Jaya Indravarman applied the four political expedients (*sama, daṇḍa, bheda, upapradana*) to deal with the enemies the allies and the powerful neighbouring kings.[3] The above passage of the inscription of Champa is in tune with what we learn from Hindu authors.

Keeping in view the fact that the status of the king should be supreme, observes an inscription of Yaśovarman, he made his spies his eyes, though he was capable of knowing by his intelligence[4] everything which might be known. Another inscription of Yaśovarman compares the spies of the king with the rays

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1. *BEFEO*. XXV. p. 320. st. LXXXII.
2. *ISCC*: No. LVII. p. 437. st. XXII (C). cf. Majumdar No. 62, p. 103, st. 76.
3. L. Finot, Inscription of Mi-son, *BEFEO* IV, p. 947, B/8-9.
4. *ISCC*, No. LVI, p. 421, st. X, cf. Majumdar No. 68, p. 135, st. 37.

of the sun. Like the Sun who extracts water from the earth through his rays, the king gathers public opinion through his spies[1]. Kāmandaka describes the role of the spies with the same simile and in strikingly similar words.[2]

Thus it is clear that Indian diplomatic theories were well known to the ancient Khmers. We have noted a pre-Angkorian inscription which refers to the three powers of the king. The Angkorian records mention the complete series of the diplomatic theories of ancient India : three powers of the king (*śakti-traya*), four political expedients (*upāya*), six types of foreign policy (*ṣāḍguṇya*), the system of *maṇḍala*. However, the panegyrists who mention these theories are more anxious to praise their patrons than to record the truth. Thus it is permissible to think that the Khmer Kings never put into practice most of these theories of which they are claimed to be experts. Even if their application is doubtful, the Cambodian texts which we have analysed indicate that the ancient Khmers had a fair understanding of the diplomatic theories of India. Most of these theories are scholastic in nature and thus there is every reason to be sceptic regarding their application even in ancient India.

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1. *ISCC* LVII, p. 438, st. XII, cf. Majumdar, No· 63, p. 103, st. 93.
2. Kāmandaka, XIII, 50, cf. R. K. Dikshit, *System of espionage in the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka*, Journal of Indian History, XXXVIII (III), pp. 627-634.

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

S. THIRUVENKATACHARI

The City of Madurai in Classical Times

1. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CITY

There is no doubt that this city is at least two thousand five hundred years old. If the *Mahavamsa* account is to be believed, Madurai was known from the day of the Buddha's passing away, that is, the middle of the first millenium B.C. One Vijaya, son of Silabahu, landed in Ceylon from Eastern Bengal from where he had been driven out by an irate father because of the son's misconduct. He became the king of that country; and desiring to marry, and find wives for his companions also, he sent his messengers to Madurai for finding Tamil brides, including the daughter of the Pandya king whom he wanted to take for his wife. The marriage of Vijaya with the Pandyan princess took place, according to the Chronicle (*Mahavamsa* VII, 72.)

The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya speaks of a variety of cotton in the Tamil country known as *Madhuram.*

The inscriptions of Kharavela of Kalinga tell us about the trade between Kalinga and Madurai (Hathigumpha inscription, J.B.O.R.S. IV, page, 401). Madurai had attained international fame even before the days of Pliny who is usually given a first century date. Says Pliny in his Natural History: "There, the Pandyan used to reign, dwelling at a great distance from the mart, in a town in the interior of the country, called Madoura" (pages 111 and 112 of Pliny). Pliny seems to make some other city the capital of Pandyas; and Madurai, its commercial centre had got itself elevated to the status of capital just when Pliny came to know about it. Korkai is sometimes believed to have been an earlier capital of the Pandyas, and even identified with the Kavatam of

Nakkirar's commentary and the Ramayana of Valmiki; but we shall not concern ourselves with this unsettled controversy just now. However, there is absolutely no doubt that Korkai enjoyed as much reputation as a port as Kaverippumpattinam. It is likely that Korkai continued to enjoy the status of the port-capital of the Pandyas who might have shifted to Madurai for reasons which cannot be defined correctly from the stories in classical literature, including that of a *kadalkol*. The fish-emblem of the Pandyas, and their alternate name Meenavan might suggest their long association with the coastal area in the south, and possibly, their remote ancestral occupation of fishing. Madurai is at least sixty miles from the nearest coast; and by the concept of distance in those days of slow travel, must have constituted the deep interior of the Pandyan country. The city of Madurai might have existed from the days when the Pandyan kingdom had its beginnings, or perhaps even earlier, as a centre of great commercial activity. Megasthenes had not heard of Madurai; and the city of Nysa which he mentions as located in the Pandyan kingdom cannot be identified, on any ground, with Madurai. That does not indicate, however, that Madurai did not exist when the *Indika* was written. The point whether Madurai was the first capital of Pandya, or some like korkai sea-port cannot affect our conclusion about the antiquity of the city.

2. *THE NAME MADURAI*

Apparently it is a Sanskrit name derived from *Maduram* meaning "sweet". It must have been the name of the city right from the beginning because, Sanskrit had started making dents into the isolation of the South many centuries before the Christian era; and even the earliest Tamil works extant are not free of Sanskritic influence. How this city got the name, especially by way of a duplication of the name of a North Indian city, cannot be answered satisfactorily. To me, it appears that the Krishna cult must have spread into the distant south with a duplication of some of the locations or the legendary Krishna's childhood actions. This Southern Madurai became the centre of the Southern Krishna cult; and the name of the city was thus the result of a well-

developed cult of the Black God. I see a little corrobarative evidence in the statement of Megasthenes in which Heracles is made the father of the woman who founded the Pandyan kingdom. The identification of Heracles with Krishna may be fantastic; but the interesting point, in the words of Megasthenes, is: "This Heracles was especially worshipped by the Surasenas, an Indian people, and there are two great cities, Madura and Krishnapura; and a navigable river Jumna flows through that country." (*Megasthenes Fragment* No. 23. Also *Arrian, Indika,* 7f). If Heracles daughter came over to the Pandyan country, and established a kingdom, it may connote the spread of the Krishna cult, dear to the Surasenas of Northern Madura. We do not, for a while, want to invest the story of Megasthenes with any degree of veracity, but have only permitted ourselves to try to understand the association of the Surasenas, Heracles and the Pandyan founder. We have, no doubt, to explain many things as to how the Krishna cult traversed the entire territory up to the Pandyan country, and became its most notable cult, without leaving the same degree of influence in the Cola country and the northern part of the Cola country of the same period. Was there a Yadava migration to the southernmost territory? Or was the Krishna cult in the Tamil country developed independently, no doubt, with ideas taken from the North Indian Krishna cult? The name Krishna hardly occurs in the Sangam works, but, instead, Mal or Kariamal. Was it a Tamilized version of the Krishna cult embodied in the Tamil works? These are questions for which no answer is ever possible, beyond shrewed guesses. Even today, there is fairly a high percentage of Yadavas in the Pandyan country, suggesting a continuity with a dim distant past.

Whatever might be the origin of the Black God cult in the Tamil country —whether it was a mere merger of the North-Indian Krishna cult with a Black God cult that had already existed in the Tamil country, or whether it was a plantation of the Surasenas in the Pandyan territory, if Megasthenes could be taken seriously at least in this account, it seems to be correct to maintain that the city got its name by its association with the cult.

Some scholars, however, would consider Madurai a corruption of Marudai by the interposition of the letters r and d in the name. Such interpositions are

allowed in Sanskrit, as is exemplified by *Marakatanagara* being written as *Maratakanagara*. It is not allowed in Tamil. The derivation of the name is from the Maruda tree supposed to fringe the Vaigai river. The derivation is interesting and shrewd, so far as it goes; but neither the ancient, nor the later-day Tamil works mention these names as synonymous with Madurai. Moreover, the tempatation to consider Madurai, the Marudhanilam *par excellence*, should be resisted, because, apart from the question of Madurai partaking of the characteristics of Marudam and Kurunji, literature does not provide even the smallest measure of support for yielding to such temptation. Any work that has to mention the capital of the Pandya, be it the most ancient Tamil classic, or a foreign travalogue, mentions only the name Madurai and not Marudai. For these reasons, we have to reject the suggestion that Madurai is a corruption of Marudai. Moreover, the author of the *Manimekalai* distinguishes this as *Takkana Madurai* or the Madurai of the South (from the Madurai of Northern India.)

3. *THE OTHER NAMES OF MADURAI*

The best known alternate name for Madurai was Kudal. The Pandyan king is referred to as *Kudalan* in ancient works. There is, no doubt, that this purely Tamil name Madurai which has a Sanskritic flavour about it, if we go by references in the earliest Tamil literature extant; but in none of the foreign accounts do we get the name Kudal, though Madurai has been explicitly mentioned. Kudal is sometimes expanded into Nanmadakudal. Naccinarkiniyar explains this extended name as the meeting place of four madams, Tirualavai, Tirunallaru, Tirumudangai and Tirunaduvur. One is unable to understand this explanation not only because it is of later day origin but also that these places cannot be identified easily in the city. The mythological snakes, Kanni, Kariamal, Kali and Alavai also constitute the four guardian deities of the city according to another interpretation; and Nanmadakudal is a reference to the madams for these four deities.

It seems to be justified to assume that Nanmadam may be a reference to four Madams or places dedicated to four gods or goddesses. Who these gods or goddesses might be is not certain. The four snakes in the legend, Kanni, Kariamal, Kali and Alavai might, after all, be gods and goddesses to whom temples might have been dedicated. These four cannot denote snakes especially when Kanni, Kariamal and Kali are distinct deities. But the most ancient Tamil literature speaks of a goddess presiding over the city *certainly not Meenakshī* a cult that should have developed much later. The original goddess of Madurai was perhaps the Kanni from which one of the names of Madurai was derived: Kannipuram. The Kanni cult is still preserved in the name of Kanyakumari the southern extremity of the Pandyan kingdom, and the temple dedicated to the Virgin goddess on the shore. It is perhaps to a goddess of this cult worshipped in Madurai then, Kannaki appealed. It is also perhaps the association of a woman deity with Madurai that led to the fabrication of the legend of a female founder of the kingdom of the Pandyas. Magasthenes must have got the story of the Virgin deity in a mutilated form as it happens with every story passing through a number of mouths and travelling a distance of more than 1500 miles. The association of Heracles with Siva or Krishna is no doubt monstrous; but there is a principle implicit in such association, namely that this Heracles is indigenous, and not imported from outside. Of course, we should not stretch the Megasthenes legend too far, or invoke it too much, to corroborate any fact of history wholly, but its relevance arises out of the mention of a female founder for the Pandyan kingdom, which we may believe to be a legendary fabrication of the truth of a Virgin goddess presiding over the city. With due reference to the scholarly presentation of Mr. Kanakasabai's poineering work, completed with commendable success and a high degree of critical thinking imported into it, we have to *dismiss*, as far fetched his extension of the Megasthenes stories with a view to deriving the later-day Minakshi cult.

Regarding the other two snakes, Kali and Kariamal, there is no difficulty. The Kali cult, in some form or other, had been in vogue from the earliest historical times in Tamil Nadu, and the story of Siva ousting Kali, and making her go to the outskirts of Chidambaram after the latter's defeat in the

Tandava competition in Chidambaram, might suggest the spread of the Kali cult over the whole of Tamil Nadu as an indigenous cult, later substituted or modified by other deity cults, with the process of Aryanization gathering increasing momentum in Tamil Nadu. Regarding Kariamal it was none other than Tirumal or Mayon, the Black God, who, I imagine, later merged into the Mahavishnu cult, as perhaps, in the same way, as the Tamil Murugan cult got merged into the Subrahmanya or Skanda cult. The present Kudal Alagar temple in Madurai, though of a later-day origin in its present form, might have had a nucleus of a Mayon shrine, the memory of which is perpetuated by the association of the old name of Madurai, Kudal with the deity (Kudal Alagar), in contrast to Chokkanathar, definitely a later-day deity, being popularly referred to as Madurai Chokkanathar or Sundareswarar.

Therefore, the four snakes guarding Madurai might have only symbolic meaning; and the Nanmadam might refer to the four shrines, and these shrines might have constituted the shrines of the guardian deities at or near the four entrances to the capital.

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P. Z. Pattabiraman

Portraits of Chola Kings and Queens

Sri P. Z. Pattabiraman, Archaeological officer, French Institute of Indology Pondichery abbreviated in the table as IFI who has done yeomen service to Indian art and culture by his monumental collection of photographs wanted to join with us in felicitating Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri whom he admired very much. We regret to announce his sudden demise before his article could reach us. He has recorded a number of portrait sculptures of Chola kings and queens in the South Indian temple on which he wanted to write to this volume. We publish the chart and a few illustrations he supplied.

Number of Plates	IFI Reg. Number	Locality	Taluk	Temple	Place	Kings and Queens
I	4830-10	Sembanārkovil செம்பொன்னர் கோவில்	Māyūram	Śiva temple:Śrī Svarnapuriś-varar.	On the wall of Gaṇapati shrine, facing South.	Vijayālaya Chōḷa & his consort & son Āditya I.

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Number of Plates	IFI Reg. Number	Locality	Taluk	Temple	Place	Kings and Queens
II	4081-4	Tirukkarukāvūr திருக்கருகாவூர்	Pāpanāsam	Śiva temple:Śrī Mullaivana-nādar.	On the wall of the main shrine, facing West.	Āditya I.
III	4081-5	do	do	do	do	Queen of Āditya I.
IV	4067-12	Tiravāvaḍudurai திருவாவடுதுறை	Māyūram	Śiva temple:Śrī Gōmuktīśvarar.	Northern side of the entrance of the main shrine, facing East.	Parāntaka I.
V	4828-4	Ākkūr ஆக்கூர்	do	Śiva temple:Śrī Tāntonrīśvarar.	On the wall of the main shrine, facing North.	Gaṇḍarāditya
VI	4070-5	Kōnērirāja-puram கோனேரி ராஜபுரம்	do	Śiva temple:Śrī Umāmahēś-varar.	On the wall of the main shrine, facing North.	Gaṇḍarādityā & his consort Sembiyan-mahādēvi.
VII	4076-2	Ānāngūr ஆனாங்கூர்	do	Śiva temple:Śrī Agaśtīśvarar.	In Mahā-maṇḍapa.	Gaṇḍarāditya & his consort Sembiyan-mahādēvi.

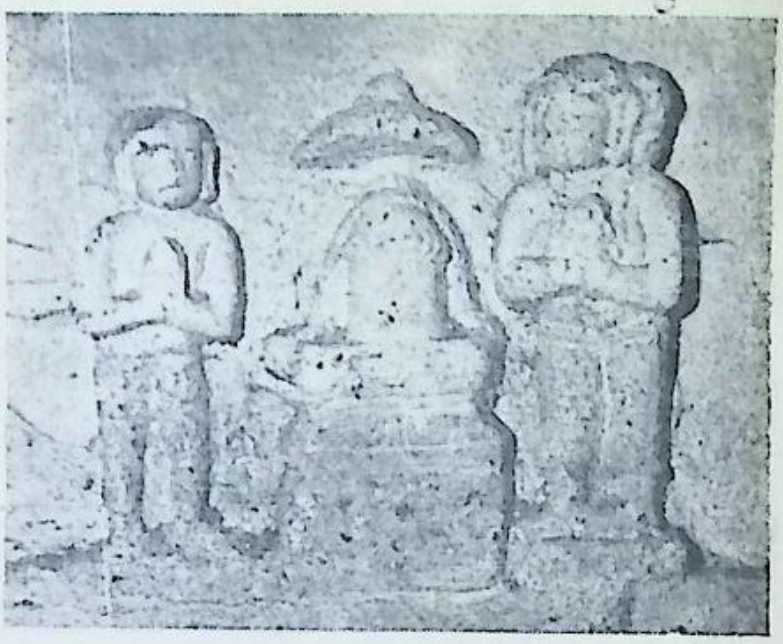
Parāntaka - I
Gomuktiśvara temple, Tiruvāvadudurai

Gaṇḍarāditya - Umāmahēśvarar temple,
Kōnērirājapuram, Māyūram Tk.

Gaṇḍarāditya, Umāmahēśvarar temple,
Kōnērirājapuram, Māyūram Tk.

Gaṇḍarāditya - Tantonīśvarar temple, Ākkūr,
Māyūram Tk.

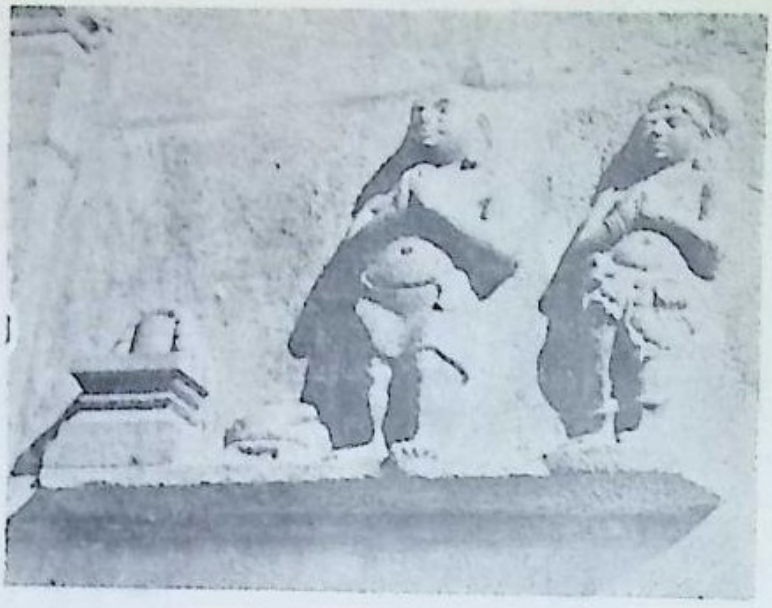
Sembiyan Mahādēvi - Kailāsanādasvāmi temple, Nāgapaṭṭinam Tk.



Sembiyan Mahādēvi. Umāmahēśvarar temple, Kōnerirājapuram, Māyūram Tk.

Sembiyan Mahādēvi - Sakkaravākēśvarar temple, Sakkarāppaḷḷi, Pāpanāsam Tk.

Uttamachōḷa - Tāntōnīśvarar temple, Ākkūr, Māyūram Tk.



Rājarāja I - S'ivayōgiśvarar temple,
Tiruvisanallūr, Kumbakonam Tk.

Rājarāja I - Gaṅgājaṭēśvarar temple,
Gōvindaputtūr, Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam Tk.

Rājarāja I - Savudarēśvarar temple,
Tirunāraiyūr, Chidambaram Tk.

Kulōttuṅgachōḷa Tyāgarājar temple,
Tiruvārūr, Nāgapaṭṭinam Tk.

Vikramachōḷa, Ādimūleśvarar temple,
Tiruppāṟṟurai, Trichy Tk.

Rājarāja III, Agastīśvarar temple,
Muniyūr, Pāpanāsam Tk.

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VIII	4070-8	Kōnērirāja-puram கோனேரி ராஜபுரம்	do	Śiva temple:Śrī Umāmahēśvarar	South Prākāra.	Gaṇḍarāditya
IX	1362-11	Āduthurai ஆடுதுரை	Kumbakōṇam	Śiva temple:Śrī Ābhatsahayēś-varar.	South Prākāra.	Sembiyan Mahādēvi.
X	884-3	Sembiyan Mahādēvi செம்பியன் மாதேவி	Nāgapaṭṭinam	Śiva temple:Śrī Kailāśanādar.	In Prākāra.	Sembiyan Mahādēvi.
XI	4071-7	Kōnērirāja-puram கோனேரி ராஜபுரம்	Māyūram	Śiva temple:Śrī Umāmahēś-varar.	South Prākāra.	Sembiyan Mahādēvi & her son Uttama Chōḷa
XII	4928 7	Ākkūr ஆக்கூர்	do	Śiva temple:Śrī Tāntōnrīśvarar.	Facing North.	Uttama Chōḷa
XIII	122-4	Tanjore தஞ்சாவூர்	Tanjore	Śiva temple:Śrī Brihadīśvarar.	Northern side of Saraśvatī niche.	Rājarāja I & Karūraittar.
XIV	3428-12	do	do	Śiva temple:Śrī Brihadīśvarar.	Prākāra interior.	Rājarāja I & Karūr Sittar in frescos.

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Number of Plates	IFI Reg. Number	Locality	Taluk	Temple	Place	Kings and Queens
XV	3428-8	do	do	do	do	Rājarāja I & his consorts.
XVI	4076-6	Tiruvisnallūr திருவிசநல்லூர்	Kumbakōṇam	Śiva temple:Śrī Sivayōgīśvarar.	South Prākāra	Rājarāja I & his consort.
XVII	2185-7	Gōvindaputtūr (Gōkaranda-puttūr) கோவிந்த புத்தூர்	Udaiyārpāḷai-yam	Śiva temple:Śrī Gaṇgājaṭēśvarar	Prākāra interior.	Rājarāja I.
XVIII	505-4	Tirunāraiyūr திருநாரையூர்	Chidambaram	Śiva temple:Śrī Savundarēś-varar.	Small room	Rājarāja I.
XIX	505-12	do	do	do	In Mahā-maṇḍapa.	Rājarāja I (in bronze).
XX	(223-9) m.n°38	Kōlār கோலார்	Kōlār	Kōlāramma temple	In Mahā-maṇḍapa.	Rājēndra Chōḷa.

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XXI	2814-11	Perungaḷūr பெருங்களூர்	Ālangudi	Śiva temple:Śrī Vamsodakar (Śrī Kulōttungēśvarar)	In front of the sanctorium of Goddess.	Kulōttunga.
XXII	1834-12	Tiruppāṟṟurai திருப்பாற்றுறை	Trichy	Śiva temple:Śrī Ādimūlēśvarar.	In Mahā-maṇḍapa.	Vikrama Chōḷa.
XXIII	348-3	Tirukkoḷḷambūdūr திருக் கொள்ளம்பூதூர்	Nannilam	Śiva temple:Śrī Vilvavanēśvarar	East Prākāra	Kulōttunga III & his consort.
XXIV	586-9	Muniyūr முனியூர்	Pāpanāsam	Śiva temple:Śrī Agastīśvarar.	Facing South, near one niche.	Rājarājadēva III.

M. CHANDRAMURTI

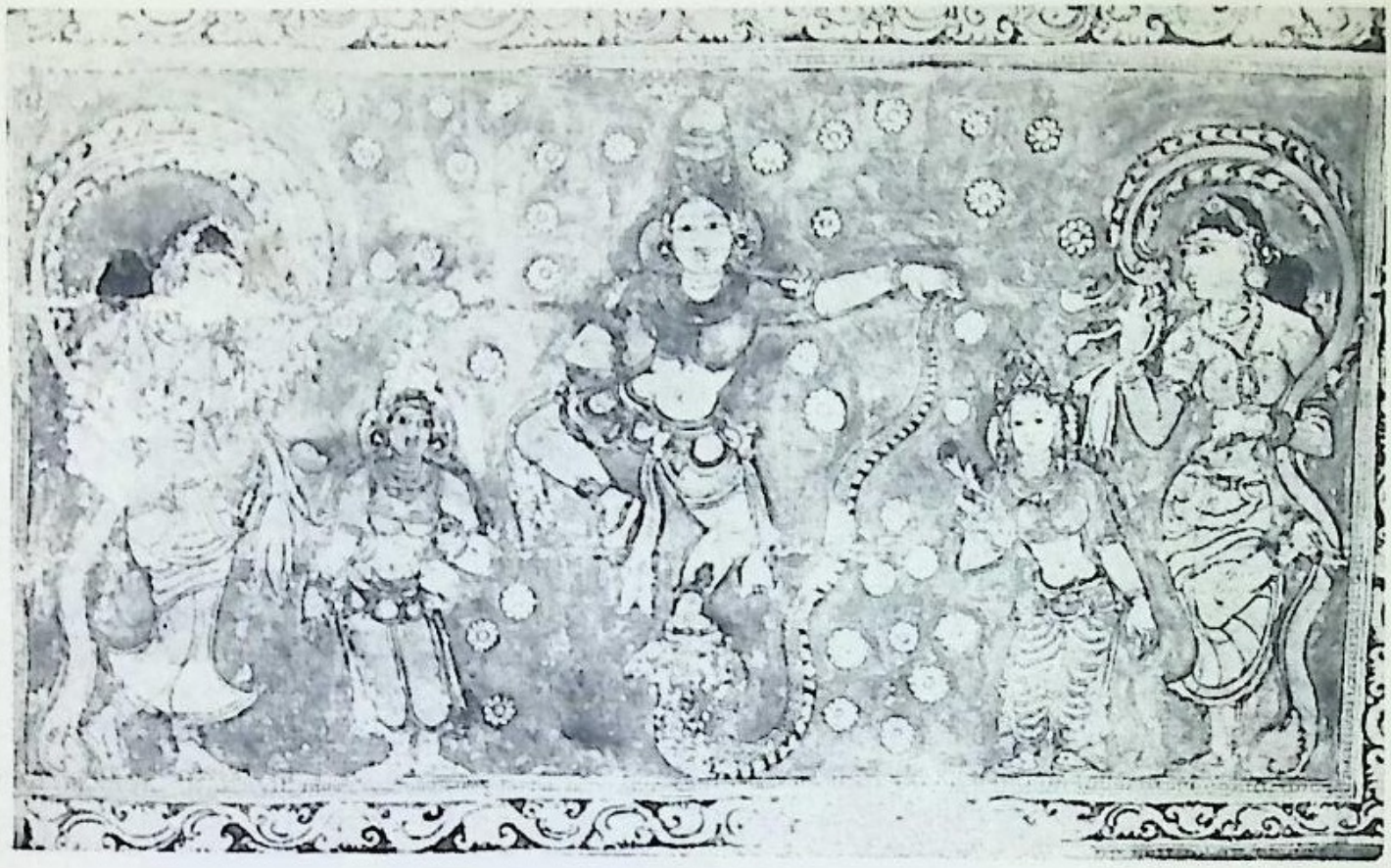
Vijayanagar paintings at Thiruvilimilalai

The Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology recently brought to light the existence of ancient paintings in the Siva temple of Thiruvilimilalai Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District. The paintings are found in the ceiling of a mandapa. The temple itself is celebrated in the hymns of Saivite saints Appar and Sambandar and should have been in existence before 7th Century A. D. The present structure of the main sanctum and a few other parts seem to date back to the Chola period, while other structures were added during later times.

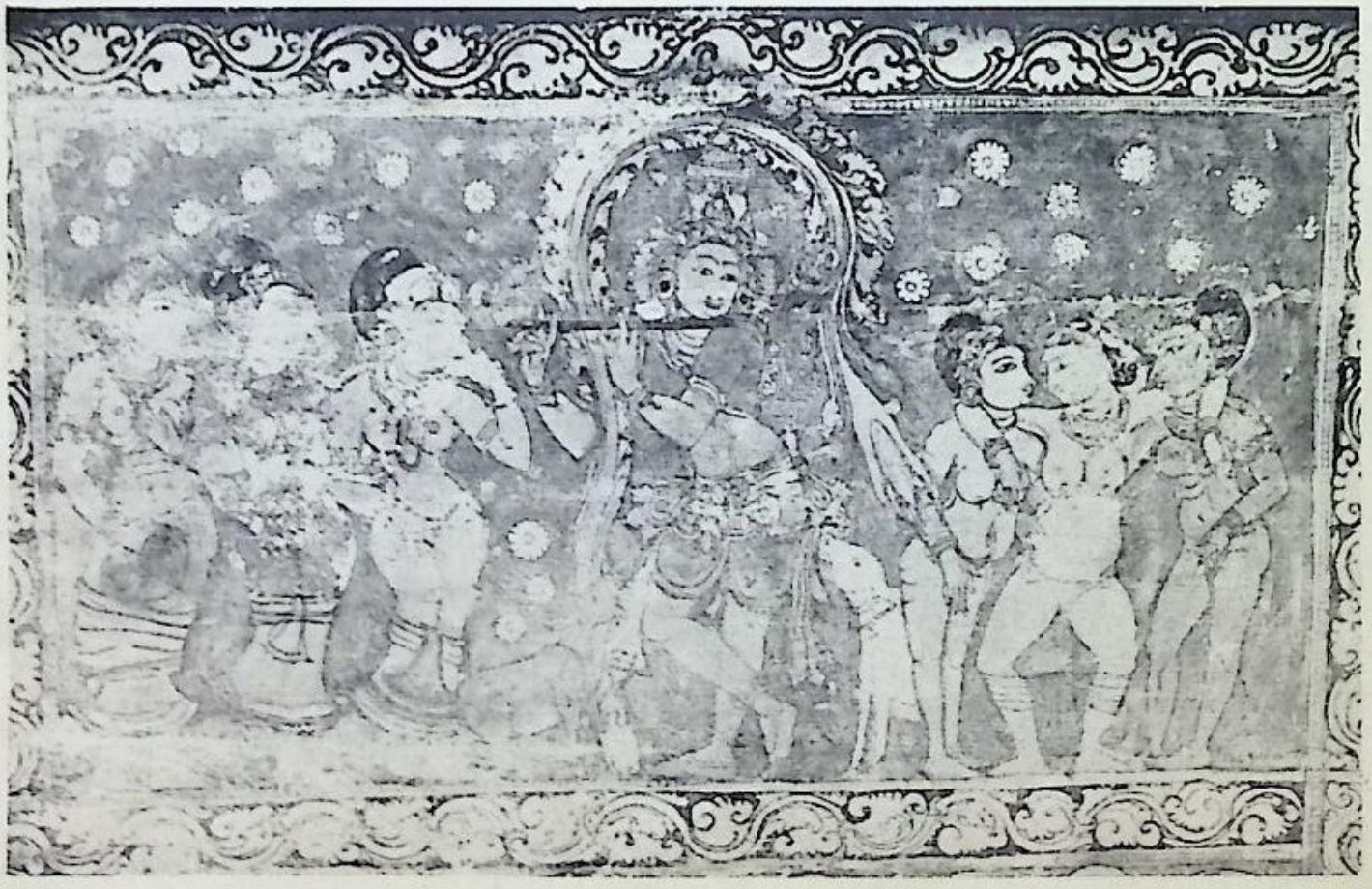
The mandapa, where the paintings are now found is a Chola structure, as a number of pillars in it carry the name of the builder Ukkal Kilan Edirilichola Pallavarayan in 11th Century Chola script.

The paintings in the entire ceiling are preserved but in the central part, they are somewhat weather-worn. Two panels, one on either end of the ceiling are well preserved. In one panel, Krishna with two arms is shown dancing on the head of Kaliya snake, holding its tail with his extended left arm. Flanking him are shown Rukmini and Satyabhama, holding lotus and lily in their respective hands. Further away are shown ladies, one on either side, holding meandering creepers.

The other panel shows Krishna as Venugopala, two armed, playing a flute. A meandering creeper is shown around him, forming an aureole. On either side are shown cows listening to his music. To the left of him are shown three ladies, probably gopikas, standing nude. The central figure has his arm around the neck of the other two; her sari is shown slipping down. To the right of him are



Kāliya Krishna - Siva temple, Tiruviḷimiḷalai, Tanjore Dt.

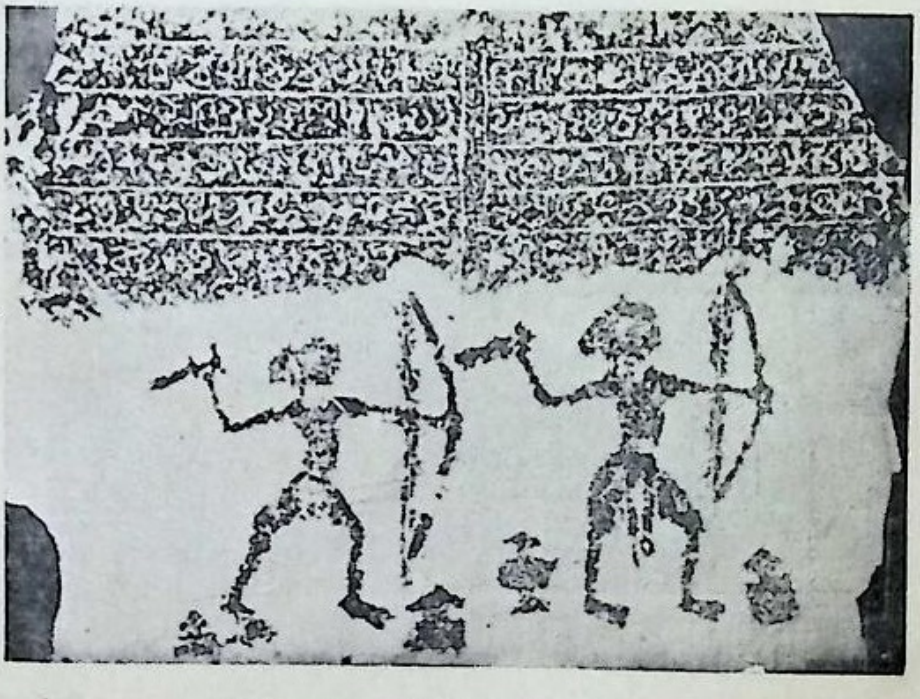


Veṇugōpala . S'iva temple - Tiruviḷimiḷalai, Tanjore Dt.

Hero-stone of Mahendra
Eduttanur, Chengam Taluk, N. A. Dt

Hero-stone of Mahendra,
Kottaiyur, N.A. Dt.

Hero-stone of
Narasimha Vikramavarman
Sattanur, Chengam Tk., N. A. Dt.



Hero-stone of Isvaravarman
Hanumantapuram,
Salem Dt.

(See page 476)

also shown three ladies, in delightful poses, engrossed in the divinely music of Krishna.

In the centre of the ceiling are shown dancing figures, some of which are portrayed in animated movements.

The anatomy of the figures, the details, ornamentation and limitation of decoration closely follow the sculptures of Pre-Vijayanagar period. And the treatment of the face, shown invariably in three-quarter profile with the fish-shaped eye, angular chins, and fully plastic lips drawn in single contour also follows the same tradition. The line strokes in such examples are relatively mild, the curves are full and steady. The drappery is much pronounced in the end. Generally the figures are charming and natural, reflecting the spirit of calm and peaceful times.

Outline of the figure is invariably in black and the colour pigment extensively used are terre-verte, green, yellow and red of varied tones; high lights in light yellow used on face of the cow is of impressive and reverberating clarity. Stylistically the figure of Lord Krishna is of new tone, but its affinity with the slightly later paintings of Lepakshi is unmistakable. Early Vijayanagar characteristics are also evident in the form and the mode of dress, and drappery.

As mentioned earlier, the mandapa was built by Ukkal Kilan Edirili Chola Pallavaraiyan, in 11th Century A. D. The paintings however are to be assigned to a later period. While the stylistic features of the paintings show close affinity to later Chola sculptures at Tribhuvanam of the reign of Kulottunga Chola III the treatment of garments show traditions of slightly later period. The paintings may be assigned to the early Vijayanagar period of the 15th Century A.D. From the inscriptions in the temple, considerable activity is noticed in the reign of Vijayanagar ruler Virupanna Udaiyar. May be the paintings were executed in his reign.

SAW GANESAN

Fresh Light on Pallava History

The history of the Pallavas has attracted the attention of eminent scholars like Hultzsch, Dubreuil, Gopalan, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, T. N. Subramaniam and others. Recently K. R. Srinivasan, R. Nagaswamy and T. V. Mahalingam have made fresh attempts to rewrite the history of the Pallavas.

No indisputable data has so far been found which would place the chronology of the Early Pallavas on a firm footing. However the sheet-anchor of the chronology of the Imperial Pallavas is the conquest of Vatapi (Badami) by Narasimhavarman I in 642 A.D. which is equivalent to the 13th regnal year of the ruler, as evidenced by the Badami inscription of Narasimha. Narasimhavarman's accession to the throne has been fixed as 630 A.D. The data furnished by Mahavamsa, suggests that his rule extended up to 668 A. D. Thus with reference to the rule of Narasimhavarman there is unanimity among scholars. The chronology of the Pallavas who ruled before Narasimha, are more or less conjectural, though their names and the order of succession from Simhavarman are known. The reign period of each ruler has been fixed purely on conjecture, based on subjective reasons. With the result there is difference of opinion among scholars with reference to even such important rulers like Mahendra I. For example, K. R. Srinivasan has assigned 50 years of rule to Mahendravarman I (580-630) while T. V. Mahalingam, has assigned only 20 years, for the same monarch (610-630). Likewise K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and K. R. Srinivasan have assigned 20 years of rule to Simhavishnu (560 to 580) while T. V. Mahalingam assigns a period of 586 to 610. Scholars also differ with reference to dates and periods of Paramesvara I and Rajasimha I the successors of Narasimhavarman.

The position becomes somewhat clear with the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, for a number of epigraphs of this monarch and his successor Dantivarman, have come to light. Since they give the regnal years, the latest regnal year of each ruler has been taken as his reign period. Some confirmatory evidence is also forthcoming from the Chalukyan records.

The end of the rule of Paramesvara II and the beginning of Nandivarman's reign are settled closely with the help of Chalukyan records from Ulchala and Gadval. Nandi II ruled for 65 years while his son and successor Danti ruled for 59 years as known from their epigraphs. But the reign and order of succession of Tellarerinda Nandi, Nrpatunga, Aparajita and Kambavarman are far from settled. Various theories are suggested with reference to the rule of these kings.

Except for the last three Pallavas, to whom some form of joint rule is accepted, for the rest it has been assumed that a ruler came to the throne only at the end of his predecessor's reign. No joint rule of the king and his suecessor, as known to the history of the Cholas has been accepted for the Pallavas.

It may be mentioned in this connection that a few hero-stone inscriptions from Kilmuttugur in North Arcot District and Hanumanthapuram in Salem District were brought to light nearly eighty years ago. The inscriptions were recorded in the reign of certain Ko-vijaya Narasimhavarman and Ko-vijaya Isvaravarman. One of the inscriptions from Kilmuttugur bears below the epigraph the figures of an elephant and a goose, flanked by lamps. Editing the inscription, in E.I. Vol. IV Hultzsch wrote "The inscription is dated in the 18th regnal year of the king, Victorious Narasimhavarman. The same name occurs among the Pallava kings of Kanchi also. But the two central figures of the bas-relief below the inscriptions make it impossible to attribute this record to the Pallava dynasty whose crest was a bull and whose banner bore a club. The elephant appears at the top of three stone inscriptions of the Western Ganga dynasty which have been published by Mr. Kittel (*Int. Ant.* VI. p. 101). and the goose is said to have been the device on the banner of the mythical Ganga king,

Konkani. As both the elephant and a goose are engraved below the inscriptions it may be assumed with some probability that Narasimhavarman belong to Western Gangas". In the same article Hultzsch suggested that the later Pallavas like, Dantivarman, Nandi, Aparajita, Nrpatunga are Ganga Pallavas. Subsequent discoveries proved indisputably that Danti, Nandi III, Nrpatunga and others belonged to the same Pallava family as Nandi II and the so-called Ganga-Pallava theory no more figured in the history of the Pallavas. Yet the Kilmuttugur inscription of Ko-vijaya Narasimhavarman, and the Hanumanthapuram inscription of Ko-vijaya Isvaravarman are not taken into account for the history of the Pallavas; for example, the latest work on the subject by T. V. Mahalingam makes no mention of these records.

The recent discovery of a number of hero-stones from North Arcot District, by the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology is also a land-mark in South Indian historical studies. The Department is continuing their survey of this area, and more epigraphs are coming in. It would be better to wait till that survey is completed before any attempt is made to rewrite the history. But the general pattern of epigraphs do throw valuable light on the subject.

Most of the epigraphs so far discovered are on hero-stones and are in Vatteluttu script. Most of the inscriptions begin as Ko-Vicaiya. The names of rulers so far found are Singavinnavarman, Mahendravarman, Narasingavarman, Paramesvaravarman, Nandivarman and Kambavarman and a few dated in the reign of the Chola king Parantaka I. Apart from the Chola records, the other epigraphs are assigned to the Pallava dynasty, by the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology.

The following deserve special attention in this regard. In some of the newly discovered epigraphs, Gangas are mentioned specifically as subordinates. Further a number of epigraphs of the Western Gangas have come to light giving the genealogy of the rulers, but the names found in the hero-stones newly discovered are not listed in them. All of them occur in Pallava

charters. A few records of the Western Ganga rulers, like Sripurusha and Sivamara have been found in Tamilnadu inscribed in Vatteluttu script. But none of them begin as Ko-vicaiya while most of the epigraph of the Pallavas begin Ko-vicaiya. Some of the recently discovered epigraphs, add the word Vikkrama after the name of the king, like Kovicaiya Narasinga Vikkrama Varmar, as found in Pallava records. Such a practice is not found in the Western Ganga records. Therefore the hero-stone inscriptions newly discovered cannot be assigned to the Western Gangas. And also they cannot be assigned to the Banas for in all the epigraphs Banas figure as subordinates. No other dynasty bearing the very same names in succession as the Pallavas has been postulated by scholars. Nor the suzerainty of the Pallavas over this region has been questioned. It is evident that the inscriptions are to be assigned to the Pallava dynasty.

From this a few important points emerge in relation to the Pallava history. Singavinnan (Tamil equivalent of Simhavishnu) has ruled for at least 33 years as seen from one of his records now found. Mahendra's records range upto his 39th regnal year. In the Pallava history only Mahendra I, had a long reign and in all probability Mahendra of the hero-stones is identical with the famous Mahendra I.

As mentioned earlier no joint rule is recognized in the history of the Pallavas though we are inclined to believe that such joint rule is not improbable. It has been stated early that the accession of Pallava Narasimha I has been fixed with some certainty as 630 A.D. That would place the accession of Mahendra in 590 A.D. Simhavishnu's epigraph with 33rd regnal year has now been found. That would place the accession of Simhavishnu in 557 A.D.

The *Avantisundari Katha* of Dandin, makes the Pallava Simhavishnu a contemporary of the Western Ganga Durvinita and the Western Ganga genealogy is adjusted accordingiy. Durvinita's rule is placed about in 606 A.D. on the above basis. But the present epigraphs, placing the rule of Simhavishnu somewhat earlier would correspondingly affect the history of the Western Gangas. In the alternative some form of joint rule, as known to the Chola history may have

to be accepted for the early Pallava rulers. The Gadval plates and other Chalukyan records state that Vikramaditya I defeated three Pallava rulers Narasimha, Mahendra and Isvaravarman, who are identified by all scholars with Narasimha I, Mahendra II, and Paramesvara I. The records specifically mention only Isvaravarman. As mentioned earlier the Hanumanthapuram hero-stones mention Isvaravarman. When the Chalukyan records refer to a Pallava Isvaravarman and when there are stone records in Tamil country mentioning Isvaravarman, we are unable to agree with the identification of Isvaravarman with Paramesvaravarman. The Isvaravarman mentioned in Hanumanthapuram record is probably the same ruler mentioned in Chalukyan records.

We are not coming to any conclusion now and would prefer to wait till the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, completes the survey of hero-stones. But we are convinced that fresh material have come to light which call certainly a thorough revision of the Pallava History.

MADELEINE GITEAU

NOTE SUR QUELQUES IMAGES DE BUDDHA LAOTIENS

Très souvent considérée comme une simple école de l'art thaï, la statuaire lao n'a guère retenu l'attention des historiens d'art qui ont, d'ailleurs, classé les statues lao selon les styles artistiques definis en Thäïlande. Certes les arts voisins, khmer et thaï, ont eu une influence certaine sur la sculpture laotienne. Les artistes lao ont accepté ces influences dans le cadre d'un art religieux dont l'iconographie était régie par les mêmes textes que l'iconographie thaïe ou khmère tradive; en effet les trois pays pratiquent le Bouddhisme theravâda. Cependant les artistes lao ont su assimiler ces influences pour créer des images qui, elles, sont bien laotiennes. Nous nous sommes attachés depuis plusieurs années à l'étude de cet art. Nous exposerons ici les quelques grandes lignes que nous avons pu dégager; malheureusement la situation actuelle rendant absolument impossible tout déplacement dans les zônes d'insécurité, nous devons donc pour l'instant nous contenter d'exposer quelques conclusions sur des recherches effectuées dans les régions de Vien tiane et de Luang Prabang.

Il est bien malaisé de dater la plupart des statues lao; toutefois l'existence de statues inscrites nous permet d'espérer que, dans un avenir prochain, il sera possible de dater avec quelque précision un nombre important d'images. Actuellement une étude chronologique doit être très prudente. Il est certain que les caractères du Buddha lao ont subi une évolution dont on peut résumer les grandes lignes. Les plus anciennes images sont apparentées soit à l'art khmer de la fin de l'époque du Bayon, soit à t'école thaïe de Sukhodaya ou à l'école du Lan Na. La tradition veut que le Pra Bang, la statue du Buddha palladium du royaume Lao soit venu du Cambodge au XIVème siècle. Cette tradition paraît solide. Il est certain que le Pra Bang est une image de type tout à fait khmer, dont le visage a une expression empreinte de douceur, et dont les proportions sont de lignes très harmonieuses. Depuis l'époque de son arrivée au Laos jusqu'à nos jours, une statue aussi vénérée fut, évidemment, copiée et recopiée; mais, en général, si les artistes ont respecté l'attitude de l'image, debout, esquissant le geste qui rassure, ils n'ont conservé ni son expression, ni ses proportions. Ils ont donné au Buddha le type de visage caractéristique de leur époque; le corps est généralement de proportions assez lourdes, peut-être pour bien marquer une différence avec les images très minces influencées par l'art thaï.

Les copies du Pra Bang ne sont pas les seules images sculptées dans la tradition khmère. Il existe plusieurs statues du Buddha au visage plein, aux yeux en amandes sous des arcades sourcilières douces, à la bouche souriante, aux oreilles à peine stylisées, au corps assez naturaliste. La statue nº 370 de Musée du Wat Phra Keo, à Vientiane en est un bon example [1]. Les images de ce type pourraient remonter à la fin du XIIIème siècle ou au début du XIVème. Les Buddha sur nâga, vénérés sur l'autel de Wat Vixun à Luang Prabang, bien que plus tardifs, sont sans doute des copies de Buddha khmers assis en méditation sur le nâga.

D'autres statues également fort anciennes dérivent de la tradition de Sukhodaya. On peut considérer que la statue nº 401 du Musée du Wat Phra Kéo appartient à cettte école [2]; malheureusement cette représentation du Buddha, debout, tenant son bol à aumônes, a terriblement souffert. Toutefois on distingue encore le visage ovale au nez légèrement busqué et le corps bien pris aux épaules larges, à la poitrine bombée, aux hanches minces.

Par la suite ces types influencés par les arts étrangers semblent s'estomper et les caractères originaux de l'art lao s'imposent. Le Buddha nº 352 du Musée du Wat Phra Kéo nous semble illustrer cette transition[3]. Cette belle image en bois a, elle aussi, été très abimée; elle garde cependant une grande partie de son enduit, de son décor en laque et de ses incrustations en verroterie. Son visage souriant ainsi que son corps dénotent une tendance à la stylisation qu'on ne décelait pas encore sur les images que nous avons déjà étudiées. C'est ainsi que se dégage peu à peu le type qui prédominera à partie du milieu du XVIIème siècle.

Aux XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles, l'art lao produit un très grand nombre de statues en bois et surtout en bronze. Toutes ces images du Buddha, représenté assis ou debout, ont des caractères communs. Le visage est ovale; le menton rond sur les pièces les plus anciennes, a tendance à s'amincir par la suite. Le arcades sourcilières sont marquées par une courbe d'un dessin sec, en relief sur le front. Le regard est baissé sous une paupière lourde. L'œil était généralement incrusté, du moins sur less grandes pièces; une lame d'argent ou de narce covrait la sclérotique, tandis qu'une pierre sombre marquait la prunelle. Les incrustations ne ncus sont malheureusement parvenues intactes que sur un très

[1] —M. Giteau-l'Laos; étude de collection d'art bouddhique"; rapport de mission à l'UNESCO, Paris, 1969, p. 19. PL.IX.

[2] —id—p. 17, PL. VIII.

[3] —id—p. 18, Pl. IX.

petit nombre d'images. Pourtant ces yeux incrustés, apparaissant dans la fente étirée et légèrement sinueuse des paupières, conférait au regard figé dans le recueillement une extraordinaire présence. La bouche aux commissures relevées est souriante; untrait gravé ourle les lèvres parfois couvertes d'une lame d'argent ; la lèvre supérieure est généralement creusée d'une large gouttière. Le trait du visage le plus typique de l'art lao es: le nez, simplement busqué sur les pièces le plus anciennes, à la fin du XVIIème siècle sa forme devient plus incisive, en bec d'aigle. Le lobe de l'oreille est étiré ;' les bijoux que le Bienheureux portait lorsqu'il menait la vie princière, avaient distendu la fente du lobe ; cette fente est représentée simplement gravée, ne traversant pas le lobe. Le pavillon de l'oreille très stylisé est bordé d'un ourlet qui, ainsi que dans l'art de Sukhodaya, form:: une pointe dans sa partie supérieure; il entoure entièrement le pavillon et passe sur le lobe; sur les pièces plus tardives cet ourlet peut être double, triple ou même quadruple sur le lobe, comme s'il y avait plusieurs lobes superposés. Le crâne et l'uṣṇiṣa sont couverts de petites boucles pointues. L'uṣṇiṣa, très marqué est surmonté d'une flamme dont les flammèches jaillissent du calice d'un lotus La flamme de l'uṣṇiṣa des pièces de bronze était coulée séparément, c'est pourquoi elle manque sur beaucoup d'images. Lorsque l'uṣṇiṣa d'une statue est garnie, ainsi, d'une flamme rapportée, il est hasardeux d'affirmer que cette flamme est bien celle qui fut coulée en même temps que le Buddha.

Le costume comprend généralement les trois vêtements monastiques, uttarâsaṅga, antaravâsaka et saṅghâṭi. Le drapé de l'uttarâsaṅga dépend de l'attitue de donnée à l'image; la saṅghâṭi ne figure pas toujours. L'antaravâsaka couvre le bas du corps des hanches aux chevilles. Sur le devant, le tissu de l'antaravâsaka est drapé pour former un plissé stylisé en un long pan droit bordé d'un liseré de chaque côté, liseré qui représente sans doute l'épaisseur des plis. La partie supérieure de ce vêtement semble rabattue, et c'est sur ce bord rabattu qu'est posée la ceinture. Lorsque la saṅghâṭi est représentée, elle aparaît comme un long pan mince posé sur l'épaule gauche. L'uttarâsaṅga couvre le corps par dessus l'antaravâsaka. Le buste du Buddha et l'antaravâsaka apparaissen nettement au travers de ce vêtement. Il ne s'agit pas là, comme on l'a dit, d'une incompréhension des artistes, mais bien de l'interprétation du caractère lumineux du corps du Buddha. Le buste est représenté comme s'il était nu. Le corps est souvent idéalisé, les épaules larges, la taille longue et mince; la poitrine aux mamelons saillants est bombée. Les bras sont longs, très longs; larges aux épaules, ils s'affinent jusqu'aux pognets ; cette ligne des bras et leur soup lesse sont comformes aux textes qui attribuent au Buddha des bras compara bles à la trompe d'un éléphant. Les mains sont généralement très belles surtout au début de la

période qui nous occupe. Au cours du XVIIIème siècle elles ont tendance à être moins souples et moins fines. Les doigts égaux sont très allongés, le pouce est un peu plus court. La naissance des doigts est généralement marquée, sur les pièces les plus anciennes, par un sillon rectiligne, sur les pièces plus tardives, par une rangée de petites courbes qui dessinen comme des festons sur la main.

Dans la tradition lao que nous venons de décrire il existe plusieurs écoles, quelques-unes assez médiocres peut-être, mais certaines d'une grande valeur esthétique. Parmi celles-ci, il en est une qui pousse extrêmement loin la stylisation, étirant le corps du Buddha dont les lignes droite et hiératiques contrastent avec les lignes sinueuses des bras et du bord du vêtement. Dans cet esprit une très belle école de sculpture sur bois semble s'être développée dans la région de Luang Prabang, mais, ainsi que nous l'avons précisé, dans l'état actuel du Royaume laotien, il est impossible d'effectuer sur place les études qui permettraient de localiser les écoles de sculpture.

Le type physique idéalisé du Buddha, tel que nous l'avons décrit plus haut, se retrouve, avec quelques variantes, sur des images représentant le Bienheureux dans des attitudes symbolisant les principaux moments de sa dernière existence terrestre. Nous étudierons successivement les statues représentant le Buddha assis et debout. Le Buddha assis est, généralement, soit en méditation dans l'attitude de samâdhi, soit dans l'attitude de Mâravijaya, invoquant le témoignage de la Terre afin de confondre Mâra. C'est cette dernière attitude qui est le plus fréquemment représentée. Dans la plupart des sanctuaires, la statue principale est un Buddha en Mârayijaya. Dans cette attitude, le Budcha est toujours assis en vîrâsana; sa main gauche repose sur son giron; sa main droite, la paume appuyée sur le genou, touche le socle du bout de see doigts, prenant ainsi la Terre à témoin. Le drapé de l'uttarâsaṅga découvrs l'épaule gauche. La saṅghâṭi, pliée sur l'épaule gauche retombe de chaque côté, sur la poitrine et sur les reins. L'uttarâsaṅga couvre le bras gauche jusqu'au poignet et, sur la cuisse, son bord décrit une courbe simple sur les pièces les plus anciennes. deux ou trois courbes en festons, sur les pièces du du XVIIIème siècle. Le bord supérieur de l'antaravâsaka est festons, sur les pièces du XVIIIème siècle. Le bord supérieur de l'antaravâsaka est souvent marqué par un relief à la taille. Aux chevilles, l'antaravâsaka ne dépasse guère sous l'uttarâsaṅga. On pourrait citer beaucoup de statues du Buddha représenté dans l'attitude de Mâravijaya. Sous son péristyle, le Musée du Wat Phra Kéo possède une fort belle collection de ces images en bronze d'assez grande taille. Parmi les images de sanctuaire citons l'immense statue de Wat

Im Peng de Vientiane (Fig. nº 1) Peut-être était-ce l'attaitude du très beau fragment qui subsiste à Luang Prabang, à Wat Manorom, fragment d'une statue qui d'après la tradition a été élevée par la roi Sam Sên Thai en 1372, A.D.

Le Buddha réprésenté en samâdhi est également assis en vîrâsana; ses deux mains reposent sur son giron, la main droite sur la main gauche, dans l'attitude normale. Les grands bas-reliefs rupestres de Vang Sang nous offrent deux images du Bienheureux assis, la main droite reposant sur le giron la main gauche esquissant le geste de l'argumentation. Ces images, d'une iconographie assez exceptionnelle en Asie du Sud-Est, sont datées par une inscription de 928, certainement de la Petite Ere, donc de 1566 A.D. [1] (Fig.n° 2).

Les attitudes du Buddha représenté debout sont plus variées. Le plus souvent, lorsqu'il se tient droit, le Buddha fait le geste qui rassure, mais on le représente aussi les bras tombant de chaque côté du corps, les mains croisées sur le ventre ou encore tenant son bol à aumônes; quelquefois, sous l'influence de l'art thaï, il est représenté marchant.

Des Buddha, en abhayamudrâ, esquissant le geste qui rassure, sont souvent placés sur les autels, à côté de l'image principale figurant le Bienheureux assis dans l'attitude de Mâravijaya. Le Buddha en abhayamudrâ ne porte jamais la saṅghâṭi ; l'uttarâsaṅga couvre les deux épaules et les bras, laissant transparaître le buste et l'antaravâsaka. Certaines images du Buddha debout ont des proportions un peu lourdes. Plusieurs statues du Musée du Wat Phra Keo, don le beau Buddha en bronze nº 18 [2], appartiennent à ce style (Fig. n° 3). Une autre école qui nous semble s'être développée parallèlement dans le temps, s'est attachée à modeler des Images aux proportions très allongées. plus idéalisées, d'une extrême pureté de lignes. A Wat Xieng Thong et à Wat Vixun de Luang Prabang; nous avons trouvé de nombreuses pièces appartenant à cette école ; mais l'impossibilité où nous sommes de nous déplacer à travers le pays, ne nous a pas permis de rechercher les origines de cette école qui, de toute évidence, a reçu des influences de l'art thaï.

Le costume du Buddha aux bras étendus de chaque côté du corps ne diffèree guère decelui qui revêt les Buddha en abhayamudrâ ; toutefois le bas de l'uttarâsaṅga se relève généralement de chaque côté du corps, décrivant

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[1] —P-M. Gagneux, "Les sculptures rupestres de Vang Sang". Revue Française, N 203 Paris 1967, p. 40-43.

[2] — Rapport de mission à l'Unesco, p.5, Pl. III. op. cit.

comme une vague. Cette attitude n'apparaît semble-t-il que dans l'iconographie de Thaïlande et du Laos. En Thaïlande elle correspond à la marche du Buddha pendant la troisième semaine de l'Eveil, marche sur un promenoir d'or construit par les dieux [1]. Au Laos, on la considre comme une représentation du Buddha "appelant la pluie" sur un royaume affecté par la sécheresse [2]. Cette représentation a donné lieu à la réalisation de très belles images. Nous n'en retiendrons que deux, toutes deux déposées au Musée du Wat Phra Keo de Vientiane La première, de proportions assez naturalistes, malgré des bras très longs, est datée par une inscription de 1117 de la Petite Ere, donc de 1755 A.D.[3]. L'autre est une des plus belles réalisations de l'école qui a idéalisé l'image du Buddha en amincissant son corps à l'extrême; c'est une statue très pure de lignes, à la fois hiératique et rayonnate de douceur. (Fig. n° 4.)

L'attitude du Buddha aux mains croisées sur le ventre correspond, dans la tradition thaïe, au moment où le Buddha, au cours de la seconde semaine qui a suivi l'Eveil, contemple l'arbre de la Bodhi sans cligner des yeux Dans cette attitude le Buddha porte la saṅghâṭi et le drapé de l'uttarâsaṅga lui découvre l'épaule droite. A notre connaissance, la plus belle représentation de ce type d'image est une pièce déposée au Musée du Wat Phra Keo, aux proportions un peu lourdes mais dont le visage a une belle expression recueillie[4] (Fig No 3).

Le Buddha marchant est une représentation connue en Thaïlande et au Laos. Ici elle apparaît comme une image extrêmement élégante, parfois empreinte d'une nuance de préciosité. Dans les représentations, le Buddha peut avancer l'un ou l'autre pied ; du côté où il porte le pied en avant, il élève la main pour esquisser le geste qui rassure ou celui de l'argumentation ; du côté opposé, le bras retombe le long du corps. Il porte les trois vêtements : l'uttarâsaṅga découvre l'épaule droite ; le pan de ce manteau est rejeté sur l'épaule gauche et, dans le des, tambe jusquien bas du vêtement; la saṅghâṭi est pesée sur l'épaule gauche. Il existe quelques très belles images de Buddha marchant.

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[1] —A-B. Griswold, "Dated Buddha images of Northern Siam", Artibus Asiae, Ascona 1957, p. 42 ; fig 11.

[2] —P-M Gagneux, "L'image du Buddha dans l'Art lao", prêt à publier.

[3] —P-M. Gagneux, "Eléments d'épigraphie laotienne". Bulletin des amis du royaume lao, 1970, p. 38.

[4] Rapport de mission à l'UNESCO, op. cit. p.7 ; pl. 8.

Deux d'entre elles font partie des collections du Wat Phra Keo un troisième est vénéré sur l'autel du sanctuaire de Wat Vixun à Luang Prabang Ce sont des images très nobles aux mouvement souple. La pièce n° 295 du Wat Phra Keo [1] est très proche de celle de Wat Vixun. Toutes deux avancent leur main droite dans le geste qui rassure. Des épaules larges, des hanches étroites, des cuisses en fuseau et des jambes très minces, confèrent à leur silhouette une extrême élégance. Elles doivent remonter au XVème siècle ou au XVIème. Sans doute un peu plus anciennes sont deux statuettes de Buddha marchant en bronze, découvertes dans le stûpa de Wat That Luong, à Luang Prabang. Ces images qui font partie de la Collection de S.M. le Roi du Laos, dénotent une stylisation moins poussée ; elles sont nettement apparentées au style de Sukhodaya. Malgré la corrosion qui couvretoute la surface du bronze et empât quelque peu les détails, il émane de ces statuettes une douceur apaisante.

Plus rares encore sont les statues du Buddha tenant son bol à aumône. Nous avons déjà étudié plus haut la belle statue en bois, malheureusement mutilée que possède le Wat Phra Keo.

Une des aspirations essentielles de l'art lao a certainement été de représenter le Buddha de la façon la plus idéalisée possible, en se conformant aux données iconographiques des textes. Selon leur génie propre, les artistes ont cherché à atteindre ce but suivant une voie qui les conduisait à une stylisation élégante et dépouillée. Il ne s'agissait pas de représenter le Buddha sous l'aspect naturaliste d'un personnage qui aurait été un homme comme les autres. Le Buddha ne pouvait pas être un homme comme les autres, et les textes précisent bien tous les caractéres physiques d'un buddha; en particulier, la tête doit avoir la forme d'un œuf, les sourcils doivent être comme "un arc tendu", le nez comme "un bec de perroquet"—ce qui n'est pas si loin du ne en bec d'aigle—les bras" lisses et ronds comme une trompe d'éléphant". Si la statue est recouverte d'ane feuille d'or, la principale raison n'en est pas le souci d'enrichir l'image, mais, avant tout, de rendre la couleur de la peau du Bienheureux doué d'une carnation dorée La stylisation n'est donc pas, comme il a parfois été dit, le fait d'une inspiration desséchée, ni de l'incapacité du sculpteur à rendre le naturalisme d'un corps. L'expression de la sensibilité n'étai pas étrangère aux artistes lao et bien des images sculptées ou peintes démentent un jugement aussi hâtif, Nous ne retiendrons comme preuve qu'une statuette de la Collection Royale, un petit groupe en bronze, découvert dans le stûpa de Wat That Luong; il représente deux disciples pleurant sur le corps

[1] çit., p. 15 ; Pl. VII.

du Buddha étendu dans le Parinirvâṇa. Les images de Buddha couché n'existent guère dans l'art lao et la statuette de la Collection Royale en est un des rares exemples. Les deux disciples pleurent, une main ramenée devant leurs yeux dans une attitude d'une vérité et d'une simplicité poignantes; le Buddha qui devrait être su sans mouvement dans la mort, soulève son bras droit pour toucher de ses doigts la main d'un de ses disciples. Dans l'émotion très simple de cette image, la douceur de l'âme lao se laisse entrevoir, douceur qui transparaît sur les visages des statues les plus idéalisées du Buddha.

Vihara - antel - grand Buddha - Vientiane - Wat In Peng

Buddha debout - Wat Phra Keo

Sculpture rupestre - Vang Sang

Buddha - Wat Phra Keo

PIERRE ROLLAND

LE CÉRÉMONIAL D'EXCLUSION DE LA CASTE DANS L'INDE ANCIENNE

L'énorme littérature qui traite des castes a jusqu'ici laissé à peu près dans l'ombre certains aspects rituels du système de la caste, au profit d'élucidations et de tentatives d'explication socio-économiques ou structurelles. Ainsi le cérémonial d'exclusion de la caste[1] est un rite peu connu, probablement accompli rarement[2], dès l'origine, et peu étudié, mais qu'on ne doit pas pour autant considérer comme négligeable, notamment en raison de la place importante qu'il occupe à l'intérieur du système rituel indien. On verra que la présence du roi (sur laquelle L. DUMONT, *Homo hierarchicus* p. 215) est requise pour l'excommunication.

Les principaux ouvrages de droit hindou (voir ci-après)décrivent dans ses grandes lignes, de manière concise, le cérémonial en question. Celui-ci est désigné par le nom de *ghaṭasphoṭa*, "brisure du pot",

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[1] Généralités dans KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 388 (voir aussi III p. 615-616 et 1009), L. DUMONT, *Homo hierarchicus* pp. 227-229, J. JOLLY, *Recht und Sitte*, § 38 (trad. anglaise Balakrishna Ghosh, "*Hindu law and custom*, p. 260 sq).

[2] L. DUMONT *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du sud* p. 310) écrit qu'il n'y a pass eu d'excommunication, dans le groupe qu' il étudie, du vivant de son principal informateur, alors (1957) âgé de 60 ans. L'abbé Dubois (*A description of the character, manners and customs of the People of India, and of their institutions, religious and civil*, 3e éd., Madras, Higginbotham & Co, 1879, p.18-20) cite plusieurs cas connus de lui, et douloureux (" it is an insupportable punishment "; "he is a man, as it were, dead to the world"), mais ne donne, malheureusement, aucun détail sur la procédure même de l'excommuni cation, ALBERUNI (*Alberuni's India*, trad. angl. d'E. C. SACHAU, Londres 1910, vol. II p 163) parle incidemment de la possibilité pour le Hindous réduits en exclavage par les Musulmans, de recouvrer leur qualité en mangeant le *pañcagavya*. Certains brâhmanes, consultés par lui, pensaient au contraire que leur exclusion était irrémédiable.

d'après le rite principal qui le caractérise[1]. Ayant eu la fortune de découvrir à Poona un manuscrit[2] décrivant, de manière très circonstanciée, les différentes phases de ce cérémonial, il nous a paru utile de l'éditer et d'en confronter le texte avec celui des grandes Smṛti's (en premier lieu, évidemment Yājñavalkya, dans le sillage de qui se situe notre texte—quelque tardif qu'il soit - puisqu'il cite le commentaire Mitākṣarā et se presente comme émané de la pensée d'Aparārka, le plus ancien commentaire de Yājñavalkya; mais aussi Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama). Voici le colophon du manuscrit: *ity aparārkoktaghaṭa-sphoṭavidhiḥ samāptā| śake 1783 durmatināmasaṃvatsare|| bhādrapada vadya* 2 *bhṛguvāsare taddine ācāryo yanāmakasadāśivātmakavināyakena likhitam|granth-anyatnena paripālayet|| samāptaḥ||*

On peut faire brièvement deux sortes de remarques généerales au sujet des rites décrits. En premier lieu, on observe un parallélisme rigoureux entre ces rites et certains rites funéraires [3] ou "ancestraux" [4] - (Il faut

[1] Ceci est la norme hindoue. Mais il peut y avoir des variantes locales avec des symbolismes différents. Ainsi chez les Coorgs (cf. M. N. SRINIVAS *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, Bombay *1*952, p. 65): "A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough, *Kodi Kittuvudu* or "tearing the cloth". The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head between them and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death".

[2] Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, ms. n° 3093 daté du Vendredi 23 août 1861). Il nous est agréable de remercier ici les autorités de cet Institut qui ont bien voulu nous autoriser à reproduire le texte de ce manuscrit, ains que les pandits N. R. Bhatt et K. Srinivasacarya, de l'Institut Français d'Indologie de Pondichéry, pour l'aide qu'ils nous ont apportée dans l'établissement du texte. Depuis la rédaction de cet article, nous avons appris l'existence de deux manuscrits (Adyar Library No 67876 et No 69618) relatifs à ce rituel et qui pourront faire l'objet d'une étude ultérieure.

[3] Encore aujourd'hui, au Kerala, chez les Brâhmanes Nambudiri, des cérémonies de funérailles constituent la forme légale de l'excommunication (d'après HUTTON, *Caste in India*, p. 106 sq, citant THURSTON, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* V, p. 223).

[4] On en trouvera une description commode, fondée sur les Gṛhyasūtra, dans V.M. APTE, *Social and religious life in the gṛhyasūtras*, p. 237

noter, en passant, que ce n'est pas le seul exemple de rites funéraires célébrés du vivant de quelqu'un - c'est le cas, également pour les *saṃnyāsin*). Par exemple le *ghaṭasphoṭa se* définit tout comme les cultes funèbres par un certain nombre d'inversions, dont la plus commune est celle du cordon brāhmanique [1], qui passe de l'épaule gauche à l'épaule droite.

Mais plus encore que ce genre d'inversions, et en second lieu, le cérémonial accumule le maximum d'éléments impurs et inauspicieux. Intervention d'une *dāsī* "serviteur femelle", ou à défaut d'un *dāsa*, préférence pour l'orientation méridionale (qui est celle des morts et des démons), temps inauspicieux, utilisation du pied gauche (doublement impur) pour renverser le pot, utilisation d'eau *Kutsita*, etc...

En résumé, on peut dire, très légitimement, que l'excommunié est un mort (civil), comme, en retournant la proposition, certaines formes du rituel des funérailles permettent d'affirmer que le mort est un exclu[2]. Un rite, par exemple, a pour but de "fixer" le défunt (dont on peut redouter certains effets malfaisants) par une pierre, qui constitue ainsi une borne frontière entre le monde des vivants et celui des morts[3]. Nous ne serons pas surpris de retrouver ce thème dans le rite de l'exclusion.

Notons, à ce propos, que dès la fin de l'époque védique, les Gṛhyasūtra mentionnent déjà une catégories de "déchus" (*patita*): ceux qui n'ont pas célébré à temps la cérémonie d'initiation (*upanayana*), d'où leur nom spécifique de *sāvitripatita* "déchus de la *Sāvitrī*" (la Sāvitrī" ou "prière solaire" étant la

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(*Contd.*)

259 et une autre, plus détaillée, dans D. R. SHASTRI *Origin and development of the rituals of ancestor worship in India*, passim.

[1] Voir L. RENOU, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique*, s. u. *UPAVĪTA* (pp. 43-44).

[2] Cela est un exemple de plus de la plasticité des structures rituelles indiennes, qui sont à toutes mains, et peuvent aisement être employées dans des registres très différents du registre originel moyennant de légères modifications.

[3] Voir D. R. SHASTRI, *Origin*... p. 36; Kāṭhakagṛhyasūtra 45, 11.

Avant de présenter le texte inédit sur le *ghaṭasphoṭa*, il est bon de donner une vue circulaire de l'enseignement des Dharmasūtra et Dharmaśāstra sur ce point précis. Voici les principaux passages afférents au *ghaṭasphoṭa*. Comme on pourra en juger, ils sont assez peu explicites, à l'exception peut-être de Gautama.

formule védique essentielle, élément capital de l'initiation et prémisse de l'apprentissage du Veda.) Or il est significatif que la conduite à tenir à l'égard de ces déchus, d'après les Gṛhyasūtra, et celle à tenir à l'égard des hors caste Dharmasutra et dans les Dharmaśāstra, soient décrites dans les mêmes termes.

(1) *Gautama Dharmasūtra* XX, 2-7 (éd. Jivananda Vidyasagar Bhaṭṭācarya, Calcutta 1876)

dāsaḥ karmakāro vāvakarād amedhyapātram ānīya dāsīghaṭaṃ pūrayitvā dakṣiṇāmukhaḥ padā viparyasyed "amum anudakaṃ karomi" iti nāmagrahas taṃ sarve'nvālabheran prācīnāvītino muktaśikhā vidyāguravo yonisaṃbandhāś ca vikṣerann apa upaspṛśya grāmaṃ praviśanti, ata ūrdhvaṃ tena saṃbhāṣyā tiṣṭhed ekarātraṃ japet sāvitrīm ajñānapūrvaṃ jñānāpūrvañ cet trirātram

'un serviteur ou un aide, ayant pris, dans un tas de saleté, une coupe impropre au sacrifice, la remplira (d'une eau prise) au pot d'une servante et, face au sud, la renversera avec son pied et, en prononçant le nom (du déchu), il dira " Je prive Un Tel d'eau". Tous, ayant le cordon à l'envers et la mèche sacramentelle défaite, le toucheront chacun à son tour. Les maîtres de science et les parents assisteront à la scène. Ayant pris le bain, ils rentreront au village. Ensuite, si quelqu'un parle avec lui, il restera un jour et une nuit à réciter la *sāvitri*, si ce n'est pas intentionnel, trois jours et trois nuits si c'est intentionnel".

(2) *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* III, 294 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, II p. 1205)

dāsikumbhaṃ bahir grāmān ninayeyuḥ svabāndhavaḥ /

patitasya bahiḥ kuryuḥ sarvakāryeṣu caiva tam //

"une servante femelle et des parents renverseront un pot à l'extérieur du village. Ils excluront le déchu de toutes les cérémonies religieuses"

(3) *Mānavadharmaśāstra* XI, 182-183 (éd. Narayan Ram Acarya, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay 1940)

patitasyodakaṃ kāryaṃ sapiṇḍair bandhavair bahiḥ /

nindite 'hani sāyāhne jñātyṛtviggurusannidhau //

dāsī ghaṭam apāṃ pūrṇaṃ paryasyet pretavat padā /

ahorātram upāsīrann āśaucaṃ bāndhavaiḥ saha //

" les sapindas et les samānodakas d'un (grand criminel) dégradé doivent offrir pour lui (comme s'il était mort), une libation d'eau hors (du village) le soir d'un jour non favorable, en présence de ses parents paternels, de son chapelain et de son guide spirituel.

"Une esclave femelle (se tournant vers le sud) doit renverser avec le pied un vieux) pot rempli d'eau, semblable à celui qu'on offre aux morts ; après cela, tous les parents proches ou éloignés sont impurs pendant un jour et une nuit" (traduction LOISELEUR-DESLONGCHAMPS p.344)

(4) *Vāsiṣṭhasmṛti* XV, 12-14 (éd. Führer, Poona 1930)

apātrasaṅkarūd akṛtsnaṃ pātram ādāya dāso' savarṇāputro vā
bandhur asadṛśo vā guṇahīnaḥ savyena pādyena pravṛttāgrān

darbhāṃl lohitān vopastīrya pūrṇapātram asmai ninayet/ ninetāraṃ cāsya prakīrṇakeśā jñātayo'nvālabheran/apasavyaṃ kṛtvā gṛheṣu savair amāpadyeran/

" un serviteur, ou le fils d'une femme de caste différente ou un parent d'une autre caste, sans mérite, prendra une coupe cassée dans un tas de tessons, et après avoir répandu des herbes *darbha*, ou des herbes *lohita* aux pointes élaguées, il renversera, avec son pied gauche, la coupe pleine (d'eau). Et les parents, la chevelure dénouée, toucheront, chacun son tour l'homme qui la renverse. Ayant fait un tour par la gauche, ils rentreront chez eux ".

I. TEXTE

Voici maintenant le *Ghaṭashoṭaprayoga*

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

अथ **घटस्फोटप्रयोगो** लिख्यते। तथाहि—महापातकेनोपपातकेन वा पतितो यदि प्रायश्चित्तं न करोति तदा तं गुरूणां बान्धवानां राज्ञश्च समक्षमाहूय तत्पापं प्रकटीकृत्य पुनरुपदिशेत्प्रायश्चित्तं कुरु स्वाचारं लभस्वेति। स यद्येवमपि नाङ्गीकरोति तदा रिक्तादिनिन्यतिथौ सायाह्ने सपिण्डाः बान्धवाश्च संभूय दासीहस्तेनानीतममेध्यकुत्सितजलादिपूर्णं घटं सर्वतो दास्यायन्वारभं कुर्वन्तोदासस्य वा ग्रामाद्दक्षिणतो दक्षिणामुखा[1] एव प्राचीनावीतिनः मुक्तशिखाः ज्ञातयोऽन्वालभेरन्। अमुकगोत्र अमुकनामा पतितोऽद्य मृतः इत्युक्त्वा दासीवामपादेन न्युब्जं छिन्नाग्रदर्भेषु कारयित्वा दासीसहिता वदेयुरमुमनुदकं करोमीति नामग्रहणपूर्वकं घटं स्फोटयेत्। अनवेक्ष्य सर्वे स्नात्वा तिलाञ्जलिं दद्यात्[2]। ततोऽधिकारी कर्ता दाहवर्ज्यं जीवन्तमेवोद्दिश्य पिण्डोदकदानादिप्रेतकार्याण्येकादशाहान्तानि नाम्नैव कुर्यात्। मिताक्षरायां प्रेतकार्योत्तरं घटनिनयनमुक्तम्। एकाहमाशौचं[3] सर्वेषाम्। यस्य घटस्फोटः कृतः तेन सह संभाषणस्पर्शादिसंसर्गो न केनापि कार्यः। करणे पतिततुल्यता। घटस्फोटनिश्चयोत्तरं घटस्फोट[4]दिनात्प्राक् पतितज्ञातीनां धर्मकार्येष्वनधिकार इति कश्चित्। आचम्य देशकालौ स्मृत्वा प्राचीनावीती[5] दक्षिणामुखो भूत्वा अमुकगोत्रम् अमुकनामानं पतितं पतनबुध्या पतितत्व प्राप्तं तस्य अमुकगोत्राम् अमुकनाम्नीं मम भ्रातृपत्नीं पतनबुध्या पतितत्व[6]प्राप्तां तस्याः स्वगोत्रजातीनां धर्मकार्येष्वधिकारो नास्ती[7]त्यपराकोक्तं तद्दोषनिरसनपूर्वकसर्वधर्मकार्येष्वधिकारस्य सिध्यर्थं पतितत्यागरूपघटस्फोटविधिना पतितत्यागं करिष्ये। पतितक्रियानिमित्तदशाहान्तं द्वादशहान्तं वा तन्त्रेण पिण्डदानं करिष्ये। शुचौ देशे शिलां प्रतिष्ठाप्य तच्छिलायाम् अमुकगोत्रत् अमुकनामानं पतितं[8] आवाहनमुपतिष्ठतु। इत्यावाह्य। इममश्मानमातिष्ठ येन त्वं मम गोत्रज। अत्र त्वं च समातिष्ठ नाहं

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[1] ms °*mukha* [2] sic! Lire *dadyuḥ* [3] ms °*hā*°

[4] *sphoṭa* est répété *dans le ms.* [5] ms °*viti* [6] *tva* omis dans le ms

[7] ms °*sti* [8] sic, on attend ici une série de génitifs.

ते त्वं न मेऽधुना ॥ पुनः[1] स्नात्वा । एकं शरावं उदकेन पूरयित्वा । एकं शरावं चरुपूर्णं कृत्वा । तच्चरुणा दश द्वादश वा पिण्डान् कृत्वा तत्कले[2] दक्षिणामुखो प्राचीनावीत्येव[3] दक्षिणाग्रान् कुशानास्तीर्य । तिलोदकं कृत्वा । अमुकगोत्राय अमुकनाम्ने पतिताय पिण्डस्याधः कुशतिलोदकमुपतिष्ठतु । अमुकगोत्र-अमुकनाम पतित कुशे प्रथमदिनप्रयुक्तचरुपिण्ड मुपतिष्ठतु । इदम्[4] एकादश द्वादश वा पिण्डान् दद्यात् । पिण्डस्थपतिताय अञ्जनाभ्यञ्जनमुपतिष्ठतु । पाद्यादि दक्षिणान्तं संपूज्य । दर्भैः[5] सह तिलोदकं गृहीत्वा अनादि० क्षः पतिते मोक्षदो भव ॥ इदं पिण्डदानं सकुशतिलोदकं[6] पतितस्याप्यायनमस्तु । इत्युदकं पूर्वस्थापि तशिलायां निक्षिपेत् । इदमन्नमिमं [6]तोयं गृहीत्वात्र[7] स्थिरो भव ॥ ततः स्नात्वा ग्रामं-प्रविशेयुः ॥ गृहमागत्य मृत्तिकास्नानं कृत्वा पञ्चगव्यं प्राश्य ॥ परदिने आशौचान्ते सर्वे सपिण्डाः सचैलं स्नात्वा पञ्चगव्यं प्राश्य यज्ञोपवीतधारणान्ते कर्ता आचम्य देशकालौ स्मृत्व-सपरिवारस्य मम सकलारिष्टोपशान्तये क्षेमायुःसिध्यर्थं च गणेशपूजनं स्वस्तिवाचनं करिष्ये। इति संकल्प्य यथाशाखं च स्वस्त्ययनं वाचयित्वा आशिषो गृहीत्वा बन्धुभिः सह भुञ्जीतेति ।

अत ऊर्ध्वं श्रीखण्डधारणं ताम्बूलभक्षणादि कुर्यात् ॥

॥ इत्यपरार्कोक्तघटस्फोटविधिः समाप्ता ॥

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[1] *anusvāra* omis dans le ms. [2] ms °*la* [3] ms *aiva*
[4] sic ms. on attend *evam*. [5] ms *darbha* [6] sic [7] ms *gṛhṇatva*

II TRADUCTION

Om! Hommage à Gaṇeśa!

Celui qui, du fait d'une faute, majeure ou vénielle, est déchu, s'il n'accomplit pas de pénitence, devra être convoqué devant des maîtres, des parents et le roi. Après révélation de la faute, on lui conseillera: "Fais une expiation! Aie une bonne conduite!". Si, même ainsi, il n'y consent pas; alors, au soir d'un jour non favorable (jour "creux"(a), etc. .), ses parents proches et éloignés se rassembleront et se tiendront en file indienne (b) derrière une servante, ou un serviteur (c), tenant un pot amené par la main d'une servante et rempli d'une eau impropre au sacrifice, non-consacrée. Au sud du village, face au sud, avec leur cordon à l'envers, la mèche sacramentelle défaite, les gens de la caste se tiendront en file indienne. "Toi, Un Tel, de tel *gotra*, à présent tu es exclu, tu es mort". A ces mots, la servante ayant, avec son pied gauche, renversé le pot sur des herbes *darbha* à l'extrémité fendue, ils réciteront, en compagnie de la servante "Je te prive d'eau, Un Tel"; en prononçant son nom, on brisera le pot,

Sans y jeter un regard (ou sans y prêter attention) tous prendront un bain et offriront de l'eau mêlée de sésame (d). Alors le principal officiant, ayant évoqué (e) cet homme, tout vivant qu'il est, accomplira, en le nommant, tous les actes rituels concernant les trépassés, jusqu'au onzième jour. Dans le commentaire Mitākṣarā (f), il est dit que le renversement du pot prend place à la fin des cérémonies funéraires. Le laps d'impureté est d'un jour. Tout contact par parole, toucher, etc. . . est prohibé avec celui qui a été l'objet d'un *ghaṭasphoṭa*. Si le contact a lieu, il provoque semblable déchéance. Quelqu'un dit: entre le jour où l'on décide de faire le *ghaṭasphoṭa* et celui où on le fait, les parents du déchu n'ont pas le droit de célébrer des cérémonies religieuses.

Ayant bu quelques gouttes d'eau, ayant cité l'endroit et le moment (g), ayant mis le cordon à l'envers, face au sud, on récitera "Je vais procéder au bannissement d'Un Tel, de tel *gotra*, qui a atteint la déchéance en étant conscient de sa faute" (pour un homme), "d'Une Telle, de tel *gotra*, femme de mon frère, qui a atteint la déchéance en étant consciente de sa faute" (pour une femme). Ses parents n'ont pas le droit de participer aux cérémonies religieuses, d'après Aparārka. (h)

"C'est tout en effaçant cette faute et pour obtenir (à nouveau) le droit de participer à toutes les cérémonies religieuses, que je vais y procéder, selon la procédure de *ghaṭasphoṭa* qui forme le bannissement".

Les rites funéraires jusqu'au onzième ou au douzième jour, qui fondent les rites de déchéance devront être accomplis, selon la norme, avec la déclaration (i) suivante : "Je vais accomplir le don de boulettes funéraires". Ayant, en un endroit pur, placé une pierre, on récitera sur cette pierre, l'appel : "que l'appel soit fait pour Un Tel, de tel *gotra*",—"Reste sur cette pierre, car tu es de mon *gotra* Toi, reste ici; désormais; je ne te suis rien et tu ne m'es rien"—S'étant baigné à nouveau, ayant rempli une coupe d'eau, une autre de riz, ayant préparé dix ou douze boulettes à ce moment, face au sud, le cordon à l'envers, ayant répandu des herbes *darbha* pointées vers le sud, et préparé de l'eau mêlée à du sésame, il donnera onze ou douze boulettes en récitant "que pour Un Tel, de tel *gotra*, déchu, les herbes *Kuśa*, et l'eau mêlée au sésame soient sous (j) la boulette ! Un tel, de tel *gotra*, déchu ! que aur l'herbe *Kuśa* il y ait une boulette de riz utilisée pour le premier jour !" "qu'il y ait onction, et contre-onotion (k) pour le déchu qui siège dans la boulette"

Ayant accompli le rite depuis le pédiluve jusqu'à la *dakṣiṇā*, ayant pris l'eau-au-sésame avec les herbes *darbha*, on récitera ;

"Le dieu qui n'a ni commencement ni fin,
Porteur de la conque, du disque et de la massue [1]
Aux yeux de lotus, qu'il soit satisfait !
Donne la délivrance au déchu !

que ce don de boulettes accompagné d'herbes *Kuśa*, de sésame et d'eau soit plaisant pour le déchu !." Ce disant on versera de l'eau sur la pierre placée précédemment. (On récitera aussi) " Ayant pris cette nourriture et cette eau, reste fixé ici !" Ils prendront un bain et regagneront le village. Etant rentrés chez eux, ayant pris un bain à l'argile, ayant mangé les cinq-produits-de-la vache, le lendemain, à la fin du laps d'impureté, tous les parents proches, après le bain et l'absorption des cinq-produits-de-la-vache, changent de cordon - brahmanique- L'officiant, ayant bu quelques gouttes d'eau, ayant mentionné l'endroit et le temps, récite " En faveur de l'aplanissement (m) de toutes difficultés pour mon entourage, et pour obtenir la vie paisible, je vais faire l'adoration à Gaṇeśa et la récitation-auspicieuse". Après cette déclaration d'intention, et une fois faite la récitation-auspicieuse selon l'école (à laquelle il appartient), il recevra les bénédictions et mangera avec sa famille. Ensuite il mettra la marque sectaire(n) et mangera du bétel, etc...

NOTES SUR LA TRADUCTION

(a) C'est à dire le 4ème, 9ème ou 14 ème jour du mois. Cf. Manu XI, 182 *nindite ahani*.

(b) Sur *anvāRAMBH*, voir Louis RENOU, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique* p, 14. on pourrait peut-être comprendre aussi que chaque membre de la caste vient à son tour toucher le pot.

(c) La phrase est grammaticalement surprenante, et le génitif *dāsasya* s'explique mal. Ce n'est, du reste, pas la seule incorrection grammaticale de ce texte.

(d) Elément important du *Śrāddha*. Voir V. M. APTE, *op. cit.* p. 249.

(e) UdDIŚ est le terme technique pour désigner l'évocation des ancêtres directs, dans les cérémonies de *śrāddha*.

(f) C'est en effet l'opinion de Vijñāneśvara auquel on attribute le commentaire Mitākṣarā (cf. Sacred Books of the Hindus n° 21 p. 435 (n° 796) qui s'appuie sur Gautama III, 2; 3)

(g) Rite purement hindouiste. Exemple: Aurdhvadehikakarmapaddhatiḥ, éd. Amṛtlal Trikamji Ācārya, Bombay, Nirnayasagar Press, p. 2.

(h) Aparārka ; cf. Yājñavalkyasmṛti, ed, Ānandaśrama Skt Series, t. II p. 1207.

(i) Partie du *Saṅkalpa*. C'est la déclaration d'intention qui précède l'accomplissement du rite.

(j) Procédure inhabituelle.

(k) L'onction et la contre-onctionconsistent simplement en deux arrosages de la boulette à l'aide d'eau mêlée de sésame.

(l) La mention de Viṣṇu ici n'est sans doute pas fortuite car dès les Gṛhyasūtra l'important "rite du pouce", dans le Śrāddha, est en connexion avec ce dieu-(Voir GONDA, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 91 sq, DANDEKAR, *Viṣṇu in the Veda* (in : Festschrift P.V. Kane Poona 1941) p. 109.

Le texte complet du *mantra* est = *anādinidhano devaḥ śaṅkhacakra-gadādharaḥ priyatāṃ puṇḍarikākṣaḥ*. Le même vers est cité Aurdhvadehika-karmapaddhati, éd. Amṛtlal Trikamjī Ācarya (Bombay, Nirnayasagar Press, p. 64) avec la variante *akṣayyapuṇḍarikākṣaḥ pretamokṣaprado* ; "*patita*" est un simple *ūha* de "*preta.*"

(m) Sur l'importante notion de *śānti*, qui est "apaisement, propitiation de puissances mauvaises" voir D. J. HOENS, *Śānti, a contribution to Ancient indian religious terminology*, Utrecht 1951, P. THIEME, Oriens 6 (1953) p. 395, CALAND, *die altindischen Todten—und Bestattungsgebraüche*, p. 114-115 (n. 412), M. ELIADE, *Mythes, rêves et mystères* p. 199.

(n) Sur les marques sectaires, voir l'ouvrage de D. A. PAI *Monograph on the Religious Sects in India among the Hindus* Bombay 1928 p. 24, 58 et 76. Port de la marque sectaire et absorption de bétel sont prohibés pendant la période d'impureté (*śāauca*)